

# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. LVIII - 2009



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

## HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

### Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

#### Editorial Board

##### *Editors:*

Prof. Dr. Dirk Sacré (K.U. Leuven, General Editor); Prof. em. Dr. Gilbert Tournoy (K.U. Leuven); Prof. em. Dr. Monique Mund-Dopchie (Université Catholique de Louvain); Prof. Dr. Jan Papy (K.U. Leuven); Prof. Dr. Lambert Isebaert (Université Catholique de Louvain).

##### *Associate Editors:*

Prof. Dr. Charles Fantazzi (Windsor-Ontario); Prof. Dr. Marc Laureys (Bonn); Dr. William McCuaig (Montréal); Prof. Dr. Massimo Miglio (Viterbo); Prof. Dr. Jan Öberg (Stockholm); Prof. Dr. Elena Rodríguez Peregrina (Granada); Prof. Dr. R.W. Truman (Oxford); Prof. Dr. G. Hugo Tucker (Reading); Prof. Dr. Terence O. Tunberg (Lexington, KY); Prof. Dr. D. Wuttke (Bamberg).

##### *Editorial Assistants:*

Mrs J. IJsewijn-Jacobs; Dr. Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen; Dr. Tom Deneire.

##### *Deceased members:*

Prof. Dr. Jozef IJsewijn (K.U. Leuven); Prof. Dr. Leonard Forster (Cambridge); Mgr. José Ruyschaert (Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana); Prof. Dr. Lidia Winniczuk (Warszawa); Prof. Dr. Veljko Gortan (Zagreb); Prof. Dr. Constant Matheeußen (K.U. Brussel); Prof. Dr. Fred Nichols (New York).

\*

Volume 1 through 16 were edited by the late Mgr. Henry de Vocht from 1928 to 1961 as a series of monographs on the history of humanism at Louvain, especially in the *Collegium Trilingue*. These volumes are obtainable in a reprint edition.

Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher: *Leuven University Press*, Minderbroedersstraat 4, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Librarians who wish for an exchange with *Humanistica Lovaniensia* should apply to the Librarian of the University Library of Leuven (K.U.L.): Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ladeuzeplein 22, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (2 ex.) to a member of the Editorial Board. They should follow the prescriptions of the *MHRA Style Book*, published by W.S. Maney, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL, England (5th edn, 1996). After the final acceptance of the contribution a disk, a CD-ROM or a memory stick (preferably Word on Apple Macintosh) will be most welcome.

Contributors will receive twenty offprints of their articles free of charge.

Address of the Editors: Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Erasmushuis, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 / P.O. Box 3307, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

E-mail: Dirk.Sacre@arts.kuleuven.be



HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA



HUMANISTICA  
LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. LVIII - 2009



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS



*Gepubliceerd met de steun  
van de Universitaire Stichting van België*



© 2009 Universitaire Pers Leuven / Leuven University Press /  
Presses Universitaires de Louvain,  
Minderbroedersstraat 4 - B 3000 Leuven/Louvain, Belgium

All rights reserved. Except in those cases expressly determined by law, no part of this publication may be multiplied, saved in an automated data file or made public in any way whatsoever without the express prior written consent of the publishers.

ISBN 978 90 5867 766 2  
D/2009/1869/46  
ISSN 0774-2908  
NUR: 635

## CONSPECTUS RERUM

### Third Annual Jozef IJsewijn Lecture

- Brenda HOSINGTON, *'Minerva and the Muses': Women Writers of Latin in Renaissance England* ..... 1-43

#### 1. Textus et studia

- Rainer JAKOBI, *Das Prooem der Ars Grammatica Vallas: eine Poetik humanistischer Lehrdichtung*..... 45-52
- David AMHERDT, *Le bilinguisme français – latin dans la correspondance de Jean Du Bellay*..... 53-79
- Magnus KARLSSON, *Three Letters of Proposal from Erik XIV of Sweden to Elizabeth I of England: Edited with Introduction* ..... 81-101
- Antonio SERRANO CUETO, *El Epithalamium de Jerónimo Ramírez en honor de la boda (1570) de Felipe II y Ana de Austria* ..... 103-124
- Antonio DÁVILA PÉREZ, *“Regnavit a ligno Deus”. Affirmat Arias Montanus; negat Lindanus’. Revisión de la polémica Benito Arias Montano-Wilhelmus Lindanus a la luz de nuevos documentos*..... 125-189
- Marta VACULÍNOVÁ, *Paulus a Gisbice (1581-1607). Ein böhmischer Dichter und seine Studienreise nach Leiden* ..... 191-215
- Thomas LEDERER, *The Clemency of Rufinus Widl: Text and Context of W.A. Mozart's First Opera* ..... 217-373
- Dirk SACRÉ, *Francesco Sofia Alessio (1873-1943): Some Overlooked Poems* ..... 375-400

#### 2. Instrumentum criticum

- Jeroen DE KEYSER, *Gian Mario Filelfo's 'Lost' Writing Against Poggio Bracciolini* ..... 401-406

— Włodzimierz OLSZANIEC, <i>Nota critica all'epitome della traduzione latina del Caronte di Luciano</i> . . . . .	407
— Gilbert TOURNOY, <i>Lipsiana novissima III: Another Overlooked Letter Written by Lipsius in 1604</i> . . . . .	409-414
— Dirk SACRÉ, <i>Two Notes on Pascoli</i> . . . . .	415-421
<b>3. Instrumentum bibliographicum Neolatinum</b> . . . . .	423-517
<b>4. Instrumentum lexicographicum</b> . . . . .	519-521
<b>5. Indices</b> . . . . .	523-531
— Index codicum manuscriptorum . . . . .	523
— Index nominum . . . . .	525-531



**THIRD ANNUAL JOZEF IJSEWIJN LECTURE**

(LEUVEN, 24 SEPTEMBER 2008)

































Brenda M. HOSINGTON

‘MINERVA AND THE MUSES’:  
WOMEN WRITERS OF LATIN IN RENAISSANCE ENGLAND

In her book *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, Françoise Waquet claims that European women of the early modern period, like the working classes and Mexican Indians, were excluded from the world of Latin literacy as a matter of government and social policy.<sup>1</sup> As she demonstrates throughout her book, the knowledge of Latin represented power and authority in post-Classical Europe, a badge of belonging to an elite class. It is hardly surprising, then, that it was not generally thought suitable for the weaker sex. For both Waquet and, more recently, Jane Stevenson, in her monumental study of Classical, medieval and early modern women Latin poets, this use of Latin to wield power and exercise authority kept at bay, not only men without a private or university education, but also the vast majority of women; the Latin-literate constituted a privileged class and also a single-gendered one.<sup>2</sup> Yet, as she demonstrates, the women who did read and even compose in Latin are not as rare as previously believed.

The Renaissance debate over whether to teach women Latin and Greek and thus introduce them to the world of the ‘humaine arts’ goes back to Quattrocento Italy, with men like Quirini, Bruni and Poliziano defending Classical learning for women – with certain constraints and limitations – and others declaiming that such studies were dangerous. Yet the practical value for those who did acquire Classical learning, as Lisa Jardine has contended with regard to Renaissance Italian ‘learned ladies’, was limited, as indeed it was, she argues, for noblemen of independent means. For a woman, it was simply an end in itself, an accomplishment like

<sup>1</sup> Françoise Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets. Language, Gender, & Authority from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

needlepoint or playing an instrument, because it could not be put to use in the public arena.<sup>3</sup> In terms of the moral and social benefits of a humanist education, it was claimed, the *bonae artes* had a 'civilising effect' by instilling the virtues that would make good administrators, law makers, or university professors. Since these avenues were on the whole closed to women, the argument took a different form in discussions of their education: Classical learning would promote the virtues of chastity and modesty and make women into better wives and mothers. Detractors argued that, on the contrary, they would fill women's heads with romantic fantasies, make them even more talkative and vain than they were by nature, and introduce them to inappropriate and indelicate literature that would only encourage their natural proclivity to lasciviousness.

In England, the debate over the merits of women's Classical education was entered into by Thomas More and men in his circle like Richard Hyrde. More himself praised such learning on several occasions, but only because it made for more virtuous and companionable wives. His daughters, especially Margaret Roper, bore testimony to his beliefs, swaying even Erasmus's opinions on the subject. Hyrde, in 1526, prefaced Roper's translation of Erasmus's *Precatio dominica* with a letter to a young woman, Frances Staverton, strongly defending Classical learning for women, and reiterated his view in his 1529 dedication to Catherine of Aragon of his translation of Vives's *De institutione foeminae Christianae*, there specifically expressing his wish that all women knew Latin.<sup>4</sup> In 1548, Nicholas Udall, schoolmaster and editor, defended teaching women the 'studie of humane sciences and of straunge tongues'

<sup>3</sup> Lisa Jardine, "'O decus Italiae virgo", or the Myth of the Learned Lady in the Renaissance', *Historical Journal*, 28 (1985), 799-819; the article is reprised in part in Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986), pp. 29-57. In her most recent book, Virginia Cox offers a more nuanced view of Italian learned ladies, claiming that they were not as rare as previously believed in aristocratic circles, where female Classical learning was considered 'socially ennobling' for the family, although they appeared far less frequently in the slightly lower strata of society. Even so, *erudite* and women who wrote had a share of humanist admiration and a place in Italian literary circles, although it was more a 'pedestal or niche' than a genuine 'seat at the table'. See Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy. 1400-1650* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 2-8.

<sup>4</sup> 'Epistle to Fraunces Staverton', in Richard Hyrde, *A deuoute treatise vpon the Pater noster* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1526), pp. ai-aiiii, and prefatory letter to Catherine in *A very frutefull and pleasant boke called the instruction of a christen woman, turned out of Laten into Englysshe by Richard Hyrde* (London: Thomas Berthelet, [1529?]), pp. Aii-ii'.

and boasted, rather hyperbolically, that England was full of women speaking and reading Greek and Latin 'as in their own mother language'.<sup>5</sup> Some ten years later, the translator William Bercher added to his source text, Lodovico Domenichi's *De la nobiltà delle donne*, the names of over a dozen Englishwomen renowned for their abilities in Greek and Latin.<sup>6</sup>

However, those who believed their wives and daughters would be corrupted by the morals and customs of the Ancients were more numerous than the supporters, while mockers and satirist were never far behind. When the eminent English educator, Richard Mulcaster, wrote in 1581 that England had many young women who 'learne the best and finest of our learned languages' and even outdo their Greek and Roman predecessors because they are 'so excellently well trained, and so rarely qualified, either for the toungues themselues or for the matter in the toungues', a contemporary wit punned that wives had enough 'toungues' that they need not obtain more, alluding of course to the traditional male complaint about women's talkativeness.<sup>7</sup> In the early seventeenth century, James I of England was presented with a learned young woman who spoke Latin, probably Bathsua Rainolds Makin, of whom later, but dismissed her, asking his courtiers, 'But can she spin?'. The question was not an idle one. It was a topos by this time to associate 'ordinary' women with the distaff and learned women with the pen.<sup>8</sup>

It was one thing to study Latin, quite another to compose and publish works in it, especially poetry. As James Binns points out, writing Latin verse in the Renaissance was a public act, fulfilling a public function or marking a special occasion.<sup>9</sup> As such, it was of course considered

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Udall, Dedication to the 'moste virtuous (...) Quene Katherine' prefacing the Gospel of St. John in *The First Tome or volume of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon the newe testament* (London: Edward Whitchurche, 1548), pp. Aii-Aiii.

<sup>6</sup> 'A Dyssputacion off the Nobylyte off women', in *The Nobility of Women by William Bercher, 1559*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (London: Roxburgh Club, 1904), pp. 153-156.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Mulcaster, *Positions vvherin those primitiue circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training up of children, either for skill in their booke, or health in their bodie* (London: Thomas Vautrollier for Thomas Chare, 1581), p. 168.

<sup>8</sup> Lisa Jardine quotes Poliziano's praise of Cassandra Fedele's literary abilities, telling her she is the only girl 'quae pro lana librum', and she suggests as Poliziano's source Vergil's description of Camilla, who has replaced 'Minerva's distaff or basket of wool' by a warrior's training (Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 803-808). Cf. Jardine, "'O decus Italiae virgo'", p. 805. The image will persist well into the nineteenth century in male discourse on learned women.

<sup>9</sup> James W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: the Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), pp. 34-38 and 40-45.

particularly unsuitable for women. Similarly, the stigma associated with print, which also applied to men, was even more strongly applied to women. As late as 1644 in France, Madeleine de Scudéry, in *Les femmes illustres*, has Sappho and Erinna discuss male conflicting opinions: some men believe women have a right to study *belles-lettres* as long as they do not compose any works themselves, others do not. But, Sappho warns, if men have Mercury, associated with melodious speech and eloquence, and Apollo, god of poetry and music, women have Minerva, goddess of wisdom and education, and the Muses, who were favourite figures used by male writers for addressing learned women, as indeed was Sappho.

Given such opinions and constraints, it is not surprising that the number of Latin compositions by Renaissance women is still relatively small, although over the past decade far more authors and works have been discovered. Jane Stevenson, for example, has uncovered over 300 Latin women poets in Italy alone during the Christian era preceding 1700, a figure given previously for the whole of Europe. Even better-known authors like Luisa Sigea, Camille Morel, Antoinette de Loynes, Johanna Otho, Maria van Schurman, the Cooke sisters, and Elizabeth Jane Weston have yielded previously overlooked works. Van Tieghem's claim in his study of Neo-Latin literature that 'women are almost totally excluded from writing in Latin from the very start' because they do not know the language is no longer supported by the evidence.<sup>10</sup> Nor is Walter Ong's much quoted article on Latin as a puberty rite for boys that automatically excluded girls, who thus knew no Latin.<sup>11</sup> Nor, again, is Robert Adam Day's contention – in 1980 no less – that unlike men, women never practised Classical literature, except, he concedes condescendingly, 'for the two ancient Greek monsters, Sappho and Corinna'.<sup>12</sup> More recently, the editor of a three-volume anthology of women's Latin writings has complained that, 'even among classicists, women writing Latin are usually considered accidental and anomalous'.<sup>13</sup> The various anthologies of Neo-Latin literature produced over the past fifty years

<sup>10</sup> Paul Van Tieghem, 'La littérature latine de la Renaissance. Etude d'histoire littéraire européenne', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 4 (1943), 191.

<sup>11</sup> Walter Ong, SJ, 'Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite', *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959), 103-124.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Adams Day, 'Muses in the Mud: The Female Wits Anthropologically Considered', *Women's Studies*, 7 (1980), 61-74.

<sup>13</sup> Laurie Churchill (ed.), *Women Writing Latin from Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*, 3 vols (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), III, 7.

never included a single woman writer, while up until 2001, when Jane Stevenson's and Peter Davidson's collection of Englishwomen's poetry appeared, anthologies of Englishwomen's writings rarely, if ever, included Latin compositions.<sup>14</sup>

The same reticence marked Neo-Latin literary histories. Only one early modern woman Latin poet was listed in IJsewijn's 1977 edition of the *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, although ten appeared in his second edition of 1990. However, as he states there, 'Latin literature is by and large a man's affair.' Only a few women attained fame, he continues, and 'in most cases their literary output is very limited: a few orations or poems and little more'.<sup>15</sup> As for England, Leicester Bradner in his 1940 *Musae Anglicanae* listed two women in the Appendix, Elizabeth Jane Weston and Bathsua Rainolds, but never mentioned them in the text; James Binns includes only the same two, discussing Weston's life and poetry but simply mentioning Makin in passing.<sup>16</sup> This is not, of course, to imply that these eminent Neo-Latinists omitted women on purpose, but that like everyone else, they were simply unaware of how many Latin writings by women exist. The situation is being redressed by various scholars and the present essay on English women writers of Latin seeks to contribute something to the discussion.

My corpus of writings is perhaps rather ambitious, although it in no way claims to be exhaustive. It covers verse, prose, and translation into and out of Latin. My purpose is to demonstrate the *extent* and *variety* of Latin works of *all* genres penned by Renaissance Englishwomen. To date, this has not been done. Jane Stevenson discusses all women who knew, or were reputed to know, some Latin but, as her title demonstrates, focuses mainly on verse, while her otherwise invaluable checklist of writings in manuscript and print contains only poetry. I am thus particularly indebted to her for the first part of my article. Other critics have discussed individual authors, poems, and to a far lesser degree, letters or translations, but these studies by their very nature do not provide the overview that I propose.

<sup>14</sup> Jane Stevenson – Peter Davidson (eds), *Early Modern Women Poets (1520-1700). An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>15</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I: History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 5 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), p. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry, 1500-1925* (New York and London: Modern Language Association of America, 1940), pp. 350-351, and Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 110-114 and 58.

The various genres popular with Neo-Latin poets are described by IJsewijn and Sacré in their indispensable 1998 *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*.<sup>17</sup> They number over a dozen. All, except for heroic, didactic and satiric verse, are represented in the Latin poetry written by Renaissance Englishwomen, which comprises almost as wide a range of genres and sub-genres as that written by Renaissance Englishmen: occasional verse of all kinds, like dedicatory and congratulatory poems, epithalamia and answer poems; epigrams; funeral poetry such as elegy, epitaph and epicidium; encomia, eulogy and panegyric; short descriptive poems; and hymns. We also find re-workings of Classical Latin poems, another characteristic genre of Neo-Latin poetry according to the *Companion*.

The earliest Latin occasional poetry written by any Englishwoman was in the form of dedicatory verses. These introduced a beautiful manuscript version, now in the Cambridge University Library, of a scientific treatise by a young Italian doctor and newly converted Protestant Italian in England, Bartholo Sylva, entitled *Il giardino cosmografico coltivato* (I.i.v.37).<sup>18</sup> In 1572, it was presented to Queen Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, by several well-known and well-connected Protestants, among whom were a preacher, Edward Dering, who had incurred the Queen's wrath, Anne, his wife, and three sisters famous for their learning, Anne, Elizabeth (whose verses are in Greek) and Katherine Cooke. The purpose of the presentation was three-fold: to promote Sylva at court, to rehabilitate Dering, and to show that they and the contributors belonged to a well educated and cultured Protestant group who professed loyalty to the queen and court.<sup>19</sup> The women's Latin dedicatory verses demonstrate a mastery of Classical hexameters and also a marked linguistic and poetic dexterity.

In the first poem, Anne Cooke Bacon,<sup>20</sup> like the other contributors, puns on the author's name, Sylva, meaning 'wood', and interweaves it

<sup>17</sup> Jozef IJsewijn – Dirk Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part II: Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 14 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998<sup>2</sup>), pp. 21-136.

<sup>18</sup> Cambridge University Library, ms. li.v.37. For a discussion of the context of the manuscript, as well as the compositions by the Cooke sisters and Anne Dering, see Louise Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 39-45 and 205-211.

<sup>19</sup> On Dering's friendship with the Cooke sisters, especially Catherine, see 'A mirror of Elizabethan Puritanism. The Life and Letters of "godly master Dering"', in Patrick Collinson, *Godly People. Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1983), pp. 289-324.

<sup>20</sup> Anne Bacon's full name has been erased and only her initials remain. Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, p. 42 plausibly suggests that this is because her husband was involved in prosecuting Dering one year after the presentation of the manuscript.

with another play on the 'giardino' of his title, while setting up a series of contrasting images borrowed from Genesis 2: 9 and 3:18 of the pre-Edenic fertile and pleasant garden and the post-Edenic thorn- and thistle-yielding one. The images, however, are reversed in order to represent Sylva's conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism: 'SYLVA prius, sed nunc est hortus amoenior' (f.viii<sup>r</sup>). The darkness and thorns of the previous life are gone because God's hand is now present everywhere in the universe: 'Nec coelum tenebris, nec mundus sentibus horret. | Scilicet artificem sentit uterque manum'. The final lines open up the poem to the reader, offering him or her the garden's roses in place of the wood's thorns: 'et tu, | Quisquis es, in mediis expatiere rosis'.<sup>21</sup>

Anne's sister, Katherine Cooke Killigrew, exploits a range of techniques like chiasma, antithesis, pun and extended metaphor in eighteen lines of densely woven horticultural and pastoral images that, again, offer a series of contrasts representing Sylva's previous Catholic life and his new Protestant one (f.viii<sup>v</sup>). Whereas Anne had appealed to an imagined reader to partake of the roses now growing in the place of thorns, Katherine appeals both to that reader and to Sylva himself in her invitation, couched in time-honoured nautical metaphors, to stay a while and enjoy the wonders of the universe: 'Siste gradum, tutos intret tua cymbula portus, | In nostro properum littore siste gradum'. The next fourteen lines present a series of antitheses. The first, 'At modo SYLVA fuit spinosis obsita dumis, | Crevit in inculta sentis acutus humo', emphasise the horrible and unfriendly plants previously springing from its 'untended' earth ('incultus' being a play on the 'coltivato' of Sylva's title). Another line, 'Iam cedit violae silvestris spina nitenti', demonstrates a second play on his name with the mention of 'silvestris', meaning 'woodlands', and presents a contrast between the violet, that gentlest of wild flowers, and the thorns; prickly plants and brambles have now also given way to silver lilies (in a possible echo of Vergil's Second Eclogue, line 18), white flowered shrubs and roses, while the land itself, in yet another reworking of the 'coltivato' of the title, is 'cultivated afresh' ('recolta'). The two following lines also offer contrasting pastoral images to describe this renewed land: 'montanis concessit pascua bobus, | Coecaque carnivoris praestitit antra feris'. The

<sup>21</sup> In Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* this last line is rendered as 'you may stroll off the path into roses', while in Stevenson it is mistranslated as 'you may attain the roses at its centre' (Stevenson – Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, p. 23). Both authors transcribe 'ex patiere' as two words but in fact the manuscript has them as one, 'expatiere'. It does, however, omit an 's'. The verb is 'expatior' meaning to deviate from the course, to reach out or to spread out.

four final lines intertwine images of nature and poetry. Killigrew says that the land now produces the laurel garlands of Phoebus and earth watered by Parnassian streams, and she appeals for gratitude to Sylva in a final flurry of plant metaphors. He is 'frondifer', meaning both 'leafy' and 'crowned with leaves', that is, connected both with vegetation through his name and with poetry, suggested by the laurel garland of the previous but one line; he is also 'SYLVA reculta' in an echo of the previous 'terra reculta'; finally, the recultivated wood, 'SYLVA', produces roses with golden foliage ('rosas auricomas'), an image that suggests his great worth. Thus images of rebirth, renewal, poetry, and cultivation – in its double sense of tamed nature and intellectual pursuit – are interwoven in a very rich poem that, to my way of thinking, is the finest in the volume and certainly worthy of many a Neo-Latin poet, regardless of gender.

The quatrain composed by Anne Dering (later Locke) is more modest, although couched in the form of an epic simile and containing both subtle word play and an evocative combination of sound and vision (f. v<sup>v</sup>). The shadowy grove delights all with its gentle murmuring and shades of green light, as does Sylva with his 'exculca (...) mens'. The adjective points to both vegetation (well tended or cultivated) and intellectual ability (refined or cultured) and of course echoes the 'cultivato' in Sylva's title. Dering keeps the obvious Sylva/wood pun to the final line, 'O SYLVA, omnigenis sylva repleta bonis', suggesting that both the doctor and the wood are full of all kinds of virtues; the connection had more subtly been made in the first line: 'Ut iuvat umbriferum levibus nemus omne susurris'; 'nemus' can mean 'wood with pastureland' as well as 'grove'. Politically and ideologically motivated, Anne Dering and the Cooke sisters make Sylva's text and their accompanying poems serve the causes of a foreign Protestant refugee and a controversial Protestant preacher, while perfectly respecting and practising the Neo-Latin poetic norms of the day.

On another occasion, Katherine Cooke Killigrew wrote in Latin to yet another learned sister, Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh.<sup>22</sup> She asks Mildred to see that her husband, Sir Henry Killigrew, be sent home to her, and not across the sea, probably on a diplomatic mission. The poem has a formal repetitive structure, possibly mocking the conventions of more

<sup>22</sup> Cambridge University Library, ms. Ff.v. 14, f. 107. Also in Stevenson – Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, p. 63.



serious epigrammatic verse, and is organised into three sets of couplets, each introduced by 'si' and containing a threat. However, the tone is playful: if Mildred agrees to deliver Sir Henry, 'tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola soror'; if she holds him back or sends him abroad, 'tu mala, tu peior, tu mihi nulla soror'; if she sends him to Katherine in Cornwall, 'tibi pax sit et omnia laeta', but if she sends him to sea, 'Ciciliae nuncio bella.' The setting up of pairs of contrasting words, first in the juxtaposition of the positive, comparative and superlative forms of the irregular adjectives 'bona' and 'mala', then in the adjectives 'sola' and 'nulla', demonstrates a playful use of rhetorical devices. The playfulness is reinforced by the preposterous threat of declaring war on her sister, who is the wife of one of the most powerful men in Elizabeth's court and a patron of Sir Henry's.<sup>23</sup>

In a different register, a royal author of a Latin occasional poem foretold her fate. From 1573 to 1584, Mary Queen of Scots was a prisoner in the castle of Chatsworth but was allowed to visit the baths at Buxton Spa in the company of her gaoler, the Earl of Shrewsbury. The water, she believed, helped her failing health. However, in 1585 the visits were stopped. The Latin distich carved onto the window there praises the waters and contains a premonition: 'Buxtona, quae calidae celebraris nomine Lymphae | Forte mihi posthac non adeunda, Vale.'<sup>24</sup>

The largest number of Latin occasional poems written by any English women were those composed by Elizabeth Jane Weston. Born in England in 1581, she moved with her mother and step-father, the infamous alchemist Edward Kelley, to Prague when still a child. However, she never abandoned her sense of being English, lamenting her 'exile' in Bohemia and persisting in portraying herself as 'virgo angla'.<sup>25</sup> When Kelley's good fortune turned to bad, Elizabeth wrote a series of poems to plead for restitution of the family's goods and seek patronage. Her first volume of verse, *Poëmata*, appeared in 1602 and was followed by

<sup>23</sup> Stevenson – Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, p. 63, also suggests that the recital of the irregular adjectives would have evoked shared childhood Latin classes.

<sup>24</sup> In George Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain Who have been Celebrated for their Writings or Skill in the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences* (Oxford: W. Jackson for George Ballard, 1752), p. 161.

<sup>25</sup> Weston refers to her 'exile' throughout her poetry, following in the footsteps of many Neo-Latin poets, for whom it is a favourite theme. However, it constitutes the entire subject of her poem 'In 2 Ovidii. Trist.', which is a reworking of many lines taken from the *Tristia*. Thus she links herself, not only with other Neo-Latin poets, but also with a major Classical one.

an expanded and somewhat revised version in 1608 entitled, rather inappropriately since she was now married, *Parthenicôn*.<sup>26</sup>

The occasions for Weston's verse are varied: four poems celebrate the birthdays of people at Rudolf II's court whom she knew and whose patronage she sought (I. 7, 14, 15, II. 104), while two celebrate name-days (I. 8, 46); one praises the gardens of Johann Barvitz, one of Rudolf's counsellors, and is again a bid for patronage (I.13); four are congratulatory: for Joannes Leo, whom she would marry, on the edition of his birthday poems (I. 35, 36), and for Gernandus, a young boy awarded a prize for philosophy (I. 43. 44); one composition is commissioned upon the death of the famous Neo-Latin poet with whom she corresponded, Paul Melissus (I. 23); another sends get-well wishes to Maius, Rudolf's Chancellor and one of her patrons, who is afflicted with a dangerous illness (I. 19); two are epithalamia, one written for the sister of her friend and editor Martin von Baldhoven ((I. 41) and the other, an acrostic poem filled with puns, word-play and mythological allusions in best Neo-Latin style, for the marriage of one of Rudolf's counsellors (pp. 344-348). A final occasional poem, perhaps the best, *De inundatione Pragae, ex continuis pluviis exorta*, describes the flooding of Prague by reworking Ovid's description of Deucalion and the flood in Book I of the *Metamorphoses* (II. 99).

Another poetic genre beloved of Neo-Latin poets is the epigram, either in its long form often related to occasional poetry, or in short, ingenious and pithy mode. Renaissance Englishwomen provide examples of both. The earliest is by Margaret Seymour, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, who in 1551 composed a two-line epigram praising Marguerite de Navarre, *En consumptum opus est naturae*. It was published along with an elegy to the French queen composed by Margaret and her two sisters that we shall discuss later. Inspired by Pliny's description of the ordinary pearl, the *margarita*, and the pearl of great price

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth Jane Weston, *Poëmata, ELISABETHAE IOANNAE VESTONIAE ANGLAE, Virginis nobilissimae, Poëtriae celeberrimae, Linguarum plurimarum peritissimae, Studio ac opera G. Martinii à Baldhofen* (Frankfurt-on-the-Oder: Eichorn, 1602) and *Parthenicôn ELISABETHAE IOANNAE WESTONIAE, Virginis nobilissimae, poëtriae florentissimae, linguarum plurimarum peritissimae, libri III, opera ac studio G. MARTINII à BALDHOVEN* (Prague: Typis Pauli Sessii, n.d.). All quotations will be from *The Collected Writings of Elizabeth Jane Weston*, ed. and trans. by Donald Cheney and Brenda M. Hosington (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2000) and references will be given in parentheses in the text.

that Cleopatra swallowed, the *unio*, the epigram puns on Marguerite's and Margaret's names and suggests the queen should have been named 'unio'.<sup>27</sup>

Two similarly short epigrams are by the doomed Lady Jane Grey, who was educated to the highest humanist standards, declaring to Roger Ascham that she felt herself 'in hell' until it was time to study with her tutor. Ascham's description of her reading Plato beneath a tree while her family went out hunting is an enduring – and endearing – portrait of this young woman. While imprisoned in the Tower of London for having been put onto the throne after Edward VI's death, she wrote two Latin epigrams 'with a pinne'.<sup>28</sup> The first opens with a tag, reworked from Terence, 'non aliena putes homini',<sup>29</sup> then goes on, sadly and presciently, 'Sors hodierna mihi, cras erat illa tibi'. Thus, succinctly, she conveys the whole concept of the wheel of fortune, never better illustrated than by her own life and the court circles she had inhabited. The second epigram, tightly and symmetrically constructed, again begins with a tag, 'iuvante deo, diis iuvantibus', found in several Classical authors. Grey reworks the tag into two lines where repetition and play on sound convey the epigram's message: 'Deo iuvante, nil nocet livor malus | Et non iuvante, nil iuvat labor gravis'.

Some half century later, Jane Owen, niece of the famous epigrammatist John Owen and apparently a young woman known for her learning and wit, published one short epigram praising her uncle and entitled *In Laudem Autoris*.<sup>30</sup> It prefaced his 1606 collection of epigrams and congratulated him on his 'Epigrammata salsa' in which he, like all poets, present and future, slander both men and women, which they deserve, she says. But, she concludes, 'Laudet ut ingenium vir, mulierque tuum'.

<sup>27</sup> 'In consumptum corpus naturae est', in Margaret Seymour, *Le tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre. Faict premierement en Distiques latins par les trois Sœurs Princesses en Angleterre* (Paris: M. Fezandat — R. Granion, 1551), p. Kvii'.

<sup>28</sup> Printed in *The Monument of Matrones Conteyning Seven Severall Lampes of Virginitie, or Distinct Treatises*, ed. Thomas Bentley, 3 vols (London: Henry Denham, 1582), 1, 102.

<sup>29</sup> Stevenson – Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, p. 44.

<sup>30</sup> Jane Owen, 'In Laudem Autoris', in John Owen, *Epigrammatum libri tres Autore Ioanne Owen Britanno, Novi Collegii Oxoniensis nuper Socio* (London: John Windet for Simon Waterson, 1606), A3'. It is noteworthy that Jane's poem appears in this first edition but is omitted from the editions of 1607, 1612, 1613, 1618 and 1622, only to reappear in 1633 and the four subsequent editions, which all use the 1606 edition for the first three books of epigrams.

Again, in terms of numbers of short epigrams, Elizabeth Jane Weston outdoes any other English woman poet – and many male ones too. In *Parthenicôn* there are no fewer than eighty three, some only two lines long, others five or six.<sup>31</sup> They range from moral statements on death, guilt, wrong-doing, wealth, charity, and miserliness (no fewer than seven, undoubtedly inspired by her personal experience) to those on fate and love. One or two raise a smile, like *Cum ebrio non litigandum* (II. 38) and the pair entitled *Turpe senilis amor* and *Turpis anilis amor*, where the young poet voices her disgust at ‘old people’ giving into Cupid’s wiles (II. 74, 75).

Another young English poet, Bathsua Rainolds, later Makin, composed two epigrams of circumstance, both eulogistic. The first, *Ad Annam Dei gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hyberniae Reginam longe augustissimam, serenissimam & prudentissimam Epigramma Bathsuae R.*, was addressed to Anne of Denmark, James I’s wife; the second praised their son, Charles: *Ad Carolum longe illustrissimum & Potentissimum, Principem Magnae Britanniae & Hiberniae, Epigramma Bathsuae R.* Both were included in her multi-lingual volume of poetry entitled *Musa virginea*, published when she was only sixteen.<sup>32</sup> Like many an epigram presented to royal personages, they contain hyperbolic and rather improbable comparisons between them and the gods of Classical mythology. Thus Anne is likened to Pandora, who had the ‘Minervae | Ingenium, os Veneris, donaque, Phaebe, tua’ and seems reincarnated in the Danish queen. Since Anne was not particularly noted for her beauty or wit, but rather for her patronage of and participation in masques and other theatrical and musical endeavours, the epigram is a little far-fetched. The young Charles is wished a life as long as Nestor’s and is described in metaphors typical of Neo-Latin verse that Rainolds clusters together in two lines, ‘flos, & Sydus honoris’, ‘lucida stella’, and ‘Qui virtute nitens sceptrâ Paterna geres’.

A favourite genre for Neo-Latin poets was funerary poetry and much is found in these Englishwomen’s writings, in the form of elegies, epitaphs and epicedia. Given the omnipresence of death in the period, the occasions for composing such verse was only too frequent. The earliest

<sup>31</sup> They are for the most part grouped in Book II of the *Parthenicôn*, Nos. 9 through 84.

<sup>32</sup> Bathsua Rainolds Makin, *Musa virginea Graeco-Latino-Gallica, Bathsuae R. (filiae Henrici Reginaldi Gymnasiarchae et Philoglotti apud Londinenses), Anno Ætatis suae Decimo Sexto Edita* (London: Edward Griffin for John Hodgets, 1616), A3<sup>r</sup> and A4<sup>r</sup>.

example of any elegy published by an Englishwoman was written, in alternating hands, by the three young daughters of the Duke of Somerset, Anne, Margaret and Jane Seymour, aged roughly seventeen, fifteen and nine respectively. Using dactylic hexameters and pentameters, the appropriate metre for elegiac couplets, they lamented the death of Queen Marguerite de Navarre in 1549 in 104 distichs. Their composition was published in Paris by their tutor and so charmed and impressed the poets of the Pléiade that it was reissued in a *tumulus* one year later to which such luminaries as Ronsard and Du Bellay contributed.<sup>33</sup> It conforms quite closely to the norms and patterns of Classical and Renaissance elegy and encomium and demonstrates the young authors' ability to use rhetorical figures such as repetition, simile and alliteration and to exploit Classical myth and echo Classical authors like Vergil, although this is kept suitably subordinate to biblical allusion and quotation.

Remarkable though it is, the Seymours' elegy is for a person they did not know and therefore lacks personal feeling. Such is not the case for the other funerary verse by Englishwomen that has survived. That composed by two of the Cooke sisters first commands our attention. Elizabeth left epitaphs and an epicedium commemorating the deaths of her husbands, children, and her sister, Katherine, while Katherine left also an epitaph for her own tomb. This last is a four-line poem, short but powerfully manifesting her faith in the resurrection of the body on the day of judgement.<sup>34</sup> It perhaps echoes two verses from Thessalonians 1, 4: 14 and 16 where St Paul describes how 'eos qui dormierunt per Iesum' will be brought along by God and 'qui in Christi sunt, resurgent'. Katherine says, with attention to alliteration, 'Dormio nunc Domino, Domini virtute resurgam' and in the final line, 'Et surgam capiti, tempore, tota, meo'.

Elizabeth's poems are longer, more numerous (twelve in all) and more sophisticated. Seven are epitaphs on the tombs of her two husbands, both of which were clearly destined to draw attention to the men's social and cultural standing. The epitaph to Sir Thomas Hoby, *ELIZABETHA HOBAEA conjux, ad THOMAM HOBAEUM, Equitem Maritum* (1566), is nevertheless

<sup>33</sup> Anne, Margaret and Jane Seymour, *Annae, Margaritae, Ianae, Sororum virginum heroidum anglarum, in mortem Divae Margaritae Valesiae navarrorum Reginae, Hecatodistichon* (Paris: 1550), B-Hiij. For the second 'French' edition of 1551 see footnote 27; for an edition with translation and discussion, see Brenda M. Hosington, 'England's First Female-Authoring Encomium: The Seymour Sisters' *Hecatodistichon* (1550) to Marguerite de Navarre. Text, Translation, Notes, and Commentary', *Studies in Philology*, 93 (1996), 117-163.

<sup>34</sup> Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain*, p. 204.

an intensely personal poem recalling the couple's love and articulating Elizabeth's grief and loneliness.<sup>35</sup> It opens 'O dulcis conjux, animae pars maxima nostrae, | Cujus erat vitae, vita medulla meae' and asks 'Cur ego sum viduo sola relictæ thoro?'. Yet at the same time Elizabeth is careful to record that 'Dum patriae servis, dum publica commoda tractas', and that she had had great difficulties – and no little cost – as a pregnant widow to repatriate his corpse and move the family back to England. It then ends on a plea for her husband to be returned to her. A similar reminder of the Hoby family's importance is made in the epitaph to her brother-in-law, Philip, which opens with 'Tuque tuæ stirpis non gloria parva *Philippe*, | Cujus erat virtus maxima nota foris' and continues, 'Qui patriae tuleras commoda magna tua'.<sup>36</sup> In front of the tomb lies a gravestone on which Elizabeth had inscribed an epicedium to her daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, who died a few days apart in 1570.<sup>37</sup> The poem opens with an echo of Classical epicedia on the deaths of children, 'Elizabetha jacet (eheu mea viscera)', before going on to emphasize the parent-offspring links, particularly the maternal one, and ending with 'Sic volui mater tumultu sociarier uno, | Uno quas utero læta gemensque tuli'.

For the tomb of her second husband, Lord Russell, Elizabeth composed an elegiac cycle of poems on his death and that of her son, Francis, as well as a poem addressed to their daughters.<sup>38</sup> Again, the anguish of the bereaved is convincingly articulated yet, at the same time, Elizabeth is at pains to remind us of the Russell place in the firmament: Lord Russell is 'haeres Comitis'; the daughters are reminded they are 'Haeredes Comitis' and told 'quin vos succrescite, tali | Ortu qui nituit'; the dynastic line that Francis should have carried on is recalled in the opening line, 'En solamen avi, patris pergrata voluptas' and only in the second one is he 'Ipsa medulla mihi'. However, we must remember that the design and erection of tombs and the composition of epitaphs in the sixteenth century were often closely linked with reputations and class preoccupations.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Stevenson – Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, pp. 45–46, and Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, pp. 206–207.

<sup>36</sup> Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, pp. 207–208.

<sup>37</sup> Stevenson – Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, pp. 47–48, and Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, pp. 209–210.

<sup>38</sup> Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, pp. 47–49.

<sup>39</sup> For these and other reflections on funeral poetry and monuments, as well as a perceptive study of Russell's involvement in both, see Patricia Philipppy, *Women, Death and Literature in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 179–210.

The self-authored epicedium inscribed on Katherine's tomb is shorter and more literary, with a play on words 'death' and 'life'; 'mors tua vita tibi, mors tamen illa tuis', and 'taceo mortua morte tua'. In just two lines she gives a portrait of the ideal Christian wife as it appeared over and over again in Renaissance treatises: 'Mens tua labe carens, pietas, doctrina, modesta | Vita, lepos suavis digna fuere Deo'.<sup>40</sup>

Elizabeth Jane Weston also composed funerary poetry, one epitaph for her brother and two elegies, one for a friend's daughter and another for her mother. In John Francis's epitaph, entitled *IN OBITUM EIUSDEM Epita[p]hium, Sororii amoris ac extremi officii ergo conscriptum 4 novemb. Anno 1600* (I. 28), she emphasises his youth and dedication to Apollo and the Muses but also the effect his death has had on the 'triad' of mother, sister and brother, a word taken up again in her elegy on her mother. However, like Elizabeth Cooke Russell, she fuses sincere grief with rather self-serving sentiments, casting herself in the role of weeping Dido, 'tristis ELISSA soror', which does not seem wholly appropriate to sisterly grief. However, its purpose is to remind the reader subtly of Queen Elizabeth, called Elissa by English poets, and of the connections between her, England and Weston, the other 'virgo angla'.

Weston's *ELEGIA CONSOLATORIA AD NOBILEM OPTIMUM VIRUM DOMINUM BARPTOLEMAEUM Havlichium [...] obitum filiulae Dorotheae, puellae elegantissimae*, written in 1604 (pp. 333-335), is in a collection of epitaphs written for the thirteen-year-old daughter of a friend. It is replete with Classical allusions to the Sicilian Muses, Graces, Phoebus, and the Aonian band, and is rather formulaic and unimaginative. Weston's elegy for her mother, on the other hand, *In obitum nobilis et generosae foeminae Dominae Iohannae [...] Matris suae Honorandissimae Charissimaeque Lachrymabunda effudit Filia*, is a far more ambitious undertaking (pp. 337-341). It is a ninety-line sincere and grief-ridden lament for Joan Kelley, although it also serves as a vehicle for Elizabeth to lament her own life and express her anger at the injustices she has suffered. The final section returns to the subject of cruel death but ends on a consolatory note, in the tradition of Christian elegy: 'Deus est qui damna levabit, | Hic qui discutiat nubila mentis, erit'.

Bathsua Rainolds Makin also penned an elegy, *In mortem clarissimi Domini, Domini Henrici Hastings*, addressed to her friend the Countess

<sup>40</sup> Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain*, p. 204 and Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, p. 210.

of Hastings on the death of her son Lord Henry in 1649.<sup>41</sup> It is surprisingly free of the mythological references that crowded her earlier poems of 1616 and soberly emphasises Henry as ‘Corporis atque animi praestans pulcherrimus Heros’ whose virtues have outstripped his years. The seeming paradox of calling the subject both old and young that appears in Makin’s earlier poem to Prince Charles is further developed in this elegy. Opening with the exclamation, ‘En duplex aenigma! senex iuvenisque’, the poem pursues the notion of this enigma by juxtaposing his age, not quite twenty years, and his reputation as a mature man, ‘merito dicitur esse senex’, and by claiming that his short life seems to have been a long one on account of his many fine deeds. Makin ends on an interesting note: ‘Carminibus fari me, cum sim faemina, digno | Impediunt lachrymae: flere, silere, satis.’ The two infinitives sum up the traditional role of early modern women: to weep and be silent. However, the line might also be significant in another way. Makin may well have been alluding to the *tumulus* also published in 1649, entitled *Lachrymae Musarum; The Tears of the muses: Exprest in Elegies*. It contained thirty-nine elegies written by the famous, and not so famous – but all male – poets of the day, to which she had not been invited to contribute.

Turning from poems that praise the departed to those that praise the living, we find six encomia in our corpus, yet another Neo-Latin favourite genre. All are addressed to rulers and are linked, not only by their use of Latin, but also by their underlying purpose of seeking patronage. Weston lavishly praises Rudolf in a poem published as early as 1601, *CARMEN AD INVICTISSIMUM ET POTENTISSIMUM PRINCIPEM AC DOMINUM DOMINUM Rudolphum II [...] A NOBILISSIMA LATINE GALLICE ATque Italice Doctissima Elisabetha Ionna VVestonia virgine Angla sedecim annos nata seculi novi nova Theano* (322). Two years later, on James’s accession to the English throne, she praises him in a poem entitled *REX JACOBUS, Pater patriae* (III. 1). As in her poem to Rudolf, Weston is hinting for financial aid for herself and her ‘widowed mother’ but here she is also profiting from the occasion to project an image of her unshakeable Englishness, which she presumed, wrongly, would hold sway with James. In 1612, Weston writes yet another encomium, *Ad SERENISSIMUM POTENTISSIMUM,*

<sup>41</sup> The manuscript, uncatalogued, is at the Huntington Library, San Marino but is printed and translated into English in H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., ‘More Tears for Lord Hastings’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 16 (1952), 43–51.



*AC INVECTISSIMUM principem ac Dominum, Dominum. MATTHIAM SECUNDUM*, this time marking the election of Matthias II as Holy Roman Emperor. It is much longer than the Rudolf poem but recycles the latter's images of Alexander and Caesar (p. 358-361).

Bathsua Rainolds's encomium to James I is very different from Weston's, although here, too, the underlying purpose of the exercise is a request for patronage.<sup>42</sup> It also serves as a vehicle for strong anti-Catholic sentiments, portraying James as Apollo and the Assyrian Phoenix, a shining monarch who has crushed the Papists. Rainolds's second encomium, to Frederick V who had just married James's daughter Elizabeth, expresses even more vehement anti-Catholic sentiments. The poet seems to be celebrating the imminent demise of the Church as much as Frederick. Both encomia are set within the context of obedience to the monarchy and are strongly marked by her obvious belief in the divine right of kings.

Finally, Rachel Jevon addressed an encomium to Charles II of England in the form of a pair of odes in Latin and English, celebrating the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.<sup>43</sup> Replete with mythological allusions, the Latin poem praises Charles, exulting in his accession to the throne. Like the encomia by Weston and Rainolds, however, it was intended to present the author as a learned young poet needing patronage. Jevon followed up on it with direct requests for a position at court but, alas, like her verse, these fell on stony ground.<sup>44</sup>

One other way in which the web of patronage was woven in Renaissance Europe was by exchanging poems between poet and patron, or potential patron. During his stay in England, Paul Melissus addressed several poems to Elizabeth I in the hope of gaining her favour. Some time before 1580, she penned an answer poem to one in which he claims he is ready to enslave himself to her, although born free.<sup>45</sup> Wittily, the queen says it is not the English way to confine poets in small places and

<sup>42</sup> 'Ad Serenissimum et potentissimum Jacobum Dei gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae & Hyberniae Regem, fidei Defensorem; Encomiasticon à Bathsua Reginalda', in Rainolds Makin, *Musa virginea*, p. A1-A1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> 'REGUM PISSIMO, SERENISSIMOQUE, Carolo II. Hoc Carmen Gratulatorium humillime offert Ancillarum Indignissima', in *Carmen θριαμβευτικόν Regiae Maiestatis Caroli II Principum et Christianorum Optimi in Exoptatissimam eius Restorationem* (London: John Macock, 1660), pp. 1-5.

<sup>44</sup> Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets*, pp. 370-371.

<sup>45</sup> 'Reginae responsum', in Paulus Melissus, *Mele sive Odae ad Noribergam et Septemviros Reipub. Norib.* (Nuremberg: in officina heredum Montani, 1575), p. 72.

that she is *his* subject, for as prince of poets, he makes her the subject of his verse. Weston's answer poems to various poet laureates, including Melissus, demonstrate that the custom is still going strong some thirty years later. One such exchange, although not distinguished in terms of language or style, is worth noting. In *JOHANNI HELLERO I.V.D. ELIS. IO. WESTONIA S.* (I. 47), Weston not too modestly asks a patron, Heller, an Austrian poet and statesman, to 'teach an Englishwoman the laws of hexameter' for she has noticed some of his lines have seven feet. He admits the mistake and apologises in a poem replete with puns on 'pes' (Vulcan's foot, Weston's extra foot, a staff that he sees in a dream, and metrical feet) (I. 49). Weston responds in like fashion, defending her 'six-footed hexameters' and asking for financial help, promising 'Patrono mihi paucula: plura brevi' (I.49).

In his discussion of Neo-Latin poetry, Van Tieghem says that religious verse plays a relatively small part in Neo-Latin poetry, given the role that religion played in early modern Europe, that it rarely expresses personal faith or feelings, being more usually occasional poetry celebrating events in the church calendar, and that poets over-elaborately dressed their Christian subjects in Classical garb.<sup>46</sup> The first of these statements is true as regards our corpus: out of over 200 poems, only ten are on specifically religious themes while roughly twenty contain some religious sentiments or allusions. The second and third statements are less applicable. Only four poems commemorate special occasions and six specifically express personal faith and feelings, while as a group, they cannot be said to be weighed down with Classical apparatus, although several contain Classical allusions.

Another claim that has been made over and over again is that Renaissance Englishwomen's compositions are almost exclusively of a religious nature, secular subjects being judged unsuitable. Where their Latin writings are of account, our study puts this very much into doubt. Of all our poets, only Weston composes works with specifically religious themes, and they represent a small part of her output, although the various funerary poems she and others composed of course contain expressions of belief in the Christian afterlife. While four of Rainolds's admonishment poems to English subjects to obey their king take Pauline texts as their starting point, three contain no further allusion whatsoever to Christian themes. Her poems to James and Frederick, although containing

<sup>46</sup> Van Tieghem, 'La littérature latine de la Renaissance', p. 223.

harsh anti-Catholic sentiments, could not be called religious. In sum, then, we have ten specifically religious poems and twenty-one containing religious allusions or overtones, out of a total of over 200. A rather meagre harvest.

Of all our poets, Weston offers the most sustained treatment of religious themes. Four of her poems are occasional in genre. The first, *MEDITATIO CUM GRATIARUM actione in diem natalium SALVATORIS nostri* (II.1) is a poem of thanks for Christ's birth and a meditation on its significance. Influenced by the Jesuit model of occasional poetry, it draws on a long line of Latin and vernacular nativity poems. It is followed by *De nomine Jesu*, which celebrates Christ's circumcision and naming, marking a feast-day that had become popular among Counter Reformationists (II. 2). It opens rather surprisingly on a Vergilian note: 'Verte styllum, mea Musa; procul mundana recedant: | cedant à calamis nunc leviora tuis'. Later, Weston makes another appeal to her muse (l. 25), then a third specifically to Calliope, Muse of eloquence and thus appropriate for this 'higher' poetic subject. Weston is perhaps echoing Vergil's Fourth Eclogue, a suitable text for this Messianic poem: 'Adde & Calliope, quibus hic sit missus in orbem: | Mortifero quosnam liberet ille jugo' (l.61-62). The two remaining poems are shorter and more modest. One interweaves the story of Lazarus and Dives with the parable of the Good Samaritan, hinting in a reference to 'certain Midases' at her own financial predicament (II.3). Lastly, a poem for St. Andrew's Day expresses gratitude for the Apostles, although, strangely, not for St. Andrew himself, and ends by conflating a verse from Psalm 23 and vocabulary from Vergil's *Georgics* and *Bucolics* to describe the task of the Church's teachers: 'Quique tuum per prata gregem viridantia ducant; | Limpida ut é gelido fonte fluentia petat' (II.4).

Personal beliefs are expressed far more intensely in Weston's six other religious poems, of which only one contains any Classical allusion. In *Mortem non gustabant* (II. 5), she demonstrates the superiority of Christianity over Classical myth by cleverly blending the story of Castor and Pollux, who traded lives on successive days, with a phrase that occurs in several places in the New Testament stating that Christ traded his life so that noone who believed in him should taste death.<sup>47</sup> Her

<sup>47</sup> See particularly John 8:52, 'si quis sermonem meum servaverit, non gustabit mortem in aeternum', but also John 3:15, 'ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam', and Hebrews 2:9, 'ut gratia Dei pro omnibus gustaret mortem', which also might well have inspired her line 'Ne pereas, sed eas per supera, ille perit'.

*Dissolvi cupio* poem (II.6) is based on Philippians 1:23, 'desiderium habens dissolvi et cum Christo esse', but also on a long tradition of Latin poems and motets on the subject, as is her *Quis dabit capiti meo aquam* (II.7), which enjoyed a similarly long literary and musical history. Perhaps her strongest confession of faith, her belief in salvation, is found in two epigrams on her own motto entitled *In Symbolum Westoniae Auctoris. Spes mea Christus* and *In eandem* (II. 92, 93). The first contains repetition, play on sound and a pun on 'freta', meaning 'straits' and 'trusting to', with which Weston emphasises the depth of her desire to obey Christ and be saved: 'Si vis esse, sequar per freta: si esse jubes | Per freta; freta tuo munimine vinco'.

In the second part of this article, we shall discuss Latin prose written by English women of the Renaissance. This corpus can be divided into three sections: orations and letters, both included by IJsewijn and Sacré in the group of works entitled 'literary prose', and translations into and out of Latin. Orations of all sorts, according to the 1998 *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, were composed in order to practise or display eloquence, prized second only to poetry by the humanists.<sup>48</sup> Only one example of such formal oratory is represented in our corpus, academic, and this by only one woman, Queen Elizabeth I. Nor is this surprising, given that in England women other than the monarch were forbidden to declaim (or even speak) in public and that both Oxford and Cambridge Universities barred women.<sup>49</sup> Elizabeth's three extempore orations, on August 7<sup>th</sup> 1564 at Cambridge, and September 5<sup>th</sup> 1566 and September 28<sup>th</sup>, 1592 at Oxford, all exploit the modesty topos used by both men and women in compositions of all genres.<sup>50</sup> However, Elizabeth makes hers, in the 1564 speech, gender specific. 'Etsi foeminilis pudor (subditi fidelissimi, et Academia clarissima) rudem et incultum sermonem prohibet, in tanta doctissimorum hominum turba narrare (...)'. Such modesty is in fact unnecessary, for her oration displays eloquence, erudition, wit, and last but by no means least, a good mastery of Latin. The 1566 oration is far

<sup>48</sup> IJsewijn – Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, p. 165.

<sup>49</sup> In the matter of female public oratory, England stands in stark contrast to Italy, where in the fifteenth century alone, Battista da Montefeltro, Costanza Varano, Ippolita Sforza, Cassandra Fedele and Isotta Nogarola all delivered speeches in public. See Cox, pp. 9-10.

<sup>50</sup> 'Etsi foeminilis pudor', in Janel Mueller – Leah S. Marcus (eds), *Elizabeth I. Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 123-125.

less accomplished: the modesty topos takes up the whole of the second part of the speech and there is much repetition, but not, alas, for its rhetorical value; the pudding is much over-egged, with the queen's tedious elaboration of her central and only point, her apology for her own linguistic inadequacy and her praise for the Oxford community's excellence.<sup>51</sup> By 1592, when Elizabeth is fifty-nine years old and her reading and writing sessions with Ascham, her old tutor, are far behind her, she confesses her Latin has suffered from disuse and the distractions of caring for her kingdom.<sup>52</sup> Yet she is able to summon up and rework proverbial phrases into her discourse, 'sed fracta nunc est glacies, aut inhaerere aut evadere oportet' and 'quod ferrum consumit, quod scopulos minuit'; she uses figures of speech like repetition, for example starting three succeeding clauses with 'non' and then five phrases with 'nec', and rhetorical questions to which she supplies forceful two-word answers, 'Vetet Deus' and 'Longe absit'; and she ends strongly with a message to put aside differences of opinion, 'ut sitis unanimes, cùm intelligatis unita robustiora, separata infirmiora, et cito in ruinam casura'.

Finally, five years later, in 1597, she demonstrates her still vibrant knowledge of Latin when she rebukes a pedantic Polish ambassador with a witty and articulate extempore speech which belies her own description of her Latin as 'olde (...) [and] that hath laine long in rusting'.<sup>53</sup> She begins with an exclamation, 'O quam decepta fui!', and tells him 'Expectavi Legationem, tu vero querelam mihi adduxisti, Per literas accepi te esse Legatum, inveni vero Heraldum.' As well as exploiting the rhetorical figure of antithesis twice in close succession, the queen injects a tone of ironic derision into her comment: instead of the legate, or ambassador ('legatus') she was expecting, she is confronted by a herald [heraldus]. The herald is far lower down the social scale, usually announces war, not peace, and the word itself is not Classical, or humanist Latin, being of Germanic origin and used mainly in Germany, France and England.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> 'Qui male agunt oderunt lucem', in Mueller – Marcus, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 125-126.

<sup>52</sup> 'Merita et gratitudo sic meam rationem captivam duxerunt', in Mueller – Marcus, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 163-165.

<sup>53</sup> 'O quam decepta fui', in Mueller – Marcus, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 168-169. For a detailed discussion of Elizabeth's range of rhetorical figures in this speech, see Janet M. Green, 'Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31 (2000), 987-1008.

<sup>54</sup> See Johann J. Hofmann, *Lexicon Universale*, 4 vols. (Leiden, 1698), who makes the distinction and says quite clearly 'heraldus bellum indixisset' (Hofmann, *Lexicon*

As such it attracted a comment by Elizabeth's courtier, Cecil, on its use in place of the more correct 'foecialis' [fetalis]. However, the word was particularly suited to the ambassador, who had just delivered a fiery, aggressive speech accusing Elizabeth of acting unlawfully in maltreating Poland's merchants and threatening that the Polish King would redress the situation if she would not. The queen's use of the word was thus most certainly not accidental.<sup>55</sup> There follows a surprisingly sophisticated range of rhetorical figures before Elizabeth ends with the instruction, 'quiescas!'. Its meaning here is ambiguous. In Classical Latin 'quiescere' had a range of meanings including 'to take a rest', or 'do nothing and keep quiet', or even 'to be free from war', which would have been appropriate in this context. Later Latin, however, added the meanings 'to acquiesce', 'to renounce' and even 'to admit defeat'.<sup>56</sup> I suggest that the queen, fully intending to put the presumptuous young Pole in his place, not only exploited rhetorical strategies, but also chose one word with no Classical pedigree at all and another with a post-Classical meaning. Both would have been interpreted as a snub intended to reduce the ambassador to silence.

A very important literary activity exercised by many Neo-Latin authors throughout the Renaissance was letter writing. Some letters were strictly private, but many were intended, ultimately, for publication, often in collections. Thus they constitute windows through which we can examine the private and public spheres of the time, or glimpse the lives and passions of the correspondents and their addressees. Englishwomen's letters survive in far greater numbers than their other compositions but not many, according to one recent critic, were written in Latin because the language was 'the preserve of only a select minority of women' of whom only a few entertained a correspondence with members of the Republic of Letters.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, our corpus includes over

*Universale*, 2, 490-498). The word's Germanic origin and its use for someone who announces war is also found in Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

<sup>55</sup> Mueller – Marcus, *Elizabeth I*, p. 168, note 2.

<sup>56</sup> 'Acquiesce' is attested to in 1413 by Ronald E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1965); 'renounce' is found in both Albert Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi: praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1975) and Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, who also suggests 'to admit defeat'.

<sup>57</sup> James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 93, n. 9.

forty letters which cover a range of subjects and demonstrate many of the epistolary rhetorical strategies taught as part of the humanist curriculum. This is despite the fact that it includes neither those letters by Anne and Elizabeth Cooke and other women written mainly in English but containing Latin tags, although of course these attest to their Classical education, nor official letters signed by Queen Elizabeth but written in Latin by her secretaries, since we cannot know the extent of her own participation, if any, in their composition. Rather, we shall attempt to provide an overview of the personal letters written entirely in Latin.

The earliest extant Latin letter is by Margaret Roper, Thomas More's eldest daughter, addressed to Erasmus in 1529.<sup>58</sup> It is the only autographed one of hers to survive, although Erasmus refers to others she wrote to him, complimenting her on her epistolary ability in the 1523 letter that prefaces his commentary on Prudentius's hymns for Christmas and Epiphany.<sup>59</sup> These letters, like the one to her father that caused the Bishop of Exeter to express astonishment at its 'pure Latinity, its correctness, its erudition, and its expression of tender affection', have disappeared. As Daybell points out, female-authored letters were just not collected and preserved for publication in the way that men's correspondence was.<sup>60</sup> This was true even in the case of such a learned and famous woman as Margaret Roper, who, by corresponding with Erasmus, did gain entrance to a humanist epistolary network. In this one surviving letter, Margaret responds to Erasmus's letter thanking her for the Holbein portrait of the More family and again complimenting her on her Latin. His letters, she tells him, 'add to her reputation' each time she shows them to friends, which suggests she is not quite the shrinking violet that some critics have described and that perhaps her father imagined. The compliment to Erasmus is expressed subtly and gracefully, exploiting yet reworking the usual modesty topos employed by correspondents and injecting a personal note into what is obviously a carefully crafted letter.

One thank-you letter by the young Seymour sisters, Margaret and Jane, to Edward VI is, on the contrary, rather impersonal, no doubt being politically motivated by their ambitious father, who entertained the rather

<sup>58</sup> Letter to Erasmus dated November 4, 1529 in Percy Stafford Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906-1958), VIII, No. 2233, pp. 299-300.

<sup>59</sup> Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, V, No. 1404, pp. 366-367.

<sup>60</sup> Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England*, p. 143.

impudent idea of marrying Jane to the young king.<sup>61</sup> The girls thank the king for his 'literary gift', about which we unfortunately know nothing, and express their love of learning and hope to 'make advancement' in their studies – just the kind of letter in which a tutor's hand is only too visible. At the same time, they turn the expression of thanks into praise for Edward's own learning by saying that his gift, 'acre calcar addiderit ad amplectendum', encourages their sedulousness because of his own delight in study and deep learning.

As Roper, however modestly, had participated in the network of male humanists through her correspondence with Erasmus, so too five Englishwomen entered a similar network of Continental Reformers. The eight-year-old Jane Seymour thanked Martin Bucer and Paul Melissus for books they had sent for herself and her sister; both Seymour parents were enthusiastic and active supporters of Protestant reform in England. Jane very modestly protests she dare not discuss the books for fear of appearing impertinent, 'Non audeo hic scribere (...) ne nostra parum facundia commendatio haud apta esse videatur', but commends both men for their 'facundiam eloquentiamque Ciceronianae parem', which strikes rather a humorous note coming from one so young, although of course it constituted a topos.<sup>62</sup>

Lady Jane Grey corresponded with Henry Bullinger. Three of her Latin letters are extant.<sup>63</sup> We know from her father's letter to Bullinger and from her own that the German Reformer had often exhorted her to lead a good Christian life and had offered advice when she asked him how best to study Hebrew. Her letters demonstrate a familiarity with both biblical texts and Classical rhetoric. Like Jane Seymour, she compliments him on his Ciceronian eloquence and great learning and deplores her own epistolary and intellectual inadequacies. Interestingly, in so doing, she twice raises the issue of gender. In Epistola IV, she likens her position vis à vis Bullinger to that of Paula, Blesilla and Eustochium, all instructed by St. Jerome, to that of the 'elect lady' to whom St. John addressed his Second Epistle, and to that of Mammaea, the

<sup>61</sup> Margaret and Jane Seymour, Letter to Edward VI, n.d. in *A Collection of Letters from the Manuscripts of Many Princes, Great Personages and Statesmen*, ed. Leonard Howard (London: E. Withers, 1753), p. 276.

<sup>62</sup> *Epistolae Tigurinae de rebus potissimum ad Ecclesiae Anglicanae Reformationem pertinentibus conscriptae, A.D. 1531-1558* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1848), 54, Epistola II (June 12, 1549), 1-2.

<sup>63</sup> *Epistolae Tigurinae*, 54, Epistolae IV, V and VI, 4-11.



emperor Severus's mother and a supporter of Origen. All are virtuous and learned, and were portrayed as such in catalogues of famous women, but all stand in relation to a more powerful and learned man. In Epistola VI, Jane is more explicit about a woman's role and the prevailing norms of female decorum. Over half of this document consists of an elaborate modesty topos in which she presents herself as transgressing the bounds of decorum, both as a woman in being too bold in writing to him as a man and 'father' of learning, and as a girl in being so presumptuous as to interrupt his work with her childish correspondence: 'Magnaue praeterea mihi spes est, te huic meae plusquam muliebri audaciae quae virgo ad virum et indocta ad eruditionis patrem scribere audeam, ignoscere'. She hopes he will not blame her for a boldness not becoming to her sex, 'audaciae, quae in nostrum sexum cadere nullo modo debet'. Her mind is 'fluctuating and undecided' (an accusation often levelled against the female brain) and she is torn between being on the one hand deterred from writing by her age, sex and childish lack of learning, 'dum quid mea aetas, sexus, et in litteris mediocritas, imo infantia potius postulat', and on the other encouraged by his consideration of her in spite of her inferiority. The comments must of course be put in the context of the epistolary conventions of the time, and particularly in that of a young woman writing to an older and eminent theologian, but they nevertheless reveal the norms of decorum governing female letter-writing: childlike deference (seen in Jane's description of Bullinger as 'father of learning'), modesty, regret at appearing 'bold', and the safe positioning of oneself in a line of virtuous women receiving instruction from learned and holy men.

Other letters were written to Bullinger by the wives of two English Protestant exiles, John Ponet and John Hooper, both of whom had been bishops in the Church of England and protégés of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. Mary Ponet, née Hayman, was in fact the daughter of a man in Cranmer's employ.<sup>64</sup> The couple became Marian exiles in Strasburg in 1554, joining the English Protestant community there and pursuing their friendship with Bullinger and Peter Martyr. Ponet died in that city in August 1556 and almost one year later, Mary wrote to Peter Martyr as a 'misera mulier' to apologise for having inadvertently sold her husband's

<sup>64</sup> For information on this marriage and Ponet's preceding bigamous one, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer, A Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 492-493.

collection of books to one 'Cooke' (Sir Anthony, father of Elizabeth who would translate Ponet's *Diallacticon*, of which more later). They apparently included some belonging to Peter Martyr. She confessed to be 'harum rerum prorsus ignaram'.<sup>65</sup>

The Flemish Protestant and wife of the martyr Bishop John Hooper, Anna de Tserclaes, also wrote to Bullinger, who had welcomed the couple in Zurich in 1547. Her six letters range over family and religious matters.<sup>66</sup> She never fails to transmit greetings from her daughter, Rachel, Bullinger's goddaughter, but unlike her husband, never makes the improbable boast that the three-year-old Rachel speaks Latin better than all the other languages she knows. She nevertheless offers a portrait of the little girl in terms used in typical portraits of female prodigies: within three months in England, the child has learnt by heart a series of prayers, the ten commandments and Psalms 1 and 2, and is learning her catechism (p. 69). Like Lady Jane Grey, although of course older and more experienced in life, Anna also uses paternal images in addressing Bullinger: he is 'mi pater' and 'patronus', whose letters far outpass her own in eloquence and erudition (p. 70), and she says she could not expect more of him were he her own father. But she also progresses from addressing him as 'vir christianissime' and 'compater venerande' to 'compater amantissime' and, finally, 'carissime et venerande compater'. She also refers to him as her 'amicus praestantissimus'. There is a similar shift in the way she signs her letters to him, from 'Tui observantissima' and 'vostre parfact amie a jamais hoblige' to 'Tui amantissima commater', then 'Tui amantissima commater et soror in Christo'. In other words, she reminds him of their shared friendship in the Protestant community, thereby somewhat redressing the unequal and deferential relationship of father/daughter of her first letters.

Also like Jane Grey, she refers to her state as a woman. In one letter, lamenting the afflictions of the church and her own, she describes her woman's mind as being battered with two engines and almost giving way ('His geminis arietibus percussa mens muliebris, quidni statim collapsura fuisse videatur?') and complains that the 'burden of widowhood' is

<sup>65</sup> *Epistolae Tigurinae*, 54, Epistola LVII, 77.

<sup>66</sup> Anna Hooper, *Epistolae XLIX* (April 3, 1551), L (27 October, 1551), LI (1554), LII (September 22, 1554), LIII (November 12, 1554) and LIV (April 11, 1555), in *Epistolae Tigurinae*. Although technically speaking Anna is not English, we have included her letters in our corpus on account of their context.

painful (p. 71). Yet elsewhere she appears as independent and resourceful, making her way to Frankfort when her husband had left her at a relative's in Antwerp; she is also sensible, sending one of her husband's works to Peter Martyr for publication since she knows no printers in Frankfort. At the same time, she does not fear to express political opinions, wishing that people would not rashly trust foreign princes of a different religion in the interest of tranquillity (p. 74). Lastly, she shows herself capable of using rhetoric to make a point more forcefully. Recalling her husband's death in England as a Protestant martyr, she says 'imo vivat iam ille cum omnibus sanctis martyribus, et Christo suo martyrum capite', and again, 'Rogo te igitur per sanctam amicitiam sanctissimi martyris mariti mei, quo nunc orbata vitam hanc mortem esse duco, ne me deseras' (p. 74).

Lastly, two young women who had been Marian exiles in Geneva before moving to Basel, Dorothy Stafford and Elizabeth Sandys, wrote a letter to another Reformer and exile, this time Italian.<sup>67</sup> On April 30, 1559 they replied to Celio Secondo Curione's enquiry after their health on their return to England. Their letter was written, as Ruth Chavass says, in 'accomplished humanist Latin' and meant to reassure Curione, who was very interested in the religious situation in England. They told him that Queen Elizabeth whom, like other writers, they associate with the Jewish heroine Judith, had quelled the 'Romana illa bestia' and then went on to say that: 'Spes fuit, cum iam primum in patriam reverteremur, nos, fugata superstitione, restitutam pietatem, ac verum Dei cultum inventuras'. Moreover, they promised to help Curione in any way they could, being hopeful of being given appointments at court. The Curione situation, therefore, is not unlike that of Sylva, that other Italian Reformer, whom the Cooke sisters had also hoped to make known to the queen some twelve years earlier. Three years after the letter from Stafford and Sandys, Curione, who had been tutor to Olympia Morata and published her *Opera*, brought out a second edition of her works and dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth. Thus his correspondence with the two English exiles brought together four women, all of whom he considered exempla of virtue and learning fully engaged in the Protestant cause.

<sup>67</sup> The letter is transcribed and discussed by Ruth Chavass, 'Humanism in exile: Celio Secondo Curione's learned women friends and *exempla* for Elizabeth I', *Parergon*, 14/1 (1996), 165-185.

Five letters by the young Princess Elizabeth are what one might call familial, although two are also dedicatory.<sup>68</sup> One is addressed to her father, Henry VIII, and four to her brother, Edward VI, all in rather formal Latin, with phrases perhaps suggested by her tutor, or taken out of a commonplace book. They reflect the conventions of letter-writing taught as part of the humanist curriculum. In the way Elizabeth employs rhetorical strategies to set out subjects and arguments she shows herself an apt pupil. The letters nevertheless express the warmth of her affection, and in the case of her young brother, her concern for his always precarious health. These letters to Edward all begin in true humanist form, with conjunctions like 'tametsi' or 'quod', introducing apologies for not having written, and they include phrasal reiterations like 'Cuius sane cum recorder (quotidie autem recorder)'. Elizabeth also uses Classical allusions to emphasise a point. Our lives are uncertain and we are fragile, she asserts in a letter of 1548 to Edward, and quotes Pindar and Homer to prove it.<sup>69</sup> In the same letter, anxious to persuade Edward that she is deserving of his kindness, she reworks Cicero's use of Ennius's statement in *De officiis* (II.18): 'bene facta, male locata malefacta arbitror'; she tells him, 'in me benefacta aut male locata, aut potius (ut Ciceronis ex Ennio sumptis utar verbis) malefacta esse arbitraretur'.

The dedicatory letter to Henry with which Elizabeth prefaced her trilingual translation of her stepmother's *Prayers, or meditations* in 1545, written when she was only twelve, demonstrates her ability to exploit language and rhetoric and make them serve her purpose. It contains many references to Henry as father and ruler, and to herself as daughter and subject – but also his heir. Repudiated by her father as a legal heir following her mother's execution, she had been rehabilitated only months before she wrote this letter. As the translation itself was intended to please her new stepmother, so the dedicatory letter flattered her father, but at the same time reminded him of her new status. The enterprise was a clever move, demonstrating her acumen, political awareness, and strong sense of preservation.

<sup>68</sup> 'Illustrissimo ac potentissimo Regi, Henrico octavo (...) Elizabetha Maiestatis Suae humillima filia', dated December 30, 1545, and four letters addressed to 'Excellentissimo et Nobilissimo Regi Edouardo Sexto', dated February 14, 1547, September 20, 1547, February 2, 1548 and, possibly, summer or autumn, 1548. These are Letters 3, 5, 6, 7 and 11 in Mueller – Marcus, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 8-19.

<sup>69</sup> Mueller – Marcus, *Elizabeth I*, p. 14.

It is noteworthy that none of Mary Tudor's letters is in Latin, even those she addressed to her brother, Edward. Mary's reputation for learning and languages was certainly inferior to Elizabeth's, although as we shall see, she translated Erasmus's *Paraphrase* on the Gospel of St John. Her stepmother, Katherine Parr, who invited her to do the translation, lamented her own little knowledge of Latin, yet wrote Mary a strongly persuasive letter in Latin to encourage her to publish the work under her own name, advice that Mary ignored.<sup>70</sup>

The correspondence of Elizabeth Jane Weston, like her verse, varies widely in its subject matter, reflecting the interests discussed in Neo-Latin letters generally and couched in appropriate form and language. Proving another exception to the rule that, as James Daybell claims, women's correspondence was not preserved for publication, her thirty letters were collected by an editor and included in her *Parthenicôn* of 1608. The most discussed subject in the corpus is poetry – its composition, circulation and publication – hence the exchange of letters with humanists and poets inside and outside Bohemia and the reception of letters from scholars like Janus Dousa and Joseph Scaliger. Intertwined with letters dealing with poetry, however, are those reflecting her enjoyment of male admiration and her need of patronage. One of her letters was sent to James I of England, who does not deign to reply but, to her consternation and anger, thinks someone else has written it for her, a not uncommon accusation levelled at learned women.

One of the most revealing examples of how compositions were solicited and circulated concerns Weston and Justus Lipsius. In a letter of 1602, she expresses regret to her editor that 'Lipsii epistola, quandoquidem Pragae fuit, utinam ad me fuisset perlata' and hopes that it will soon be delivered to her (III.24). Presumably it never was, or it most certainly would have been included in *Parthenicôn*. Nevertheless, three of her correspondents believed that Lipsius had expressed admiration of her poetry and they do appear in the volume. We learn from *Carmen ad [...] Rudolphum*, written in 1601 by Wolfgang Gruningius, a law professor, that he is appending to his encomium to Weston, the new 'Sappho (...) a true Theano', a copy of the letter of praise that Lipsius sent in 1589 to the French poet and editor of Montaigne, Marie de Gournay (p. 327). Presumably he thought it would encourage Weston in her career. A second admirer, Peter Werner, believes Lipsius has praised

<sup>70</sup> British Library, ms. Cotton Vespasian F. III, f. 37.

the wisdom that has nourished Weston's heart with ambrosia (p. 320). Yet a third, Christian-Theodor Schosser, a philosopher and poet, publishes in 1619 a poem he had written earlier, stating that 'Lipsius arguto te colit ore simul' (p. 369).

Obviously, none was aware of Lipsius's true opinion of aspiring young female poets and their work, which he bluntly stated in his letter of December 1602 to Jean Moretus.<sup>71</sup> He agreed that Weston's verses would sell, 'not in the thousands as suggested but more likely in the dozens', but went on to say: 'Please make my excuses and say frankly I am indisposed and cannot carry on further correspondence.' He regrets the praise he had heaped on 'that French girl' [Marie de Gournay] and ends on an acerbic note: 'The sex is not to be trusted, and has more sheen than substance'. The exchange of correspondence between Weston and her three admirers, based in this instance on a misunderstanding, and between Lipsius and Moretus, demonstrates how important a role letter writing played in the Republic of Letters, but in particular how dependent a young woman poet was on male support. Interestingly, not one of Weston's many patrons, admirers or supporters, potential or otherwise, and not one of her correspondents, was a woman.

Weston's correspondence was not only about poetry and patronage. Some letters concern more personal affairs and are addressed to close friends and to her brother. These are noticeably free of Classical allusions and appear less contrived than those sent to fellow poets and to patrons. To this effect, one might compare her letters to her brother and one to her editor upon hearing of Melissus's death. She assures John Francis of her great love, expressing her concern for his poor health and, in one, asks, 'Ecquid enim mi frater, universo hoc contineri putas, quod te, perpetuis meo cordi impressum notis, ex animo meo evellere atque eradicare possit?' (III. 19). To Baldhoven, she says she deplores the passing of the Franconian *cygnus*, as she always calls Melissus, whom incidentally she never met, and confesses she shed hardly more abundant tears over the death of her brother – and an only brother at that

<sup>71</sup> *Iusti Lipsi epistolae. Pars XIV, 1601*, quam curavit edendam Jeanine De Landtsheer (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Schone Kunsten, 2006), Epistola 3189 (01 12 27M), pp. 558-559. For more on Lipsius's relationship with Marie de Gournay, see Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'Michel de Montaigne, Marie de Gournay and Justus Lipsius. Some Overlooked Particulars Preserved at Leiden University Library', in Paul Smith – Karl Enenkel (eds.), *Montaigne and the Low Countries (1580-1700). Acta of a Colloquium in Leiden, 1-2 September 2006*, Intersections, 8 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 63-78.

(III.27). The letter is contrived and artificial, crammed with allusions to the Muses, Helicon, Nestor, the Fates, the Republic of Letters, and Cicero. But of course it stands squarely in the tradition of much Neo-Latin letter writing, clearly intended for publication and the procurement of a place in the Republic of Letters, which as an aspiring and admittedly ambitious poet, Weston felt she should occupy.

The third section of this essay is devoted to another form of Latin prose writing, this time in the form of translation. Between 1526 and 1660, Englishwomen executed twenty-five translations out of or into Latin. Again, they cover a wide range of topics and cannot be dealt with in detail. Rather, I wish to provide an overview of the kinds of texts these women chose to translate. I shall also demonstrate that earlier critics' assertions regarding the dominance of religious texts are not, once again, borne out by the evidence. In all, we have eleven religious translations and fourteen secular ones. On the other hand, if we restrict our corpus to the printed translations, we find that all seven are religious. This might well support the claim that women – and or male printers – found it more decorous to publish religious rather than secular works. It also suggests, however, that earlier critics only had knowledge of or, more likely, respect for printed works. Yet in the period under consideration, works in manuscript cannot be discounted. Modern hierarchies of print and manuscript do not hold.

The corpus of religious translations can be conveniently divided into two groups: on the one hand, those that are devotional or meditational, on the other, those that are theological or polemical. The devotional nature of a translation does not of course necessarily exclude the fact that it can also be the result of an ideological choice exerted by the translator or printer. Translations are, after all, produced within a specific socio-cultural context; they do not exist in a vacuum.

Our first translation is an example of this. Some time just before 1526, Margaret Roper translated Erasmus's *Precatio dominica* into English, entitling it *A Devout treatise upon the Pater noster*. The personal link between the author and the young translator could in itself account for her choice of text; the friendship between Erasmus and her father could also have been a factor. However, in a wider context, the translation might have been made to serve two different purposes: first, to further the Erasmian programme of pietistic and humanist Christianity in England, since it was published in a decade, 1520-1530, that saw English printers produce no fewer than five Latin editions and two translations

of Erasmus's works;<sup>72</sup> secondly, it was used by its editor to further the cause of women's Classical education. As we mentioned earlier, Hyrde had prefaced the translation with a letter defending this position.

In 1524, Vives, whose *De institutione foeminae christianae* Hyrde had translated for Catherine of Aragon, wrote another treatise for the queen, *De ratione studii puerilis*, which she would use for the education of her daughter, Mary. Vives's instructions to read certain Classical and Neo-Latin authors, as well as the Scriptures and Church Fathers, while not neglecting to write and speak Latin, obviously did not fall on stony ground. The Princess Mary translated a prayer by St Aquinas, extant only in a lady's Book of Hours,<sup>73</sup> and Erasmus's Paraphrase on the Gospel of St. John, commissioned by her stepmother, Katherine Parr.<sup>74</sup> Udall, the editor of the Paraphrases, tells us how Mary fell ill while doing the translation, which had to be completed and 'emended' by Francis Mallet, one of her chaplains, so that it is difficult to assess how much of the translation is actually Mary's. However, Katherine's above-mentioned letter to Mary, encouraging her to publish the translation under her own name, suggests that her input was not insignificant.

Mary's stepsister, the Princess Elizabeth, was a more prolific translator. As we said on page 30, in 1545 she translated into Latin her stepmother's volume of prayers, entitling it *Precationes, seu meditationes*, and presenting it as a New year's gift to her father. Elizabeth was thus pleasing both Katherine and Henry with one astute gesture.<sup>75</sup> She translated the text into Latin, French and Italian. On the whole, the Latin rendering is a fairly careful translation, although it omits parts of some of the petitions, misses some of the rhetorical flourishes of the original, and adds intensifiers. Elizabeth's syntax is Classical, her diction a blend of Classical Latin and words borrowed from the Vulgate.<sup>76</sup> In 1547,

<sup>72</sup> For a discussion of this context, see James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 42-43. See also my forthcoming article 'Translation in the Service of Politics and Religion: A Family Tradition for Thomas More, Margaret Roper and Mary Clarke Basset', in Jeanine De Landtsheer – Henk Nellen (eds.), *Between Scylla and Charybdis. Learned Letter Writers Navigating the Reefs of Religion and Political Controversy in Early Modern Europe* [Leiden: Brill, forthcoming].

<sup>73</sup> B. L., ms. Add.17, 012.

<sup>74</sup> 'Paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John', in Udall, *The first tome or volume of the paraphrase of Erasmus upon the newe Testament*.

<sup>75</sup> *Precationes, seu meditationes* (1544). B.L., ms. Royal 7.D.X., ff. 1-117).

<sup>76</sup> Another translation for long thought to be Elizabeth's, an English rendering of the Vulgate Psalm 13 'Dixit insipiens', was in fact done by John Bale, who edited her



Elizabeth offered her brother a translation into Latin of a sermon by the Italian reformer, Bernardino Ochino, on the nature of Christ, 'Che cosa è Christo, & per che vienne al mondo'. Again, the translation served two purposes: to confirm her love for Edward and to demonstrate her belief in the Protestant cause.<sup>77</sup> This translation is also a careful one and Elizabeth pays more attention to the stylistic effects of her source text than she did with the *Precationes*, while her syntax is more varied. Nevertheless, it too contains some mistranslations and omissions. However, on the whole, the young princess shows herself to be as competent in translating as in letter-writing, although in neither case can we discount her tutor's helping hand.

In the years 1551-53, a translation was dedicated to the Princess Mary Tudor by one of the most learned young women in England, Mary Roper Clarke, granddaughter of Thomas More and daughter of Margaret Roper. She undertook to translate into Latin Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, a long and detailed work written in difficult Greek, as she herself acknowledges in her dedicatory letter, where she also points out that Rufinus's Latin translation of the work contained many errors.<sup>78</sup> After completing Book I, however, she says she learned that John Christopherson, her former tutor and a Catholic exile in Leuven, had finished his Latin translation of the whole work; she thus turned her attention to translating Books I to V into English. She was the first to do so. Both Latin and English translations were bound together in a presentation copy for her dedicatee. They demonstrate an exceptional knowledge of Greek and early Church history but the dedicatory letter also reveals that the choice of text was not accidental. Eusebius's account demonstrated, she says, that there is only one true Catholic and Apostolic church, with one succession of priests. As the Catholic Princess Mary awaited the moment to mount the throne and restore Catholicism to England, the Catholic Mary Clarke maintained a high profile by offering her the translation of a work that could be – and was, by both Catholics and Protestants – used polemically. Nor was the gesture without a little self-interest. Mary Clarke was

translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir de l'ame pecheresse* in *A godly medytacyon of the christen sowle* [...], ed. John Bale (Wesel: Dirik van der Straten, 1548) and placed the psalm translation immediately following.

<sup>77</sup> *Bernardini Ochini senesis de Christo sermo ex italico in latinum conversus* (Bodleian Library, ms. Bodley, 6, fols. 1-36<sup>v</sup>). Bernardino Ochino, *Prediche di Bernardini Ochini da Siena: Nouellamente ristampate & con grande diligentia rivedute & corette*, 5 vols (Basel, 1543-1562), II, Sermon No. 12, pp. ee4-ff4.

<sup>78</sup> Mary Clarke, *Ecclesiastical History* (B.L. Harley MS 1860).

chosen to ride in Mary's coronation procession and within a year or two had married the courtier James Basset and been given a position in the queen's household.

Some time after 1554, Mary Basset translated another work into English, her grandfather's last composition, *De tristitia, tedio, pauore, et oratione Christi ante captionem eius*.<sup>79</sup> It was a devotional and meditative work commenting on Christ's final hours before his capture and crucifixion, written by More during his imprisonment in the Tower of London. Rastell, also an exile in Leuven, dedicated his edition of More's English works to Mary Tudor, now on the throne of a Catholic England. It was intended to please the queen, but also to reinstate and maintain More's reputation and, given the inevitable parallels implied in the work between his martyrdom and Christ's self-sacrifice, served as a reminder of his significance and saintliness.

The other religious translations in our corpus are both theological and polemical. Anne Cooke Bacon's translation into English of Bishop John Jewel's *Apologia ecclesiae Anglicanae* was, we are told in the preface, solicited by no less a figure than Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>80</sup> This is indeed remarkable, for the text was the most important, spirited and influential defence of the Anglican church printed in sixteenth-century England, one which Parker hoped would once and for all set to rest criticism and dissension. Although Anne Bacon was renowned for her learning and zeal in defending the Protestant cause, had published her translation of a selection of Ochino's sermons and was the sister-in-law of one of Elizabeth's most powerful courtiers, Lord Cecil, she was nevertheless a woman. Parker's faith in her abilities was rewarded, as he himself acknowledges in his preface where he says her translation needed no revision and assures her of 'the honour ye haue done to the kinde of women and to the degree of ladies'.

Bacon's sister, Elizabeth Russell, also made a translation of a Latin text, this time one published by her father in Strasburg after he purchased it from the author's widow, as we explain on page 28. John Ponet's *Diallacticon viri boni et literati, de veritate [natura atque substantia] corporis [et sanguinis] Christi in eucharista* was translated by

<sup>79</sup> 'Of the sorowe, weriness, feare, and prayer of Christ before hys taking', in *The Workes of Sir Thomas More [...] written by him in the Englysh tongue*, ed. W. Rastell (London, 1557).

<sup>80</sup> John Jewel, *An Apologie or answere in defence of the Churche of Englande* (London: Reginalde Wolfe, 1562).

Elizabeth soon after it appeared in print, for she says in her dedicatory letter to her daughter that she did it some fifty years before.<sup>81</sup> She successfully transfers Ponet's defence of the Anglican spiritual, not real, presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which contains a complex web of biblical allusion and quotations from the Church Fathers and Classics that in the translation she weaves into a seamless whole. The work demonstrates her great learning, command of the English language and commitment to the Protestant cause.

The third theological work combines original and translated texts. It was executed by a Catholic, Jane Owen, about whom we know little except that she was a recusant from Oxfordshire, living in exile in Flanders or France, and most probably not the Jane Owen whose epigrams were discussed earlier, unless she had undergone a conversion in the years following the publication of her uncle's epigrams.<sup>82</sup> The work was *An Antidote against Purgatory. Or Discourse, wherein it is shewed that Good-Workes, and Almes-deeds, Performed in the Name of Christ, are a chiefe meanes for the preuenting, or mitigating the Torments of Purgatory* and was published some years after the author's death in 1634, without a place-name, but probably at the English Jesuit College Press in Saint-Omer. It contained translations from two spiritual works by Cardinal Roberto Bellarmine, *Liber de aeterna felicitate sanctorum* and *De gemitu columbae*. In her preface, Owen firmly defends the Catholic belief that the pains of Purgatory can be overcome by faith and good works, a central theological tenet that Luther, and all Protestant sects, had condemned. She also begs the reader's indulgence for 'the boldness of my sexe' in undertaking to present a work for the good of their souls, a task usually reserved for male authors.

Our final religious translation fits no special category. St Benedict's *Rule* was translated into English by a Benedictine nun named Alexia Gray, living at the convent of the Immaculate Conception at Ghent from

<sup>81</sup> *A Way of Reconciliation of a Good and learned man, touching the Trueth, Nature, and Substaunce of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament* (London: R. B[arker], 1605), (A2<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>82</sup> The Owen family had split into two branches. John, the epigrammatist, was a fervent Protestant. His three brothers had remained Catholic and were all exiles on the Continent. It is more likely that there are two Janes, one the Protestant epigrammatist and the other the Catholic translator, than one Protestant Jane who converted to Catholicism. Stevenson also rejects the suggestion put forward by Retha Warnicke that the two Janes were one and the same. Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets*, pp. 379-380. For the moment, however, the question remains open.

1629 to 1640. Her *Rule of the most blissid father saint Benedict Patriake of all Munkes* was an important document for three reasons. Firstly, previous English pre-Reformation translations published in 1491 and 1517 had been subsequently destroyed, along with the monasteries. Secondly, as her modern editor claims, Gray was the first to adapt the *Rule* to the needs of a female community, feminizing the text by changing pronouns and titles and omitting chapters she did not find appropriate for nuns.<sup>83</sup> Thirdly, her translation remained the standard text for English Benedictine convents up until the nineteenth century.

The fourteen secular translations in our corpus were produced by three women, Jane Fitzalan, Lady Lumley, her sister, Mary Fitzalan Howard, Duchess of Norfolk, and Queen Elizabeth. Jane and Mary were the daughters of the Earl of Arundel and were renowned for their learning, especially their proficiency in Greek and Latin. Jane translated six orations by Isocrates into Latin and prefaced two with dedicatory letters in Latin to her father, to whom she offered them as New Year gifts. She chose texts that were often given to students by their tutors, like *Ad Demonicum*, *Evagoras* and *Archidamus*.<sup>84</sup> None is dated but since they are signed Joanna Lumley, her married name, they must have been completed between roughly 1550 and 1578, the year of her death. Her younger sister, Mary, translated four texts into Latin, three of which were collections of *sententiae*. These, too, were New Year gifts to her father. Her first translations probably date from the early 1550s when she was very young, since they are signed 'Arundel'. *Similitudines*, a collection of English *sententiae*, and parts of Sir Thomas Elyot's *Image of Governance*, including a Letter from the Emperor Severus, were her first 'puerilia' or 'ruda' as she says. After her marriage in 1544 at age fourteen, she translated one group of Greek *sententiae* found in Stobaios's *Anthologia* and another in an as yet unidentified collection, signing them

<sup>83</sup> *Recusant Translators: Elizabeth Cary, Alexia Gray*, ed. Frances E. Dolan, The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works – Printed Writings, 1500–1640: Series I, Part Two, Volume 13 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), p. xii.

<sup>84</sup> *Oratio prima Isocratis ad Demonicum*, which is incomplete, *Oratio Isocratis ad Nicoclem*, with dedicatory 'Epistola ad dominum patrem', *Nicocles, oratio Isocratis* (B.L., ms. Royal 15.A.ix), *Evagoras*, with untitled dedicatory epistle to her father, *Oratio Isocratis in laudem pacis*, and *Isocrates, Archidamus*. Jane also translated Euripides's *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Although she clearly used Erasmus's Latin translation as well as the original Greek text, I have not included this particular work in the present study. All her translations are in B.L ms Royal 15.A.ix.

'Norfolk'.<sup>85</sup> Both girls were obviously aware of the importance their father placed on Classical learning but were also conforming to the Renaissance practice of offering books, and especially works or translations of one's own composition, at New Year to family, friends and potential patrons. Their work, however, as a recent critic has pointed out, also belongs within a multi-layered context of humanist education, traceable to Erasmus and Ascham, of family, as the sisters' stepbrother, John Radcliffe, and Joanna's husband, John Lumley, were also translators, and of contemporary history, since several translations in the group were relevant to events in England at the time.<sup>86</sup>

We have spoken of the two translations that Queen Elizabeth made when a teenager. In the waning years of her reign, she translated several Classical authors into English. They all remain in manuscript; two are only excerpts from the original sources; all are in unrhymed iambic verse in lines of varying length; and all bear the hallmark of rather hasty execution. From the tragedy entitled *Hercules Oetaeus*, believed in the Renaissance to be Seneca's although his authorship is now questionable, Elizabeth chose the second chorus in Act II, which she rendered with a freedom remarkable even for a Renaissance translation.<sup>87</sup> Many lines are paraphrased or expanded, others find no source in the Latin. From Horace she translated the first 178 lines of the *Ars poetica*.<sup>88</sup> Although mostly remaining close to her original, she often makes errors, some due to misreading one word for another similar one. Hence the mistranslation of 'gemino (...) ab ovo', referring to the twin eggs, Helen and Clytemnestra,

<sup>85</sup> The translations are found in B.L. ms. Royal 12.A.iii, iv, i and ii.

<sup>86</sup> Roger Ellis, 'Translation for and by the young in 16<sup>th</sup>-century England: Erasmus and the Arundel children', in *Thou sittest at another boke [...] English Studies in Honour of Domenico Pezzini*, ed. Giovanni Iamartino et al. (Milan: Polimetrica, 2008), pp. 53-74.

<sup>87</sup> *Hercules Oetaeus* (fragment), n.d. Bodleian, ms. e. Museo 55, ff. 48-49.

<sup>88</sup> *Ars poetica* (fragment), 1598. Public Record Office. Domestic Elizabeth 289. This text appears together with a translation of Plutarch's *De Curiositate* and Boethius's *De Consolatione philosophiae*. They were all edited, but poorly, by Caroline Pemberton in 1899 (*Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, A.D. 1593; Plutarch, De Curiositate; Horace, De Arte Poetica — part —, A.D. 1598. Edited from the unique MS [...]*, by Miss Caroline Pemberton. With a facsimile, Early English Text Society. Original Series, 113 (London, 1899) and again sixty years later by Leicester Bradner in *The Poems of Queen Elizabeth I* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1964) pp. 16-63. As Bradner points out, Pemberton took no account of the fact that Elizabeth's Renaissance editions of these authors might have contained different readings from modern ones, and that this might account for many of the seeming mistranslations (p. 83).

as 'grandfather's shell' (l. 147); she has obviously mistaken 'ab ovo' for 'ab avo'. Similarly, she mistranslates 'in medias res', one of the most famous phrases in the *Ars poetica*, as 'best menes', perhaps mistaking it for 'in medias melius', as Pemberton suggests (l. 148).<sup>89</sup> While, indeed, faulty source texts might well be responsible for such mistranslations, haste is also very likely to be the culprit, as indeed it was for the queen's often careless translation of Boethius, if we are to believe three contemporary testimonies. They contend that Elizabeth translated the whole *De Consolatione philosophiae* in not more than twelve or seventeen days, never spending more than one and a half hours a day on it.<sup>90</sup> If true, and admittedly their claims do stretch the imagination somewhat, this would explain the many textual omissions and mistranslations, as well as the borrowed Latinate syntax in the English. Nevertheless, her accomplishment in turning Boethius's verse into English iambic rhythms while often reproducing the length of his lines is no small feat, while she does at times render his lines of beauty and power. A final translation is her English rendering of Plutarch's *Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης* possibly made from consulting both the original Greek and an intermediary Latin version, no doubt the one penned by Erasmus, *De curiositate*. Again, she surprisingly chose unrhymed iambic verse as her medium and, again, this might well account in part for the many errors.

Metre is always a constraint in poetic translation, often forcing the translator to sacrifice semantic accuracy or stylistic features, and Elizabeth's verse renderings prove no exception to the rule. Her choice, in the face of such difficulty, remains tantalizingly difficult to explain, especially in the case of the text by Plutarch. Classical verse, itself unrhymed, had been translated into unrhymed iambic lines by the Earl of Surrey for his translation of Book IV of Virgil's *Aeneid*, whose title nevertheless describes it as 'drawne into a straunge metre', and by A. Fleming for his second translation of Virgil's *Bucoliks* and *Georgiks*, although his first in 1575 had been made in rhymed verse.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, by the final decade

<sup>89</sup> Pemberton, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings*, p. 147, notes 9 and 10.

<sup>90</sup> Pemberton, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings*, pp. x-xi. Bradner traces the marginal notes in order to come up with a time of 25 to 30 days, although of course the queen would not have been working all day on her translating, pp. 81-82. Frances Teague, 'Elizabeth I: Queen of England', in *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Katherina Wilson (Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press, 1987, p. 533), suggests around 24 to 27 hours in all.

<sup>91</sup> *The fourth boke of Virgill, intreating of the love between Aeneas & Dido*, translated into English, and drawne into a straunge metre by Henrye late earle of Surrey (London:

of the century, when the queen was making these four translations, iambic pentameter had become the meter of choice for English verse and drama. She would of course have found unrhymed verse less constraining than rhymed, and the same can be said for using lines of varying lengths rather than consistent pentameters. Nevertheless, despite their shortcomings, attributable mainly to haste of execution and an absence of revision, but also to metrical constraints and, perhaps, to editorial faults in her source texts, Elizabeth demonstrates in these final translations that her 'rusty old Latin' was actually far from forgotten, although she might protest to the contrary.

In our study of some of these Latin writings of Renaissance Englishwomen, we have been able to dispel a few myths. We have seen that the corpus comprises more than a few compositions of limited scope and ambition. It contains poetry of all genres (except heroic, didactic and satiric), orations, letters and translations, and these are not restricted to, or even dominated by, religious subjects. In fact, surprisingly, the secular poetic compositions number over ninety while those on specifically religious subjects number only nineteen. Similarly surprising is the fact that the secular and religious translations number fourteen and eleven respectively. Our study has also involved more English women writers of Latin than would have seemed possible even ten years ago. Who were these women? It has frequently been claimed that Latin was the sole preserve of aristocratic, wealthy and privileged ladies. Indeed, we have two queens, Elizabeth I and Mary Tudor, six aristocrats, the Fitzalan sisters, Seymour sisters and Lady Jane Grey, who was also queen for nine days, and six women from the courtier class, the four Cooke sisters, Margaret Roper and Mary Clarke Basset. But there are also three women from the gentry, the two Jane Owens and Elizabeth Jane Weston, two from modest scholarly homes, Bathsua Rainolds Makin and Rachel Jevon, one from the tradesman class, Anne Dering, and one nun, Alexia Gray. A fairly representative social spread.

We might also ask why these women learned and wrote Latin. Queens had to know Latin for reasons of state, international relations and general culture. For the courtier class or upper gentry, a woman's knowledge of Latin was often thought to add to a family's social and cultural standing, in England as in Italy, with even a scholar-courtier like Thomas More

J. Day f. W. Awen, [1554]) and *The Bucoliks [...] together with his Georgiks*. All newly translated by A. F.[leming], 2 vols (London: T. O[rwin] f. T. Woodcocke, 1596).

basking in the reflected glory of his brilliant daughter of international repute.<sup>92</sup> Although More did not use Margaret's learning to marry her to a man of higher social station, other fathers did. A woman's familiarity with Latin could present an advantage on the marriage market. Certainly Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, believed so, since he married Anne off to the Earl of Warwick and attempted to marry Jane to Edward VI. Sir Anthony Cooke's clever daughters, Anne, Mildred and Elizabeth, all married above themselves. Even lower down the social ladder Latin may have been considered a form of dowry, 'a portion without money', as Stevenson suggests for Jevon, whose father had fallen on hard times.<sup>93</sup> Such a notion perhaps inspired John Owen's epigram to Jane, in which he declared that a man would be happy to marry her, or her sisters if they resemble her, because they are fair, modest, learned and wise. Note, however, that being learned does not hold pride of place in the list of virtues. That Latin could be seen as a form of dowry is attested by another woman, although this time negatively. In 1577, Martha Moulsworth says that had she possessed no other dowry than Latin, she would have remained a virgin, while in the margin is written 'Lattin is not the most marketable mariadge mettell'.<sup>94</sup>

This is not as negative as many of the sentiments expressed, not simply during the Renaissance, but well on into the eighteenth century. Waquet, for example, quotes a popular French proverb, 'femme qui parle latin ne fit jamais bonne fin', which was echoed by people who should have known better, on both sides of the Channel.<sup>95</sup> A French educator, Charles Rollin, whose work was translated into English as *New Thoughts concerning Education* in 1735, held that it was not proper for young girls of 'an inferior condition' to learn Latin; such knowledge should be confined to nuns and Christian virgins and widows who had renounced the world. In 1733, his English counterpart, a woman no less, Hester Chapone, feared that Latin and 'the other abstruse sciences' would make women pedantic and presumptuous, making them exchange 'the graces of imagination for the severity and preciseness of a scholar'. Authors of

<sup>92</sup> Cox discusses in detail this aspect of aristocratic Italian women's learning (Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, pp. 5-6).

<sup>93</sup> Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets*, p. 370.

<sup>94</sup> 'The Memorandum of Martha Moulsworth Widdowe', in Stevenson – Davidson, *Early Modern Women Poets*, p. 127.

<sup>95</sup> For this proverb and the comments by Rollin, Chapone and the authors in the *Lady's Magazine*, see Waquet, *Le Latin ou l'empire d'un signe*, pp. 264-265.



an article in *The Lady's Magazine*, also in 1773, claimed to have the last word, saying one would never want society to be filled with 'doctors in petticoats', regaling one with Latin and Greek. Their claim has proved false. Despite such negative comments, which incidentally did not die out with the eighteenth century, and the decades of silence in which many Latin works by Englishwomen lay unread, their poems, letters and translations are today being edited and studied. The 'last word' on the subject of Latinate women has yet to be uttered. Meanwhile, the voices of Minerva and the Muses, whom Scudéry chose to represent learned women, echo across the centuries, speaking to those who are interested in the Neo-Latin Republic of Letters, from which, in their time, virtually all these English learned women were excluded.

Département de linguistique et traduction  
Faculté des arts et des sciences  
Pavillon Lionel-Groulx  
3150, rue Jean-Brillant  
Université de Montréal  
Montréal (Québec) H3T 1N8  
Canada  
hosington@hotmail.com

Centre for the Study of the Renaissance  
Humanities Building  
University of Warwick,  
Coventry CV4 7AL  
United Kingdom  
B.Hosington@warwick.ac.uk

Rainer JAKOBI

DAS PROOEM DER ARS GRAMMATICA VALLAS:  
EINE POETIK HUMANISTISCHER LEHRDICHTUNG

Wer sich anschickt, die Anfangsgründe des humanistischen Lehrgedichtes näher in Augenschein zu nehmen, wird gerade, wenn er sich auf bewährte Handbücher wie etwa Roellenblecks Standardwerk zur Geschichte der italienischen Lehrdichtung in der Renaissance stützt, auf Autoren wie Gregorio Correr und v.a. Basinio da Parma<sup>1</sup> verwiesen. Nicht ohne Erstaunen wird man belehrt, daß die Gattung Lehrgedicht erst verspätet, im zweiten Drittel des Quattrocento, ihre Renaissance erfährt<sup>2</sup>, daß umfangreiche poetologische Äußerungen zur gewählten Gattung und zur eigenen Dichtung kaum vor dem 16. Jh. begegnen.<sup>3</sup>

Die Anfänge der neulateinischen Lehrdichtung erscheinen in tlw. neuem Licht, seitdem Paola Casciano in Erstedition die *Ars grammatica*

<sup>1</sup> Die *Astronomicum libri II* wurden 1455 beendet; vgl. Walther Ludwig, 'Neulateinische Lehrgedichte und Vergils *Georgica*', in Dennis Howard Green – L. Peter Johnson – Dieter Wuttke (edd.), *From Wolfram and Petrarch to Goethe and Grass. Studies in Literature in Honour of L. Forster*, Saecula spiritalia, 5 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1982), pp. 151-180 (zitiert nach: Walther Ludwig, *Litterae Neolatinae. Schriften zur Neulateinischen Literatur*, ed. Ludwig Braun u.a., Humanistische Bibliothek, I, 35 (München: Fink, 1989), pp. 100-127 (p. 101)).

<sup>2</sup> Georg Roellenbleck, *Das epische Lehrgedicht Italiens im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Münchner Romanistische Arbeiten, 43 (München: Fink, 1975), pp. 39-64. Volkssprachliche, nicht hexametrische Lehrdichtung ist schon in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts nachgewiesen (*Ibid.*, pp. 27-38). Natürlich setzt die Entwicklung der neulateinischen Dichtung, wie Thomas Haye (*Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter. Analyse einer Gattung*, Mittellateinische Studien u. Texte, 22 (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1997), p. 30) zu Recht gegen Roellenbleck einwendet, nicht mit einem Paukenschlag ein. Das Quattrocento ist auch Teil des Spätmittelalters.

<sup>3</sup> So auch der Befund bei Fokke Akkerman, 'Auf der Suche nach dem Lehrgedicht in einigen neulateinischen Poetiken', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani. Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies 1985*, ed. Mario Di Cesare – Stella Revard – Fidel Rädle, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 53 (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, State Univ., 1988), pp. 409-417.

Vallas vorgelegt hat.<sup>4</sup> Diese wohl nach<sup>5</sup> 1449 entstandene, in zwei späteren Kopien tradierte Dichtung ist als sprachhistorisches Dokument ausführlich kommentiert und von den Spezialisten gewürdigt worden: Die sachlichen Konvergenzen zu den ungleich bekannteren Prosaschriften wie den *Elegantie* wurden bis in entlegene Details eruiert, aufgezeigt wurde die Lehrgedicht und Prosaschriften gemeinsame Stoßrichtung gegen die mittelalterlichen Schulautoritäten, v.a. das *Doctrinale* des Alexander de Villa. In diesem Kontext der Realienexegese haben auch die theoretischen Einlassungen des Prooems durchaus ihre Würdigung erfahren, die eigentliche Bedeutung des Prooems als eines ersten expliziten Programmes humanistischer Lehrdichtung scheint mir indes noch nicht recht erkannt zu sein.

Betrachten wir aber zunächst den Aufbau des Prooems: Die vierzig Verse entfalten in ihrem ersten Teil eine auf Lukrez basierende Begründung für die Wahl des Verses als Medium der Vermittlung eines spröden Lehrgegenstandes: Der Absinth muß mit Honig gemischt gereicht werden (1-11). Im Anschluß wird die Forderung vorgetragen, daß der Lehrgegenstand, eben die lateinische Grammatik, in sprachlich vorbildhafter Form zu vermitteln sei (12-17). Der Gegenstand sei bedeutungsvoll, insofern die Grammatik das Fundament für alle *artes* lege (18-22). Danach empfiehlt sich der Dichter als Lehrer statt der mittelalterlichen falschen Autoritäten (23-29). Nicht Prügel, sondern 'Honig' sei dem Unterricht förderlich (30-34). Eine Epiklese der christlichen Trinität beschließt das Prooem: Auf solche Weise inspirierte Lehrdichtung diene der Gotteserkenntnis (35-40).

Das Prooem präsentiert sich als formal dreigeteilt: Zwei Einheiten von jeweils siebzehn Versen, die zum einen der Form der Vermittlung (1-17), zum anderen der Bedeutung von Inhalt und Vermittlung gelten (18-34), werden von einer *invocatio* beschlossen. Der Übergang zwischen den Hauptteilen wird durch eine betonte Anrede 'quare agite, o pueri' (18) klar kenntlich. Diese zweiteilige, in die *invocatio* mündende Struktur hat im Prooem des ersten *Georgica*-Buches ihr antikes, vergilisches Vorbild. Dort folgen auf eine kurze viereinhalb Verse umfassende *propositio* zwei hymnenartige Invocationen an die zwölf traditionellen Landgottheiten

<sup>4</sup> Lorenzo Valla, *L'Arte della grammatica*, ed. Paola Casciano (Milano: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 2000<sup>3</sup>). In dieser 'terza edizione rinnovata' sind die Besserungen, die Silvia Rizzo und Mario de Nonno getätigt haben ('In margine a una recente edizione di versi grammaticali del Valla', in *Filologia umanistica. Per Gianvito Resta*, ed. Vincenzo Fera – Giacomo Ferrau, Medioevo e umanesimo, 94-96, 3 vols (Padova: Antenore, 1997), III, 1583-1630) berücksichtigt.

<sup>5</sup> So Rizzo – de Nonno, 'In margine', pp. 1589-1599.

(Verg., *georg.*, 1, 5b-23 = 19 Verse) und an Octavian (*georg.*, 1, 24-42 = 19 Verse). Der vierzigste Vers endlich wird in beiden Prooemien mit der gleichen Aufforderung um Inspiration ('da *facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis*' (*georg.*, 1, 40); bzw. 'da *magis hanc ut te valeamus nosse per artem*') eingeleitet.

Damit wird die Beobachtung Ludwigs, daß Lukrez und Vergil als Prototypen des neulateinischen Lehrgedichts zu fassen seien<sup>6</sup>, schon für die Anfänge der Gattung bestätigt.

Der Klassizismus der Makrostruktur hat seine Entsprechung in den einzelnen Teilen: Der Abschnitt

- Aspicias ut medici pueris absinthia dantes  
tingunt cecropio summum cratera liquore  
quominus offendat dulcedine tectus amaror  
– nam sunt austero plerunque salubria gustu –
- 5 utque lacertosis pelagi dum cerula verrunt  
remigibus levat ille canor quicunque laborem  
et se solatur cantando incurvus arator,  
sic mihi grammaticae placuit precepta referre  
carmine, mollicule demulcerentur ut aures
- 10 pectoraque haurirent sensus sub melle salubres  
nec nihil iccirco simul admiscere nitoris;  
nam nullum fuerit, fuerit nisi carmen amenum,  
imprimis linguam redolens omnino latinam  
fiat ut exemplum preceptor et ipse loquendi.<sup>7</sup>
- 15 doctor enim malus est in quo sua non radiat lex,  
quales iam seclis aliquot plerique fuere  
quod libros veterum non evolvere disertos.

zitiert den berühmten Vergleich des Lukrez aus dem Prooem des 4. Buches:

deinde quod obscura de re tam lucida pango  
carmina, musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.  
id quoque enim non ab nulla ratione videtur.  
nam veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes  
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum  
contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,  
ut puerorum aetas improvida ludificetur  
labrorum tenuis, interea perpotet amarum  
absinthei laticem deceptaque non capiatur,  
sed potius tali pacto recreata valescat,  
sic ego nunc, quoniam haec ratio plerumque videtur

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig, 'Neulateinische Lehrgedichte', pp. 105-106.

<sup>7</sup> Zur Interpunktion vgl. Rizzo – de Nonno, 'In margine', p. 1603, Anm. 71.

tristior esse quibus non est tractata, retroque  
 vulgus abhorret ab hac, volui tibi suaviloquenti  
carmine Pierio rationem exponere nostram  
 et quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle,  
 si tibi forte animum tali ratione tenere  
 versibus in nostris possem, dum percipis omnem  
 naturam rerum ac persentis utilitatem.  
 (Lucr., 4, 8-25 = 1, 933-950)<sup>8</sup>

Man hat zu Recht hervorgehoben, daß diesem ausführlichen Klassikerzitat Signalwirkung zukomme: Die Lehrdichtung Vallas schreibt nicht das mittelalterliche (grammatische) Lehrgedicht fort, sondern spannt den Bogen direkt zu den antiken Gattungsmustern.<sup>9</sup> Das Gattungsverständnis Vallas ist ein lukrezisches: Valla hat wenige Jahre zuvor in dem Brief an Serra, in dem er seine *Elegantie* von den mittelalterlichen Schulautoritäten abhebt, das *Doctrinale* des Alexander von Villa scharf angegriffen: ‘Alexandrum, qui et precepta latina a Prisciano sumens barbaris versibus enuntiavit et de suo multum erroris adiecit’.<sup>10</sup>

Den ‘barbarischen’ Versen Alexanders – gemeint ist v.a., aber nicht allein, der Gebrauch des Leoninus – wird die Süße antiker Lehrdichtung gegenübergestellt: Nicht nur sachliche Insuffizienz, sondern auch die Ästhetik des mittelalterlichen Lehrgedichtes ist Gegenstand der Kritik. Alexander hat in seinem Prooem<sup>11</sup> lediglich die Erfüllung des *utile* beansprucht. Die für die mittelalterliche Dichtungslehre in der Regel

<sup>8</sup> Valla hat wie Quintilian (s.u. p. 49) diese Verse als Prooemienverse rezipiert, weshalb Casciano zu Recht nach dem Prooem des vierten Buches zitiert (zur Dublette vgl. zuletzt Marcus Deufert, *Pseudo-Lukrezisches im Lukrez*, Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, 48 [Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1996], pp. 81-96).

<sup>9</sup> Valla hatte offenbar einen vollständigen Lukrez-Text zur Verfügung, da er nicht nur die bei Quintilian und anderen zitierten Verse 4,11-13 kennt: vgl. Rizzo – de Nonno, ‘In margine’, pp. 1602-1603 und Michael D. Reeve, ‘The Italian Tradition of Lucretius revisited’, *Aevum*, 25 (2005), 115-164 (p. 163).

<sup>10</sup> *Laurentii Valle Epistole*, ed. Ottavio Besomi – Mariangela Regoliosi, *Thesaurus mundi. Bibliotheca scriptorum Latinorum mediae et recentioris aetatis*, 24 (Padova: Antenore, 1984), p. 200; vgl. Rizzo – de Nonno, ‘In margine’, p. 1583.

<sup>11</sup> Scribere clericulis paro Doctrinale novellis  
 pluraque doctorum sociabo scripta meorum.  
 iamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani  
 quae veteres sociis nolebant pandere caris.  
 praesens huic operi sit gratia Pneumatis almi;  
 me iuvet et faciat complere quod utile fiat.  
 (1-6)

Zitiert ist nach der maßgeblichen Ausgabe von Dietrich Reichling, *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei. Kritisch-exegetische Ausgabe mit Einleitung, Verzeichnis der Handschriften und Drucke nebst Registern*, *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, XII (Leipzig: Neudruck Alfred Lorentz, [s.a.]), p. 7.

komplementär rezipierten horazischen Kategorien des *utile* und *dulce* werden im *Doctrinale*-Prooem für die Lehrdichtung auf das *utile* reduziert. Diese Reduktion ist für Valla Stein des Anstoßes:

- 15 nam nullum fuerit, fuerit nisi carmen amenum,  
 imprimis linguam redolens omnino latinam  
 fiat ut exemplum preceptor et ipse loquendi:  
 doctor enim malus est in quo sua non radiat lex,  
 quales iam seclis aliquot plerique fuere  
 quod libros veterum non evolvere disertos.

Das Prooem rezipiert nicht nur antikes Gattungsverständnis, es muß zugleich als eine Polemik gegen die Poetik des *Doctrinale* gelesen werden.

Weiter: Das lukrezische Gleichnis ist in der Antike – nicht im Mittelalter – häufiger genutzt worden: So hat Quintilian – ebenfalls in einem Prooem – das Bild gebraucht, um seine Methoden der Wissensvermittlung zu charakterisieren:

In ceteris (sc. libris) enim admiscere temptavimus aliquid nitoris (...) ut hoc ipso adliceremus magis iuventutem ad cognitionem eorum quae necessaria studiis arbitrabamur, si ducti iucunditate aliqua lectionis libentius discerent ea quorum ne ieiuna atque arida traditio averteret animos et ures praesertim tam delicatas raderet verebamus. Qua ratione se Lucretius dicit praecepta philosophiae carmine esse complexum (...)

(und nach dem Zitat von Lucr. 4, 11-13)

sed nos veremur ne parum hic liber mellis et absinthii multum habere videatur, sitque salubrior studiis quam dulcior. (Quint., *inst.*, 3, 1, 3-5)

Valla zitiert nicht nur im elften Vers ('nec nihil iccirco simul admiscere nitoris') oder in dem Bild der *mollicule aures* (9) Quintilians Passus<sup>12</sup>, auch die Apodosis des Vergleiches (8-9a) 'sic mihi grammaticae placuit precepta referre | carmine' ist der *Institutio* verpflichtet.

Diese Quintilian-Zitate gewinnen Profil, wenn man bedenkt, daß Quintilian eben noch vor Cicero Vallas stilistisches Ideal verkörperte. Der Referenztext des *Doctrinale* indes war, wie Valla betont, Priscians *Institutio grammatica*. In dem gleichen Brief an Sella wird Priscian gewiß der Rang einer minderen Autorität *inter alios* zugebilligt, aber – so dürfen wir das Quintilian-Zitat im Prooem der *Ars* verstehen – Quintilians Autorität in der Sache wie sein Bestreben, Lehrstoff und *Latinitas* zu versöhnen, werden von Valla als maßgebend für das eigene Selbstverständnis erachtet.

<sup>12</sup> So bereits Casciano in ihrem Kommentar.

Zugleich wird die Polemik gegen das *Doctrinale* fortgeführt: Alexander hat sich durchaus, wie er im Prooem ausführt, an antiken Grammatiken (gemeint sind Donat und v. a. Priscian) und nicht am zeitgenössischen Kanon orientiert:

- 1 Scribere clericulis paro *Doctrinale* novellis,  
pluraque doctorum sociabo scripta meorum.  
Iamque legent pueri pro nugis Maximiani  
quae veteres sociis nolebant pandere caris.

Aber er habe sich, so Vallas Kritik, nicht an die Beredten unten den Alten gehalten.

Der zweite Teil des Prooems setzt die implizite Polemik gegen das *Doctrinale* fort: Lehrdichtung wird dem Edukanden zum ästhetischen Erlebnis ('quare agite, o pueri, mecum cantate latine'; Vers 18), das sich von dem nüchternen Wahrnehmungsmodus des *Doctrinale* unterscheidet ('iamque legent pueri', Vers 3). Der Gedanke, daß die Grammatik das Fundament aller Wissenschaften legt, ist ein mittelalterlicher Gemeinplatz<sup>13</sup>; seine Präzisierung, wonach nur Vallas *Ars* diese Grundlagen bereiten könne, zeigt den Anspruch und den Stolz eines antiken Lehrdichters. Vallas Adressaten sind unmittelbar die *pueri* (18,23), die Vermittlungsinstanz (*magistri*, 30) tritt ganz in den Hintergrund: Ihr gilt nur die gesetzgeberisch (*edico*) vorgebrachte und durch antike Autoritäten untermauerte Mahnung, sich der Prügel zu enthalten:

- 30 id magis ut libeat vobis edico, magistri:  
cedite discipulos nunquam; nam verbera brutis,  
verba viris adhibentur, utrique ut discere possint  
si qua fides Marco Fabio graioque Platoni<sup>14</sup>;  
quin aliquid potius verbis<sup>15</sup> superaddite mellis.

Im *Doctrinale* fand der *magister* ausdrücklich als Vermittlungsinstanz Berücksichtigung:

<sup>13</sup> So auch die *glosa notabilis* zum *Doctrinale*: 'grammatica est ostiaria omnium aliarum scientiarum, linguae balbutientis expurgatrix aptissima, logicae ministra, rhetoricae magistra, theologiae interpres, medicinae refrigerium et totius quadrivii laudabile fundamentum' (zitiert nach Reichling, *Das Doctrinale*, p. III, Anm. 1).

<sup>14</sup> Zur Interpunktion vgl. Rizzo – de Nonno, 'In margine', p. 1621.

<sup>15</sup> So zu Recht Casciano mit Sabbadini für überliefertes *vestris* (V) und *vestri* (B). Entgegen dem Votum von Rizzo – de Nonno, 'In margine', pp. 1620-1621) wird *verbis* durch das *verba* von 32 empfohlen. Der Gedanke, daß auch die Lehrer autonome ästhetische Qualitäten besäßen (*vestri... mellis*), fügt sich schwerlich zu Duktus des Prooems und würde den Honigvergleich des Beginns seiner Wirkung berauben: *mel* ist im Prooem Metapher für *carmen*.

- 10 si pueri primo nequeant attendere plene,  
 hic tamen attendet, qui doctoris vice fungens,  
 atque legens pueris laica lingua reserabit;  
 et pueris etiam pars maxima plana patebit.

Abgesehen davon, daß die Volkssprache im Unterricht als *ancilla* keine Berücksichtigung mehr finden soll, der Anspruch Vallas ist der, überhaupt keines Mittlers mehr zu bedürfen: Sein Lehrgedicht soll aus sich heraus verstanden werden, eben weil in ihm selbst die Kriterien der *latinitas* erfüllt sind, zu denen auch die *perspicuitas* zählt.

Diesen Anspruch des Lehrdichters Valla stellt schließlich auch die *invocatio* auf: Während im *Doctrinale* der Heilige Geist als Inspirator angerufen wird

- 5 praesens huic operi sit gratia Pneumatis almi;  
 me iuvet et faciat complere quod utile fiat<sup>16</sup>

wird bei Valla die Lehrdichtung geradezu zum Medium der Gottesschau:

- 35 sed prius has epulas, pueri, quam tangere fas sit,  
 vobis fonte manus sunt pulchro ex more lavande,  
 hoc est auxilium precibus celeste petendum:  
 Christe, Deo de patre Deus, de virgine matre  
 vir genitus, mundi lux et sapientia solus,  
 40 da magis hanc ut te valeamus nosse per artem.

Vorbild ist wieder Lukrez, und zwar die Venus-Periklese des Anfangs: 'quo magis aeternum da dictis, diva, leporem' (Lucr., 1, 28); bzw. 'nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuvare | mortalis' (1, 31-32).

Indes: Der Abschlußvers versteht sich konträr zur Funktionsbestimmung, die Lukrez seiner Dichtung unmittelbar vor dem Honig-Vergleich zuweist. Für den Epikureer war die Lehrdichtung Medium der Befreiung von der Religion:

primum quod magnis doceo de rebus et artis  
religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo,  
 deinde quod obscura de re tam lucida pango  
 carmine, musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.  
 (Lucr., 4, 6-9 = 1, 931-934)

<sup>16</sup> Der Trinität wird am Schluß Dank für die Vollendung des Werkes abgestattet (2642-2645):

Doctrinale Dei virtute iuvante peregi.  
 grates reddo tibi, genitor Deus, et tibi, Christe,  
 nate Dei Deus, atque tibi, Deus halitus alme,  
 quos tres personas in idem credo deitatis.



Valla ordnet sich hinsichtlich der Grundsatzfrage in die Reihe der Antilukretianer innerhalb der Geschichte der Lehrdichtung ein, deren erster kein anderer als Vergil war, der in seinem Lob des Landlebens Lukrez preist, aber zugleich ein anderes Bekenntnis ablegt:

felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas  
atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum  
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari:  
fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis  
Pana Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.  
(georg., 2, 490-494)<sup>17</sup>

So wie Vergil die lukrezische Götterlehre und den medialen Charakter der Lehrdichtung als antireligiöse Streiterin in unpolemischer Form zurückweist, liegt es für den Humanisten Valla fern, den eben erst zitierten Lukrez offen zu diskreditieren. Respekt und Überwindung zugleich<sup>18</sup> charakterisieren die vergilische Lukrezrezeption, Bewunderung und Distanzierung kennzeichnen die Lukreznutzung des christlichen Humanisten Valla.<sup>19</sup>

Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg  
Institut für Altertumswissenschaften  
Universitätsplatz 12  
D-06108 Halle (Saale)  
monika.leonhardt@altertum.uni-halle.de

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. Vinzenz Buchheit, *Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgica. Dichtertum und Heilsweg*, Impulse der Forschung, 8 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), pp. 70-77.

<sup>18</sup> So Buchheit, *Der Anspruch*, pp. 74-75 zum vergilischen Passus.

<sup>19</sup> Anhangsweise noch zwei textkritische Probleme:

90-91 Nec procul his ea que vocitant patronymica Greci:

ovo 'Tyndarides' satus est, sacra 'Tyndaris' ovo.

Wie Helena ausgerechnet von dem selbst im grammatischen Lehrgedicht streng christlich argumentierenden Valla als *sacra* bezeichnet werden sollte, bleibt rätselhaft. Christliche Dogmatik und Mythos – Helena gilt der Antike nicht als Person göttlichen Charakters – kommen mit *sata* ins Lot. Zur Epanalepse vgl. 12 'nam nullum fuerit, fuerit nisi carmen amenum'.

152-153 nam 'iuvenis' tantum mas <est>, 'iunior' 'senior'que,  
ergo bis erravit quicunque 'iuvenula' dixit.

Im Gegensatz zu *adolescens* oder *infans*, die Valla als *communis generis* einordnet, sind 'iuvenis' und 'senior' nur Personen männlichen Geschlechtes zuzuweisen. Statt <est> würde ich <ut> oder <sic> ergänzen, da nur eine solche Zuweisung von *iunior seniorque* in der Ebene des Vergleiches eine gedankliche Brücke von 'iuvenis' zu *ergo* (...) 'iuvenula' geschaffen wird.

David AMHERDT

## LE BILINGUISME FRANCAIS – LATIN DANS LA CORRESPONDANCE DE JEAN DU BELLAY

Le cardinal Jean Du Bellay (v. 1498-1560) fut sa vie durant un fidèle et très habile serviteur de la politique des rois de France François I<sup>er</sup> et Henri II. Mécène très sollicité, il protégea notamment Rabelais et Joachim Du Bellay, son cousin. Le cardinal était en outre un excellent latiniste, qui composa en latin un recueil de *Poemata*<sup>1</sup>, au moins deux écrits d'apologie de la politique royale française<sup>2</sup>, ainsi qu'une cinquantaine de lettres. Sa correspondance comprend aussi une soixantaine de lettres bilingues français – latin. Ce sont ces lettres bilingues que nous nous proposons d'étudier dans cet article.

<sup>1</sup> Le recueil est publié en 1546 avec des poèmes de Jean Salmon Macrin: *Salmoni Macrini Juliodunensis Odarum libri tres ad P. Castellatum Pontificem Matisconum. Io. Bellaii Cardinalis amplissimi Poemata aliquot elegantissima ad eundem Matisconum Pontificem* (Parisiis: ex officina Rob. Stephani typographi Regii, 1546). Les *Poemata* de Du Bellay viennent d'être édités par Geneviève Demerson: Jean Du Bellay, *Poemata*, textes établis, traduits et annotés par Geneviève Demerson avec la collaboration de Richard Cooper, Société des textes français modernes, 240 (Paris: Société des textes français modernes, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Le premier de ces écrits de propagande est l'*Apologetica epistola de sententia Christianissimi Regis ad amplissimos Sacri Romani Imperii ordines scripta, ex castris ad Contaeum Belgicae vicum, die VII<sup>a</sup> Maii 1537*, dont le texte ne nous est connu que par les *Exemplaria literarum quibus et Christianissimus Galliarum rex Franciscus, ab adversariorum maledictis defenditur: et controversiarum causae, ex quibus bella hodie inter ipsum et Carolum quintum Imperatorem emerunt, explicantur* (Parisiis: ex officina Rob. Stephani, 1537), pp. 9-71. Du Bellay y défend la politique de François I<sup>er</sup> et repousse les accusations portées contre le roi par Charles Quint. Le second écrit apologétique est l'*Oratio de sententia christianissimi Regis, scripta ad serenissimos, reverendissimos, illustrissimos, excellentissimos, magnificos, spectabiles viros, universosque sacri Imperii ordines, Spirae conventum agentes* (Parisiis, ex officina Rob. Stephani typographii Regii, 1544), ff. Aiiir<sup>o</sup>-Aiiiii<sup>o</sup>, texte adressé par Jean Du Bellay, François Olivier et Africain de Mailly aux envoyés à la diète de Spire; les auteurs y déplorent d'avoir été empêchés de prononcer devant la diète le discours de François I<sup>er</sup>. Ce texte est publié dans *Correspondance du cardinal Jean Du Bellay*, III (1537-juillet 1547), éd. par Rémy Scheurer et Boris Petris, Société de l'histoire de France, 533 (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 2008), n° 626 (1544, 5 mars), 236-239.

Nous exposerons d'abord de manière succincte la théorie linguistique du code-switching ou alternance de codes, qui concerne généralement le discours oral mais qui peut aussi être appliquée au discours écrit (1). Après avoir délimité notre corpus (2), nous étudierons dans le détail divers aspects du phénomène de l'alternance français – latin (3): part du latin dans les lettres et nature de son intégration dans le discours français (3.1); caractère 'aléatoire' de l'alternance français – latin (3.2); fonctions de l'alternance: fonction 'littéraire' ou fonction 'informative' (3.3); influence du milieu et des circonstances sur le passage au latin (3.4); passage au latin à la faveur d'expressions ou de constructions latines dont le statut littéraire ou linguistique semble offrir un avantage sur le français (3.5): les citations et proverbes (3.5.1), ainsi que les expressions latines caractérisées par leur concision ou leur force d'expression (3.5.2). Dans une brève conclusion nous reprendrons de manière synthétique les résultats obtenus.

## 1. Le code-switching oral et le code-switching écrit<sup>3</sup>

Le code-switching est l'une des stratégies les plus courantes des bilingues entre eux. On distingue entre l'alternance de codes qui est l'expression de la compétence du 'vrai' bilingue (code alterné du bilingue) et l'alternance de codes qui résulte d'un manque de compétence dans la langue seconde (alternance de codes d'incompétence). Dans l'alternance de codes, deux codes (ou davantage) sont présents dans le discours, des segments dans une langue alternant avec des segments dans l'autre langue. Un segment peut varier en ordre de grandeur, allant d'un mot à un énoncé ou un ensemble d'énoncés, en passant par un groupe de mots, une proposition ou une phrase.

On distingue entre l'alternance 'inter-phrases' ou 'inter-énoncés', où l'on prononce une phrase dans une langue puis une phrase dans l'autre, et l'alternance 'intra-phrase', où les segments alternés sont des constituants de la même phrase. On peut encore distinguer l'alternance 'extra-phrase' comme les 'fillers', 'tags' ou expressions idiomatiques, que le

<sup>3</sup> Je résume dans ce paragraphe la présentation de Josiane F. Hamers – Michel Blanc, *Bilinguisme et bilinguisme* (Bruxelles: Pierre Mardaga, 1983), pp. 198-205. Les études sur le code-switching oral sont légion. Voir notamment Carol Myers-Scotton, *Duelling languages. Grammatical structure in codeswitching* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), ainsi que *The bilingualism reader*, éd. par Li Wei (Londres – New York: Routledge, 2000), recueils d'articles qui se veulent une sorte de manuel du code-switching.

locuteur peut introduire dans son discours'. L'alternance 'intra-phrase' est celle qui requiert la compétence la plus développée, à savoir une compétence bilingue quasi équilibrée; viennent ensuite, dans l'ordre, l'alternance 'inter-phrases' et l'alternance 'extra-phrase'.<sup>4</sup>

En règle générale le locuteur respecte parfaitement les règles et la structure de la langue qu'il est en train de parler. Autrement dit, chaque segment appartient entièrement soit à une langue, soit à une autre; il n'y a pas transfert d'éléments ou de règles d'une langue dans une autre.<sup>5</sup> Dans le code alterné du bilingue en particulier, 'une alternance est possible à un point de jonction de la phrase où la juxtaposition des segments  $L_X$  et  $L_Y$  ne viole aucune règle syntaxique ni en  $L_X$  ni en  $L_Y$ '.<sup>6</sup> Le code alterné du bilingue 'semble' donc 'être l'expression d'une double compétence propre à l'individu bilingue, puisqu'il lui faut d'une part connaître les règles de production linguistique dans les deux langues et, d'autre part, les règles de l'alternance. Le code alterné du bilingue (...) semble (...) une mesure sensible de la compétence bilingue'.<sup>7</sup>

Dans son étude sur le code-switching intitulée *Duelling languages*, Carol Myers-Scotton a montré qu'il est généralement possible de distinguer entre une langue matrice ('matrix language'), qui joue un rôle dominant, et une langue insérée ('embedded language').<sup>8</sup> Myers-Scotton

<sup>4</sup> Voici la définition donnée par Carol Myers-Scotton, 'Code-switching as indexical of social negotiations', in *The bilingualism reader*, pp. 136-165 (p. 142): 'Code-switching is defined as the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation, without prominent phonological assimilation of one variety to the others [...]; switching may be either intrasentential or intersentential and often (but non necessarily) involves stretches of more than one word'.

<sup>5</sup> Dans lequel cas on aurait affaire à ce qu'on appelle le code-mixing, c'est-à-dire le mélange de codes, où le locuteur d'une langue X ( $= L_X$ ) transfère dans la langue X des éléments ou règles de la langue Y ( $= L_Y$ ), à quelque niveau que ce soit (phonologique, grammatical, lexical), éléments qui ne sont pas intégrés au système linguistique de la langue X, comme dans la phrase 'je vais back venir', 'qui est un syntagme verbal français composé d'une forme verbale française 'je vais venir' et d'un élément morphologique anglais, 'back' mais qui est antéposé au verbe selon une règle structurale du français inacceptable en anglais' (Hamers – Blanc, *Bilingualité et bilinguisme*, p. 199, à qui nous empruntons ces explications). Le code-mixing peut être schématisé ainsi:  $/L_X/(L_X L_Y)/L_X/$  ( $L_Y L_X/L_X/$  etc., et le code-switching de la manière suivante:  $/L_X/L_Y/L_X/L_Y/$  etc. Notons enfin que la distinction entre code-mixing et code-switching n'est pas toujours nette.

<sup>6</sup> Hamers – Blanc, *Bilingualité et bilinguisme*, p. 200; c'est ce qu'on appelle la 'contrainte d'équivalence': 'pour qu'il y ait alternance entre deux segments, il faut que ceux-ci soient interchangeables et que cette segmentation soit permise par les règles syntaxiques des deux langues'.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Myers-Scotton, *Duelling languages*, notamment pp. 46 sqq. Myers-Scotton étudie en particulier le code-switching intra-phrase.

souligne en outre le caractère difficilement prévisible du passage d'une langue à l'autre; il s'agit là d'une caractéristique importante du code-switching.<sup>9</sup>

Alors que la bibliographie sur le code-switching dans le discours oral est très abondante, les études sur le code-switching dans le discours écrit font presque entièrement défaut – à supposer bien sûr qu'il soit légitime de parler de code-switching dans le cas de l'écrit. Nous mentionnerons ici trois études qui ont abordé la question.

La première est celle de Brigitte Stolt qui, dans son étude des *Tischreden* de Luther, fait œuvre de pionnière en étudiant le phénomène du bilinguisme allemand – latin dans les *Propos de table* du réformateur.<sup>10</sup> Les *Tischreden* sont en fait très proches du discours oral, bien qu'elles aient été retouchées pour la publication.

La deuxième est celle de Norbert Furrer qui, dans son ouvrage sur la pluralité des langues en Suisse, s'est notamment intéressé aux manifestations intertextuelles de plurilinguisme telles que le 'code-shifting' et le 'Sprachverzicht'<sup>11</sup>, ainsi qu'aux manifestations intra-textuelles telles que le 'code-switching', les interférences et le 'code-mixing'.<sup>12</sup> Il propose entre autres une typologie du code-switching fort éclairante.<sup>13</sup> Il se fonde pour son étude sur des textes couvrant la période XV<sup>e</sup> – XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

<sup>10</sup> Brigitte Stolt, *Die Sprachmischung in Luthers Tischreden. Studien zum Problem der Zweisprachigkeit*, Stockholmer germanistische Forschungen, 4 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964).

<sup>11</sup> Norbert Furrer, *Die vierzigsprachige Schweiz: Sprachkontakte und Mehrsprachigkeit in der vorindustriellen Gesellschaft (15.-19. Jahrhundert)*, I (Zurich: Chronos, 2002), 295-297.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 297-311.

<sup>13</sup> Furrer, *ibid.*, 298-304, propose une typologie du code-switching dont il définit sept catégories: 1) le code-switching 'aléatoire' (le locuteur ou l'écrivain choisissent les termes ou expressions qui leur viennent à l'esprit sur le moment), 2) le code-switching 'palliatif' (on utilise une expression dans une langue étrangère parce qu'il n'y a pas d'équivalent dans la langue dans laquelle on s'exprime), 3) le code-switching 'informatif' (on rapporte les paroles de quelqu'un dans la langue même dans laquelle elles ont été prononcées, pour éviter tout malentendu, par exemple), 4) le code-switching 'nécessaire ou impératif' (qui obéit à des règles établies dans une société donnée; c'est le cas, par exemple, des mots tabouïsés), 5) le code-switching 'conventionnel' (par convention on se sert d'une expression dans une langue 'classique', par exemple pour désigner une fonction universitaire — comme *Rector Acad.* — ou pour indiquer une date — par exemple *Anno 1534*), 6) le code-switching 'démonstratif' (on se sert de tel mot ou expression pour se distinguer de la manière de parler de l'extérieur, d'un autre groupe, par exemple), 7) le code-switching 'ludique' (on utilise tel mot ou expression pour amuser le lecteur). Des sept catégories définies par Furrer, *Die vierzigsprachige Schweiz*, 298-304, dans sa typologie, seules les trois premières apparaissent dans notre corpus; voir ci-dessus, pt. 2,

Enfin, dans son étude sur le bilinguisme latin – allemand dans la *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt-Sprache* (1663) du théoricien du langage Justus-Georg Schottelius (XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle), Nicola McLelland a montré que l'on peut parfaitement, en l'occurrence, parler de code-switching, c'est-à-dire de l'utilisation de deux codes dans le même 'communicative event', bien que l'on ait affaire à des discours revus pour la publication. Schottelius se comporte en véritable bilingue et passe d'un code à l'autre de la même façon qu'un bilingue dans le discours oral spontané, sans que l'on puisse prévoir le passage d'un code à l'autre.<sup>14</sup> Et McLelland de préciser: 'Schottelius' writing resembles the speech of the bilingual in conversation with other competent bilinguals, where there is no communicative imperative to restrict codeswitching, as both codes are familiar to the interlocutors — or rather here, to the assumed readership'.<sup>15</sup>

## 2. Les lettres bilingues de Jean Du Bellay: le corpus

La correspondance de Jean Du Bellay commence en 1527 et s'achève en 1560, l'année de sa mort. A ce jour la correspondance publiée (de 1527 à juin 1547) compte 991 lettres, de et à Jean Du Bellay. La correspondance couvrant la période juillet 1547-février 1560, en cours de publication, comporte plus de 1000 lettres.<sup>16</sup>

à propos des expressions 'techniques' ecclésiastiques (code-switching 'palliatif'); pt. 3.2, 'Le caractère 'aléatoire' de l'alternance' (code-switching 'aléatoire'; la presque totalité des passages latins de Du Bellay correspondent à cette définition); et pt. 3.2.1, 'Les paroles rapportées en latin' (code-switching 'informatif').

<sup>14</sup> Nicola McLelland, 'A historical study of codeswitching in writing: German and Latin in Schottelius' *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt-Sprache* (1663)', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 8/4 (2004), 499-523 (p. 508).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ambassades en Angleterre de Jean Du Bellay. La première ambassade (septembre 1527-février 1529)*, éd. par Victor Louis Bourrilly – Pierre de Vaissière, Archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France (Paris: Picard, 1905); *Correspondance du cardinal Jean Du Bellay*, éd. par Rémy Scheurer, I (mai 1529-juin 1535) et II (juin 1535-1536), Société de l'histoire de France, 475 et 482 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969 et 1973). Pour les années suivantes, l'édition de la correspondance du cardinal Du Bellay est réalisée à l'Université de Neuchâtel sous la direction de Loris Petris et Rémy Scheurer, avec la collaboration de David Amherdt, Isabelle Chariatte et Nathalie Guillod ([www.unine.ch/jeandubellay](http://www.unine.ch/jeandubellay)). A déjà paru: *Correspondance du cardinal Jean Du Bellay*, III (1537-juillet 1547). Les tomes suivants sont en préparation (t. IV: 1547-1548; t. V: 1549-1553; t. VI: 1553-1555; t. VII: 1555-1560). Nous citons les lettres de Jean Du Bellay non publiées d'après les transcriptions dont nous disposons et selon le schéma suivant: date, destinataire.

La grande majorité des lettres de Jean Du Bellay sont en français. Sa correspondance comprend aussi une cinquantaine de lettres latines. Dans ces dernières, tout comme dans ses autres écrits latins, le cardinal fait preuve d'une parfaite aisance dans la langue antique, dont il maîtrise toutes les subtilités, soignant son style et parsemant ses lettres de citations et d'expressions proverbiales.<sup>17</sup> Cette maîtrise du latin écrit va de paire avec une parfaite aisance à l'oral, attestée par de nombreux témoignages.<sup>18</sup>

On compte enfin une bonne douzaine de correspondants qui reçoivent de Jean Du Bellay des lettres bilingues français – latin, la part du latin variant considérablement d'une lettre à l'autre, allant d'un mot à des pages entières. Ce sont toutes des lettres écrites à des correspondants maîtrisant le latin, à des degrés divers, d'ailleurs: il y a des différences notables entre la maîtrise du latin d'un Henri II<sup>19</sup>, d'un côté, et celle d'un

<sup>17</sup> On sait peu de chose sur l'éducation de Jean Du Bellay, sinon qu'il étudia à l'université d'Angers puis au collège de Navarre, à Paris. Voir notamment Philippe Hamon, 'Bellay, famille du', in *La France de la Renaissance. Histoire et dictionnaire*, éd. par Arlette Jouanna et al. (Paris: Laffont, 2001), pp. 628-632 (p. 630); 'Du Bellay (Jean)', in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, éd. par Michel Prévost et al. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1932-), XI (1967), 892.

<sup>18</sup> Ainsi, dans son épître dédicatoire de la *Topographia antiquae Romae* de Bartolomeo Marliani, parue chez Gryphe à Lyon en 1534, Rabelais fait l'éloge de l'éloquence dont fit preuve Jean Du Bellay lors d'un discours prononcé devant le Sacré Collège pour demander au pape Clément VII de surseoir à sa sentence d'excommunication à l'encontre de Henry VIII: 'Quos tu aculeos in eorum animis a quibus es ipse auditus cum delectatione reliquisti! Quanta in sententiis argutia, in disserendo subtilitas, maiestas in respondendo, acrimonia in confutando, libertas in dicendo enitebat! Dictio vero illa tua erat pura sic, ut Latine loqui pene solus in Latio viderere: sic autem gravis, ut in singulari dignitate omnis tamen adesset humanitas ac lepos.' L'épître est publiée dans *Correspondance du Cardinal Jean Du Bellay*, I, n° 198 (1534, 31 août), 415-418 et dans François Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. par Mireille Huchon, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 15 (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), pp. 989-990 (avec une traduction française). Montaigne (*Les Essais*, I, 10) évoque quant à lui un discours improvisé par le futur cardinal devant Clément VII à Marseille le 13 octobre 1533. Dans une lettre écrite à Charles de Guise en août 1548, Jean Du Bellay rapporte une entrevue qu'il eut chez lui avec l'ambassadeur de France à Rome, François de Rohan, s<sup>r</sup> de Gié, et plusieurs cardinaux, où il fut question du projet de ligue entre Henri II, Paul III et Venise, qui devait aussi comprendre les Suisses et les Grisons; c'est Du Bellay qui, en raison de sa bonne connaissance du latin, est chargé par Gié de défendre la position du roi: 'Vous sçavez assez, Monseigneur, sans que je le vous repete, quelz pointz nous avions a accorder, desquelz le premier qui se presenta ce fut celluy des Suysses, suz lequel me prya mons<sup>r</sup> de Gyé que, pour estre le traicté en latin, j'en parlasse' (1548, peu après le 20 août, à Charles de Guise).

<sup>19</sup> Henri II eut notamment comme précepteur l'humaniste italien Benedetto Tagliacarne. Quoique manifestant peu d'inclinations naturelles pour l'étude, il maîtrisait le latin, l'italien et l'espagnol. Voir Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, king of France, 1547-1559* (Durham – Londres: Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 7-8.

Charles de Guise<sup>20</sup> ou d'un François Olivier<sup>21</sup>, de l'autre. Il n'est donc pas nécessaire que le correspondant maîtrise parfaitement le latin, mais seulement qu'il soit en mesure de comprendre ce qui lui est écrit.

Sont donc exclues de notre corpus les lettres dont la part de latin se réduit à des expressions 'techniques' qui n'auraient pas pu ou qui auraient difficilement pu être traduites en français.<sup>22</sup> Il arrive ainsi, à vrai dire plutôt rarement<sup>23</sup>, que Jean Du Bellay introduise dans son texte des expressions latines appartenant au langage ecclésiastique, qu'un personnage cultivé est censé comprendre, quel que soit par ailleurs son niveau de latin. Voici un exemple tiré d'une lettre française, plus précisément d'un mémoire remis à Jean Pot, à qui Jean Du Bellay écrit exclusivement en français. Parlant de l'attribution de la commende de bénéfices, le cardinal use de l'expression ecclésiastique technique de 'commenda in commendam':

(...) mais desja s'il falloyt obeyr aux desja faictz, led. s<sup>r</sup> ne pourroyt nommer aux eveschez que a trente ans ne aux abbayes que a vingt-cinq ny n'auroyt plus lieu ce que le a jusques icy et le deffendz chacun jour a cor et a cry les nominations **de commenda in commendam** et aultres choses semblables, par quoy semble estre bon de leur gratifier d'oster cest article. (1548, mi-octobre, à Jean Pot)

Il va de soi que l'on trouve aussi des expressions 'techniques' de ce genre dans des lettres bilingues. Dans l'extrait suivant, tiré d'une lettre de Jean Du Bellay à Charles de Guise, la question est de savoir si le futur cardinal de Vendôme, Charles de Bourbon, qui vient d'être désigné cardinal-prêtre, est prêtre ou non. Du Bellay affirme que s'il ne l'est pas, il faudra l'ordonner prêtre au plus tôt; il précise toutefois qu'il ne sait pas si, le cas échéant, le futur cardinal est au bénéfice d'une dispense d'âge ('de aetate') pour être ordonné prêtre si jeune<sup>24</sup>:

<sup>20</sup> Charles de Guise (1525-1574), nommé archevêque de Reims en 1538 et promu cardinal en 1547, avait fréquenté le collège de Navarre. C'était un fin lettré et un orateur d'une éloquence hors du commun, en français comme en latin. Voir Daniel Cuisiat, *Lettres du cardinal Charles de Lorraine (1525-1574)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 319 (Genève: Droz, 1998), pp. 20-22.

<sup>21</sup> François Olivier fut chancelier de France de 1545 à sa mort (1560). Il reçut une éducation très soignée et apprit le latin, le grec et l'hébreu. Voir Jean Dupèbe, 'Un chancelier humaniste sous François I<sup>er</sup>: François Olivier (1497-1560)', in *Humanism and Letters in the age of François I<sup>er</sup>. Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> Cambridge French Renaissance colloquium. 19-21 September 1994*, éd. par Philip Ford et Gillian Jondorf (Cambridge: Cambridge French Colloquia, 1996), pp. 87-114 (p. 100).

<sup>22</sup> C'est ce que Furrer appelle 'code-switching palliatif' (voir ci-dessus, n. 13).

<sup>23</sup> Nous avons dénombré une demi-douzaine de cas.

<sup>24</sup> Il a alors 25 ans.



Si ainsi est, il faudroyt qu'il se feist faire prestre incontinent et sans bruyct; toutesfoiz je ne sçay s'il est dispensé *de aetate*. Vous y sçavez adviser.  
(1548, 14 janvier bis, à Charles de Guise)

Sur l'ensemble de la correspondance on compte près de 70 lettres bilingues écrites par Jean Du Bellay à plus d'une douzaine de correspondants, de 1531 à 1559. Ce sont (nous suivons, autant que faire se peut, l'ordre chronologique des lettres qui leur sont adressées): François de Dinteville (trois lettres); les cardinaux Jean de Lorraine et François de Tournon (une lettre); Jean Bertrand (sept lettres); François Olivier (trois lettres); Charles de Guise (trente-sept lettres); Henri II (sept lettres); Jean de Morvilliers (une lettre); Jean Duthier (deux lettres); Jean des Monstiers (une lettre); Jean de Monluc (une lettre); Bernardin Bochetel (une lettre); Girolamo della Rovere, s<sup>r</sup> de Vineu ou Viconovo (une lettre); Jean de Saint-Marcel d'Avançon (une lettre). A ces lettres s'ajoute un mémoire rédigé par Jean Du Bellay datant de l'année 1550. Dans la plupart des cas ces personnages reçoivent aussi (et surtout) des lettres françaises de Jean Du Bellay; ils ne reçoivent jamais de lettres latines, à l'exception de Charles de Guise, qui en reçoit une. Ces mêmes personnages écrivent à Jean Du Bellay en français, si tant est qu'ils lui écrivent. Les deux uniques correspondants cités ci-dessus qui lui écrivent des lettres bilingues sont François Olivier (deux lettres<sup>25</sup>) et Charles de Guise (six lettres<sup>26</sup>).

### 3. Le phénomène de l'alternance des langues dans les lettres bilingues de Jean Du Bellay

#### 3.1. *La part du latin et son intégration dans le discours français*

Dans les lettres de notre corpus, comme dans tout discours bilingue, il y a alternance entre des segments dans une langue (en l'occurrence le français) et des segments dans une autre (le latin). La part de latin varie considérablement d'une lettre à l'autre. Dans certains cas la présence du

<sup>25</sup> *Correspondance*, III, n° 579 (1542, 12 janvier), 171-174, et n° 619 (1543, 11 décembre), 226-229.

<sup>26</sup> Ce sont trois lettres françaises suivies d'un post-scriptum autographe en latin, à savoir la lettre du 3 mai 1548, la lettre du 26 mai 1548 et la lettre du 22 janvier 1549; une lettre du 20 février 1549 contenant quelques mots latins dans le second post-scriptum, autographe; une lettre du 9 août 1548 et une autre du 16 mars 1549, toutes deux presque entièrement en latin. Du Bellay reçoit encore de Guise 25 lettres entièrement en français.

latin est limitée à un, deux ou trois passages très courts : un mot, une expression, une citation. Dans d'autres cas les segments latins sont plus longs : plusieurs phrases et jusqu'à des paragraphes entiers. Il arrive que le latin soit majoritaire, sans que l'on puisse pour autant parler de lettre 'latine'. En effet — c'est une caractéristique importante de notre corpus — dans tous les cas la 'langue matrice' des lettres de Jean Du Bellay est le français, et ce même pour les rares lettres qui contiennent davantage de latin que de français.<sup>27</sup> Et de fait, toutes les lettres du cardinal, à de très rares exceptions près<sup>28</sup>, commencent et s'achèvent en français ; en particulier, l'adresse et les salutations sont toujours en français. Le latin est donc dans tous les cas la langue 'insérée'. La qualité de matrice du français est confirmée par le fait que, si l'on peut lire chez Du Bellay des phrases en français entrecoupées de mots ou expressions latins, rares sont les phrases latines entrecoupées de mots ou expressions français. On pourrait dire, pour simplifier à l'extrême, qu'un Français écrit en français<sup>29</sup>, bien que, presque malgré lui et pour toutes sortes de raisons, le latin puisse faire irruption et repousser le français pour un temps plus ou moins long.

Les facteurs susceptibles d'expliquer la plus ou moins grande part de latin sont très variés, comme nous le verrons plus loin. Le niveau de connaissance du latin du correspondant joue naturellement un rôle important. Ainsi, Du Bellay se limite à deux ou trois mots ou à une citation ou expression proverbiale lorsqu'il a affaire à un correspondant ne pratiquant d'ordinaire pas le latin, comme Henri II, pour des raisons évidentes de bienséance.<sup>30</sup> À l'inverse, il peut arriver qu'il écrive en latin des paragraphes entiers à des personnages maîtrisant parfaitement le latin, comme Charles de Guise<sup>31</sup>, Jean de Lorraine<sup>32</sup> et François de

<sup>27</sup> Un bel exemple est celui de la lettre du 9 août 1548, de Charles de Guise à Jean Du Bellay, où le français est limité à quelques lignes au début et à la fin de la lettre.

<sup>28</sup> Comme la lettre du 18 janvier 1532, à François de Dinteville (*Correspondance*, I, n° 116, 252), qui commence par une citation d'Horace ('Adeo nihil est ex omni parte beatum') tirée de *carm.*, 2, 16, 27-28, mais qui se poursuit en français.

<sup>29</sup> A moins que le correspondant ne maîtrise pas le français ou que, pour des raisons 'idéologiques', l'épistolier décide d'écrire entièrement en latin — c'est le cas des humanistes, qui renoncent à leur langue maternelle au profit du latin ; leur désir de faire du latin une langue universelle, parlée dans toute la République des lettres, explique aisément cette pratique ; Jean Du Bellay reçoit ainsi deux lettres latines de Germain de Brie et une de Barthélemy Latomus.

<sup>30</sup> Jean Du Bellay introduit une citation latine dans une demi-douzaine de lettres à Henri II, ce qu'il ne faisait jamais avec François I<sup>er</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Sur la maîtrise du latin de Charles de Guise, voir ci-dessus, n. 20.

<sup>32</sup> Aucun renseignement précis ne nous est parvenu sur les études de Jean de Lorraine. Il était connu pour son amour des belles-lettres et sa libéralité à l'égard des lettrés, et

Tournon.<sup>33</sup> Bien sûr, il arrive aussi qu'il écrive des lettres entièrement en français, peut-être avec quelques mots de latin, à des personnages maîtrisant pourtant très bien la langue de Cicéron. Par exemple, il écrit plutôt en français à François Olivier, lequel en revanche lui écrit deux lettres bilingues<sup>34</sup> qui offrent d'ailleurs de très beaux exemples d'alternance français – latin.<sup>35</sup>

On rencontre dans les lettres de notre corpus une alternance français – latin 'inter-phrases' (une ou plusieurs phrases en français puis une ou plusieurs phrases en latin, par exemple), mais surtout une alternance 'intra-phrase', cette dernière étant le niveau le plus élevé de compétence dans l'alternance des langues, puisqu'elle nécessite une parfaite maîtrise de la syntaxe des deux langues, les segments alternés étant des constituants de la même phrase.

Généralement, les segments latins obéissent aux règles grammaticales et syntaxiques du latin et les segments français aux règles du français.<sup>36</sup> Dans le cas de phrases commençant en français et s'achevant en latin, par exemple, on constate toujours une parfaite intégration du segment latin dans la phrase française; la ressemblance des syntaxes latine et française facilite évidemment le passage d'un code à l'autre.

Ainsi, dans le passage qui suit, l'ablatif de qualité 'magno et infracto animo' prolonge harmonieusement la phrase française:

Je vous assure bien que le Pape a prins la chose comme il debvoit et qu'il est **magno et infracto animo; faciat tantum Deus ne isti nobis antevertant.** (1548, 18 février, à Charles de Guise)

semble avoir composé des vers latins dans sa jeunesse. Voir Albert Collignon, 'Le mécénat du cardinal Jean de Lorraine', *Annales de l'Est*, 24/2 (1910), 1-175 (pp. 37-39).

<sup>33</sup> Michel François, *Le cardinal François de Tournon, homme d'Etat, mécène et humaniste (1489-1562)*, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 173 (Paris: de Bocard, 1951), rapporte, dans les pages qu'il consacre à l'éducation du cardinal (pp. 18-19), le jugement d'un familier de Tournon, Denis Lambin, 'qui ne trouvait pas chez lui cette profonde connaissance du latin et du grec qu'avaient les cardinaux Bembo et Sadolet'. Si sa connaissance du latin n'était pas profonde, la formation reçue à l'abbaye Saint-Antoine de Viennois était plus que suffisante pour comprendre le latin des lettres de Du Bellay.

<sup>34</sup> Voir ci-dessus, n. 25.

<sup>35</sup> Voici un bel exemple, tiré de la lettre du 12 janvier 1542, *Correspondance*, III, n° 579, 172-173: 'Vray est que, sub id tempus que je la feiz demander, on me dist que mons<sup>r</sup> le cardinal de Lorraine en avoit aultresfoys faict parler; par quoy egi apud eum super hac re, ne qua impingerem, de sorte que, bona ejus gratia, elle me feust accordee. Idem prorsus acturus en vostre endroit si quid hujusmodi inaudiissem, car (...)'.  
<sup>36</sup> Il y a des cas limites où règne un certain flou. Ainsi, dans le cas des paroles rapportées au style indirect on constate que Du Bellay hésite entre la construction française (avec un verbe conjugué à un temps personnel) et la construction latine (avec une proposition infinitive); voir ci-dessous, pt. 3.2.1, 'Les paroles rapportées'.

Dans le deuxième exemple la conjonction française ‘que’ joue le rôle de la conjonction consécutive latine ‘ut’ accompagnée du subjonctif (en l’occurrence ‘videar’).

Aussi, a dire la verité, n’ay-je pretendu de me y monstrier tel, ne cherchant aultre felicité en ce monde que de tant m’en despouiller que avec la bonne grace du Roy **videar dedisse locum iniquae et in me saevienti fortunae** (...) (1549, mi-juin, à Charles de Guise)

### 3.2. *Le caractère ‘aléatoire’ de l’alternance latin – français*

Jean Du Bellay passe manifestement du français au latin de manière imprévisible ou ‘aléatoire’<sup>37</sup> : à un moment donné l’emploi du latin s’impose et repousse le français, jusqu’au moment où le français prend à nouveau le dessus. D’une manière générale on peut penser que le cardinal passe au latin parce que sur le moment cette langue lui semble plus apte à exprimer ce qu’il a à l’esprit, étant entendu que tout ce qui est dit aurait aussi pu l’être en français.

Dans les lettres bilingues le latin est employé de manière non aléatoire dans un cas de figure, qu’il convient d’examiner brièvement.

#### 3.2.1. Les paroles rapportées en latin : un cas d’alternance non aléatoire<sup>38</sup>

Un cas où le passage au latin ne peut pas être qualifié d’aléatoire est celui de paroles prononcées ou écrites par quelqu’un en latin et rapportées par Du Bellay en latin : en l’occurrence, et dans la mesure où son correspondant comprend le latin, il est forcément plus simple pour l’épistolier de reprendre la citation exacte ; dans ce cas de figure le passage au latin est ‘prévisible’.

Voici un passage d’une lettre à Charles de Guise dont les seuls passages en latin, au nombre de six, sont des extraits d’une lettre que le jeune

<sup>37</sup> C’est ce que Furrer appelle ‘code-switching aléatoire’ (voir ci-dessus, n. 13). Le caractère imprévisible du passage au latin est une caractéristique importante du code-switching (voir ci-dessus, pt. 1). Il faut comprendre ici le terme ‘aléatoire’ dans le sens qu’à aucun moment le passage au latin n’est nécessaire ou prévisible même si, c’est vrai, le passage au latin n’est pas à proprement parler dû au hasard, puisque d’une certaine manière la supériorité du latin ou l’existence d’un proverbe en latin ‘impose’ le passage au latin.

<sup>38</sup> C’est ce que Furrer appelle ‘code-switching informatif’ (voir ci-dessus, n. 13). Un autre cas d’alternance non aléatoire est celui des expressions techniques ecclésiastiques, qui échappent au caractère aléatoire de l’alternance puisqu’elles sont nécessairement en latin. Voir ci-dessus, pt. 2.

cardinal avait fait parvenir à son aîné quelques jours auparavant, le 9 août:

Mais, Monseigneur, les deux poinctz qui autant me font esbahir en vostre lectre ce sont qu'en l'ung vous dictez '**desyderatum hic a vobis fuisse hominis optimi alicujus ingenium qui res vestras melius curaret**'; l'autre que vous dictez '**Regem miratum esse cardinalem Bellaum, quem patronum suscepisset etiam in mala causa defendenda.**' (1548, peu après le 20 août, à Charles de Guise)

Le deuxième exemple est tiré d'une autre lettre de Jean Du Bellay à Charles de Guise. Le cardinal y cite les paroles prononcées en latin lors d'une entrevue par le cardinal Marcello Crescenzi (au discours indirect) et par le cardinal Robert de Lenoncourt (au style direct). Avec la 'citation' de Crescenzi on a affaire à un discours indirect obéissant en fait aux règles du français, puisqu'en latin on aurait eu une infinitive.<sup>39</sup>

Mais, après que Crescentiis en son tour eut confirmé ce que j'avoye dict, persistant que **nihil hic fiebat contra decretum, 'quia'**, va dire souldainement Lenoncourt, '**dominus de Crescentiis dicit non esse contra decretum, ideo ego nolo impedire expeditionem.**' (1548, 29 mai, à Charles de Guise)

Dans une lettre 1535 adressée de Rome aux cardinaux de Lorraine et de Tournon, Jean Du Bellay cite à plusieurs reprises, en latin, des paroles de ses collègues cardinaux. Il affirme ainsi:

(...) tous sont d'avis que **non deberet incipi ab executione** et que **citatio sceu monitio deberet precedere sentenciam** (...) (*Correspondance*, II, n° 313 (1535, 22 décembre), 211, aux cardinaux de Lorraine et de Tournon)

Ici aussi on a affaire à un discours indirect obéissant aux règles du français. Il en va de même dans l'exemple suivant, tiré d'une lettre à Jean de Monluc:

Et la raison que leur ay mandee a esté coulouree suz ma maladie, disant que **omnis gravis meditatio augebat mihi febrim.** (1551, 11 août, à Jean de Monluc)

En revanche, à nouveau dans la lettre aux cardinaux de Lorraine et de Tournon, les paroles rapportées le sont cette fois sous forme de proposition infinitive; le 'que' français a disparu:

Campiege disoit **considerandum esse ne foederati principes lederentur, presertim Rex Christianissimus quem audiebat magnam amititiam**

<sup>39</sup> Sur le flou qui règne dans l'emploi de la proposition infinitive, voir ci-dessus, n. 36.

**habere cum rege Anglo** (...) (*Correspondance*, II, n° 313 (1535, 22 décembre), 212, aux cardinaux de Lorraine et de Tournon)

Dans un passage de cette même lettre de décembre 1535, Du Bellay interprète la pensée du pape et imagine ce qu'il aurait pu dire; ces paroles, que le pape n'a jamais prononcées et que le cardinal n'avait par conséquent pas 'dans l'oreille', il les écrit en français:

(...) comme s'il vouloit dire: 'Je vous ay appelez pour condamner, non pour opiner'. (*Ibid.*)

### 3.3. *Fonction 'littéraire' ou fonction 'informative' de l'alternance*

On peut distinguer schématiquement deux types d'alternances ou de passages au latin: le passage au latin répondant à des motivations de nature 'littéraire' et le passage au latin où le latin remplace le français dans sa fonction de véhicule de l'information.

#### 3.3.1. *Fonction 'littéraire' ou 'rhétorique' du passage au latin*

Le premier cas de figure est celui des lettres bilingues qui ne contiennent que quelques mots ou expressions latines isolés. Dans ces cas on a affaire à un passage au latin 'littéraire' ou 'rhétorique', dans le sens où le latin n'est pas le véhicule du message de Du Bellay, qui emploie des expressions dans cet idiome dans l'unique but de donner plus de poids à son message français.<sup>40</sup> C'est ce qui arrive d'ordinaire avec les citations ou les expressions littéraires, dont nous verrons des exemples plus loin.<sup>41</sup> Ce souci esthétique n'est généralement pas la préoccupation principale de l'auteur d'une lettre écrite à des fins diplomatiques, puisqu'aussi bien il n'a pas le temps de remettre plusieurs fois l'ouvrage sur le métier, comme un Plinie le Jeune dans l'Antiquité. Mais cela ne signifie pas pour autant que ces lettres soient négligées: la diplomatie exige que l'on pèse ses mots et le but est de convaincre; et pour convaincre, un minimum de rhétorique est indispensable.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Hamers – Blanc, *Bilingualité et bilinguisme*, pp. 202-203, soulignent qu'«une des fonctions du code alterné est qu'il permet au bilingue de créer des effets de style qui sont l'expression d'une identité propre au bilingue auxquels les monolingues n'ont pas accès».

<sup>41</sup> Ci-dessous, pts. 3.5.1 et 3.5.2.

<sup>42</sup> Il n'est qu'observer les manuscrits autographes de Du Bellay pour s'apercevoir que la plupart du temps le cardinal écrit ses lettres très rapidement; toutefois, celles-ci sont souvent retravaillées, modifiées, corrigées. Il arrive aussi qu'elles soient ensuite copiées par des secrétaires pour être parfois encore revues et corrigées par l'auteur.

### 3.3.2. Fonction 'informative' du passage au latin

Le deuxième cas de figure est celui où le latin est, avec le français, le véhicule du message. En l'occurrence on a plusieurs phrases ou paragraphes entièrement rédigés en latin, langue qui est alors utilisée parce qu'elle permet à l'épistolier d'informer son correspondant avec précision. C'est le cas d'un grand nombre des lettres bilingues que Du Bellay écrit à Charles de Guise, ainsi que de la lettre écrite aux cardinaux de Lorraine et de Tournon.<sup>43</sup> L'emploi du latin à des fins littéraires ou rhétoriques n'est évidemment pas exclu de ce type de lettres.

### 3.4. *Influence du milieu et des circonstances*

D'une manière générale, mais surtout dans les lettres où la fonction du latin est 'informative', l'influence du milieu et des circonstances joue un rôle considérable. En particulier, l'utilisation du latin sur plusieurs lignes ou paragraphes s'explique parfois dans une large mesure par la présence de l'épistolier dans un milieu latinisant. Ainsi Jean Du Bellay, dans les années 1548-1549 en particulier, écrit à Charles de Guise de Rome, où il a tous les jours l'occasion de s'exprimer en latin, en consistoire, en réunion avec le pape et les cardinaux, sur des sujets dont il a entendu parler ou dont il a lui-même parlé en latin. Il n'est guère étonnant, dans ces circonstances, de le voir employer le latin.<sup>44</sup> Par exemple dans une lettre du 27 mai 1548, où Jean Du Bellay informe Charles de Guise de deux affaires dont il a été question au consistoire (la pluralité des évêchés et la provision d'un évêché), le latin prend une très grande place: à n'en point douter, il était plus facile au cardinal de rapporter en latin des paroles prononcées dans cette langue, du moment qu'il la maîtrise à la perfection. Du Bellay commence par annoncer en français la première affaire dont il fut question lors du consistoire, celle de la pluralité des évêchés. Quelques lignes plus loin il rapporte une discussion agitée qui eut lieu entre lui-même et le cardinal Théatin<sup>45</sup>: il passe alors au latin,

<sup>43</sup> La lettre du 22 décembre 1535, déjà citée à deux reprises au pt. 2.2.1, 'Les paroles rapportées'.

<sup>44</sup> Les choses sont quelque peu différentes dans le cas de Charles de Guise, qui, en 1548-1549 — c'est de cette période que date la plus grande partie de sa correspondance avec Jean Du Bellay — ne se trouve pas à Rome et emploie le latin bien moins fréquemment que son aîné, bien qu'il fasse preuve par ailleurs d'une excellente maîtrise de l'idiome antique.

<sup>45</sup> Giovanni Pietro Carafa, le futur pape Paul IV.

pour raconter de manière très vivante cette expérience qu'il a lui-même, si l'on peut dire, 'vécue' en latin.

La première fut de la pluralité des églises, et sourdit de la boutique du doyen une opinion, jetée comme en passant, de suspendre l'exécution du décret jusques à la conclusion du Concile, et fut la matière tant agitée qu'elle demoura suspendue jusques à un autre consistoire; et pourra estre que ce ne soit ni au premier ni au second. **Res non parva contentione inter Theatinum et me acta est, dum is clamitat si id fiat miraturos esse non paucos et male interpretaturos, dumque ego contra oppono multo plures miratos jam esse et nunc quoque mirari, quod uno non ita valde frequenti consistorio res tanti momenti de repente neque dato cuiquam ad cogitandum spatio proposita, tractata, decisa fuisset; novo id quidem et inusitato exemplo accidisse, ut momento temporis, nulla adhibita cogitatione; eos qui semel à S<sup>mo</sup> D. in summo isto sacro loco ornati essent nulla sua culpa destituendos censeret; leges futura respicere, non praeterita; tum alia in hanc sententiam. Sic igitur discessum est, ut causae exitus adhuc dubius videatur.** (1548, 27 mai, à Charles de Guise)

On trouve un autre exemple de ce cas de figure dans la lettre aux cardinaux de Lorraine et de Tournon. Du Bellay y rapporte les opinions du pape et des cardinaux à propos de l'attitude à adopter à l'égard de Henry VIII dans l'affaire du divorce. Là aussi, il rapporte en latin les paroles des cardinaux et passe à plusieurs reprises au latin pour résumer des discussions qui se sont déroulées en latin.

Il est toutefois important de noter que Jean Du Bellay s'exprime sur les mêmes thèmes en français, et manifestement sans la moindre difficulté, lorsqu'il s'adresse, par exemple, au roi ou au connétable Anne de Montmorency.<sup>46</sup> Le fait de correspondre avec un latiniste chevronné a une influence sur la pratique linguistique: du moment qu'aucun 'impératif de communication'<sup>47</sup> ne restreint l'usage du latin, l'épistolier est libre d'employer cette langue pour exprimer sa pensée de manière efficace.

### 3.5. *Passage au latin en raison de la supériorité linguistique ou littéraire du latin à un moment donné*<sup>48</sup>

On constate que le passage d'une langue à l'autre est souvent amorcé par une construction ou expression dont le statut littéraire ou linguistique

<sup>46</sup> Dans le cas des *Tischreden* de Luther, c'est parfois la supériorité linguistique du latin sur l'allemand de l'époque qui explique le recours au latin. Dans le cas du français du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, il ne saurait être question d'une telle supériorité du latin.

<sup>47</sup> Selon l'expression de Nicola McLelland citée ci-dessus, à la fin du pt. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Les traductions des auteurs antiques sont celles de la Collection des Universités de France (Belles-Lettres).



semble offrir à Du Bellay un avantage sur le français. Il peut s'agir d'une citation ou d'un proverbe latins, ou bien d'une expression ou construction qui, grâce à sa concision ou *brevitas*, par exemple, offre *sur le moment* la formulation idéale. Dans les deux cas il arrive ensuite soit que l'épistolier revienne immédiatement au français, soit que l'expression amorce un passage latin plus long, jusqu'à ce que le français s'impose à nouveau. Ici comme dans le cas d'un passage au latin 'imposé' ou plutôt 'suggéré' par les circonstances<sup>49</sup>, le fait d'être en rapport avec un latiniste chevronné influe sur les habitudes linguistiques: du moment que rien ne restreint l'usage du latin, l'épistolier est libre d'employer cette langue et de se servir de toutes ses finesses pour exprimer sa pensée de manière efficace.

### 3.5.1. Les citations et les proverbes

Parfois, c'est à l'occasion d'une citation d'auteurs antiques ou bibliques ou d'un proverbe latin (dont l'origine est dans la plupart des cas un auteur antique) que l'auteur passe au code latin. Il s'agit souvent d'une citation non littérale ou approximative; ainsi, il arrive fréquemment que Du Bellay glose un passage ou fasse simplement allusion à un proverbe bien connu. Les proverbes ou expressions similaires ont l'avantage de fournir des formules toutes faites qui se caractérisent par leur *brevitas*; ils permettent d'exprimer une pensée en peu de mots, et avec beaucoup de précision et de profondeur.

#### *Citations et proverbes antiques*

Les citations, échos d'auteurs antiques et expressions proverbiales en latin sont très nombreux dans la correspondance bilingue de Du Bellay. Le fait d'écrire à des correspondants maîtrisant le latin lui permet de puiser à pleines mains dans le trésor antique.<sup>50</sup>

Ainsi le cardinal agrément le passage suivant de deux citations ou proverbes antiques:

Il fault que je vous dye, Monseigneur, que nous aurons bien besoing icy d'estre saiges; et, pour passer oultre, je desireroye fort que guerez de gens ne se feissent de feste car Horace dict: **'Percunctatorem fugito nam garulus idem est'**. Et vous soubzviene la dessus ce qu'auprès de Pont-Molle

<sup>49</sup> Voir ci-dessus, pt. 3.4.

<sup>50</sup> Nous laissons ici de côté les nombreuses reprises de proverbes antiques en français, qui sortent du cadre de cette étude.

je vous advertiz d'escripre souvent a ung que je vous nommay, **ut contine-ret se intra suam pelliculam**, au mains chose de ceste substance: je voy bien que nous en aurons a souffrir si Dieu ne nous y ayde. (1548, 14 janvier bis, à Charles de Guise)

L'auteur de la première citation est révélé, chose extrêmement rare chez Du Bellay qui d'ordinaire ne cite pas ses sources; il s'agit d'Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 18, 69 ('fuis le questionneur, car il est bavard').<sup>51</sup> Le deuxième passage en latin est une expression proverbiale à l'origine de laquelle on trouve notamment Horace et Martial<sup>52</sup>; mais Du Bellay semble en emprunter la formulation à l'adage d'Erasme intitulé 'intra tuam pelliculam te contine'<sup>53</sup>, c'est-à-dire 'reste dans ta peau' ou, traduit librement, 'mêle-toi de ce qui te regarde'.

Dans l'exemple suivant le cardinal se sert, pour se plaindre de la difficulté de trouver des gens qui disent la vérité, du proverbe 'la vérité engendre la haine', dont il indique vaguement la source en disant que cet adage célèbre vient du 'comique', lequel se trouve être Térence, qui écrit dans l'*Andria*, 68: 'veritas odium parit'.<sup>54</sup> En l'occurrence la citation latine amorce un passage latin plus long.

L'ung et l'autre trouverez assez de gens qui vous flatteront; de ceulx qui vous disent les veritez, je ne sçay si en trouverez beaucoup **nam illud vulgatissimum est comici veritatem odium parere. Quod tamen non vereor ut apud te mihi pariam, qui a nobis discedens exegeris, ut quaecumque nossem, audirem, scirem, effunderem in sinum tuum istum fidei et benivolentiae plenum.** (1548, 7 mai, à Charles de Guise)

<sup>51</sup> Du Bellay a pu trouver cette citation dans les *Adages*, adage 'Balneator' (Erasme, *Opera omnia*, II.2, n° 544, 72), à propos des hommes oisifs, comme les baigneurs, souvent excessivement curieux des affaires d'autrui (nous citons les adages dans *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami recognita et adnotatione critica instructa, notisque illustrata*, II, 1-9 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1993-2005)). Sur les *Adages* comme sources d'inspiration de Du Bellay, voir ci-dessous, n. 53.

<sup>52</sup> Hor., *sat.*, 1, 6, 22: 'quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem'; Mart., 3, 16, 5-6: 'sed te, mihi crede, memento | nunc in pellicula, Cerdo, tenere tua'.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Erasme, *Opera omnia*, II.2, n° 592, 114-115; Du Bellay emploie à nouveau cette expression dans une lettre bilingue, adressée à François Olivier, du 29 juillet 1548 (voir ci-dessous, n. 63). Une étude approfondie des citations latines chez Du Bellay montre que la plupart de ses citations ou proverbes figurent dans les *Adages* d'Erasme et que dans certains cas il s'est inspiré d'une formulation érasmiennne s'écartant de la formulation originelle, comme c'est le cas ici.

<sup>54</sup> L'expression est commentée par Erasme dans l'adage 'Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit' (Erasme, *Opera omnia*, II.4, n° 1853, p. 248); voir aussi August Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und die sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890), n° 1875, p. 368, 'veritas 3'.

Voici maintenant un passage où Du Bellay termine une phrase française par une citation de César (*Gall.*, 3, 18, 6: 'quod fere libenter homines id quod volunt credunt')<sup>55</sup>; il fallait toute la culture de Charles de Guise pour découvrir et apprécier cette citation dont Du Bellay n'indique pas la source:

Tout ce que j'en puy deviner c'est (comme par aultres myennes vous ay mandé) ce que j'en ay cuydé sentir par une vostre lectre, mais je ne sçay si je me suys trompé pour ce que **fere libenter id quod volunt homines credunt**. (1548, 16 septembre, à Charles de Guise)

Au prime abord le passage latin du texte suivant, où Du Bellay insiste sur le grand rôle qu'il a joué en politique les trente-six dernières années, dans sa simplicité, ne semble pas être une citation:

Il y a trente-six ans que vous m'avez veu par le monde. J'ay veu plusieurs temps et **quorum pars magna fui**. Au temps qu'avez esté exposé chacun jour a cent dangier de calumnie pour ung seul, et moy pour cestuy-la mesmes, il faisoit fascheux, ennuyeux, dangereux, mais encores se saulvoyt-l'on (1549, 14 mai, à Jean Duthier)

Mais à y regarder de plus près il apparaît que Du Bellay s'inspire du début du deuxième livre de l'*Enéide*, où Enée, expliquant à Didon le grand rôle qu'il a joué dans la guerre de Troie, affirme: 'quaeque ipse miserrima vidi | et quorum pars magna fui' (*Aen.*, 2, 5-6, 'ces pires misères, je les ai vues, j'en ai eu ma part, et grande').

Dans l'exemple suivant Du Bellay utilise une autre formule devenue proverbiale dont l'origine est Pline l'Ancien:

Je ne me haulseray jusques la d'en user de mercyemens envers sa Sainteté, **ne sutor ultra crepidam**. (*Correspondance*, I, n° 144 (1532, 1<sup>er</sup> novembre), 301, à François de Dinteville)

Dans son *Histoire naturelle*, 35, 84: 'ne supra crepidam sutor iudicaret', Pline parle du jugement du peintre Apelle rappelant à l'ordre le cordonnier qui prétendait critiquer sa peinture: que le cordonnier n'aille pas au-delà de sa chaussure, autrement dit qu'il ne se mêle pas de ce qu'il ne connaît pas. Ici aussi Du Bellay semble emprunter la formulation du proverbe à Erasme, adage 'Ne sutor *ultra* crepidam'.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Du Bellay possédait une édition de César: *C. Julii Caesaris Commentarii [...] de bello Gallico libri VIII, de bello civili libri IV. Auli Hirtii libri de bello Alexandrino, de bello Africano, de bello Hispaniensi...* (Lugduni: apud S. Gryphium, 1538); voir Loris Petris, 'Vestiges de la bibliothèque du cardinal Jean Du Bellay', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 69 (2007), 131-145 (p. 141).

<sup>56</sup> Erasme, *Opera omnia*, II.2, n° 516, pp. 40-42. Sur cette expression, voir aussi Otto, *Die Sprichwörter*, n° 462, p. 97, 'crepida'. Du Bellay cite encore cet adage à deux

Dans le passage suivant Du Bellay cite Térence, en partie dans la formulation latine d'origine, en partie en français — de manière bilingue, en quelque sorte :

(...) je ne faindray de vous dire que je ne voy point que, si vous ne rendez ces gentz icy contentz en leurs affections ou en bonne partie d'icelles, tout ce que vous avez jusques icy faict, traicté, negocié avec eulx ne s'en aille pour le myeulx en dissimulation et pour le pis aval l'eau; et qu'ilz ne soyent **quo iure qua iniuria** pour a la fin se precipiter entre les mains de l'Empereur s'ilz y pevent estre bien receuz, comme j'estime qu'ilz seront. (1548, 27 juillet, à Charles de Guise)

Il s'agit de Ter., *Andr.*, 213-214: 'aut, si lubitum fuerit, causam ceperit | quo iure quaque iniuria praecipitem in pistrinum dabit'.<sup>57</sup> Du Bellay commence par citer une partie du passage en latin, puis passe au français avec 'se précipiter' au lieu du latin 'praecipitem'. L'expression 'quo iure quaque iniuria' est proverbiale.<sup>58</sup>

Le latin peut aussi surgir à l'occasion de la citation d'un adage juridique :

Mons<sup>r</sup>, vous voyez les indices; il est vray que vous avez renvoyé une belle commission par laquelle il fault que mons<sup>r</sup> de Grantmont soyt tousjours present au procès de Mons<sup>r</sup> de Paris; les legistes appellent cela **si coelum digito tetigeris**. (*Correspondance*, I, n° 112 (1531, fin décembre), 236, à François de Dinteville)

'Si tu touches le ciel avec tes doigts' est une formule juridique utilisée pour désigner une condition impossible. On la trouve dans Gaius, *inst.*, 3, 98: 'Item si quis sub ea condicione stipuletur quae existere non potest, veluti 'si digito coelum tetigerit', inutilis est stipulatio' ('De même si on stipule sous une condition irréalisable, comme celle de toucher du doigt le ciel, la stipulation est sans valeur').

Ce ne sont là que quelques exemples choisis de citations d'auteurs antiques ou, plus généralement, de proverbes antiques. On en trouve des dizaines dans les lettres bilingues ou latines de Du Bellay.<sup>59</sup>

reprises: dans la lettre de début novembre 1547, à Jean de Lorraine ('ne sutor ultra crepidam') et dans la lettre du 16 août 1548, à Charles de Guise ('ne sutor ultra crepidam'), chaque fois dans un contexte bilingue. On remarquera que dans les trois cas Du Bellay adopte le 'ultra' d'Erasme.

<sup>57</sup> 'Ou bien, si tel est son caprice, il saisira un prétexte pour m'envoyer, à tort ou à raison, tout droit à la meule'.

<sup>58</sup> Otto, *Die Sprichwörter*, n° 887, p. 180.

<sup>59</sup> En dehors des expressions proprement proverbiales, Du Bellay cite Cicéron, César, Virgile, Horace, Juvénal. Comme nous l'avons vu, il est probable qu'il connaissait les *Adages* d'Erasme, véritable best-seller de l'époque. Mais ses sources sont certainement plus larges: l'éducation latine de l'époque accordait une grande importance aux collections

### *Citations bibliques*

Il arrive que Du Bellay passe au latin pour citer un passage de la Bible.<sup>60</sup> Nous avons dénombré une bonne dizaine de cas, dont voici quelques exemples; il s'agit généralement de citations bien connues, qui ne devaient pas être étrangères au correspondant.

Dans certains cas la citation est annoncée comme telle, comme dans cet exemple, où Du Bellay cite littéralement *Rom.*, 10, 14-15:

Je ne respondoye pas: '**quomodo audient sine praedicante, quomodo autem praedicabunt nisi mittantur**', craignant d'estre prins a ce passage de note d'ambition. (1548, 16 septembre, à Charles de Guise)

Dans l'exemple suivant la citation latine amorce un court passage en latin:

Quant a l'autre opinion que tout ce monde avoyt conceue a son avenement **quod esset redempturus Israel, jam diu est, quom spes illa refrixit, vel excidit potius, ex omnium pene animis**. Mais, quant a ce poinct, a ses serviteurs ne default quelque matiere de respondre. (1548, 7 mai, à Charles de Guise)

Jean Du Bellay reprend les paroles des disciples d'Emmaüs qui, accablés par la mort du Christ, affirment: '*Nos autem sperabamus, quia ipse esset redempturus Israel*' (*Luc.*, 24, 21). La citation est ironique, puisque Du Bellay fait une comparaison entre le Christ, dont on espérait qu'il allait racheter Israël, et le roi Henri II, qui a trahi les espérances qu'on avait mises en lui à son avènement.

Il arrive que la citation soit plus difficilement décelable, comme dans le cas suivant:

(...) j'entendiz il y a quelques moys qu'on m'avoyt blasmé envers luy d'avoir icy usé de termes trop rudes. J'alloye recogitant **omnes annos meos**; je ne povoye riens imaginer dont je peusse estre taxé sinon que j'eusse excédé en la matiere de l'article susdict. (1549, 14 mai, à Jean Duthier)

Du Bellay s'inspire d'*Is.*, 38, 15: '*recogitabo omnes annos meos in amaritudine animae meae*'; '*recogitabo*' est remplacé par le français '*recogitant*'. C'est à Charles de Guise de se rappeler la fin du verset biblique...

de formules ou de citations, qui finissaient d'une manière ou d'une autre par faire partie du bagage culturel de tout lettré. Voir notamment le beau livre d'Ann Moss, *Printed commonplace-books and the structuring of Renaissance thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), traduit en français sous le titre: *Les recueils de lieux communs: méthode pour apprendre à penser à la Renaissance* (Genève: Droz, 2002).

<sup>60</sup> Du Bellay cite la Bible dans la version de la Vulgate.

Dans l'exemple suivant Du Bellay a recours à *Is.*, 46, 8: 'redite, praevicatores, ad cor', dont il s'inspire pour forger une expression latine de son cru:

La joye est icy pour l'Angleterre telle que povez penser. L'on me veult faire a croire que le lantgrave **et ipse vult redire ad cor** ou pour le mains qu'il escript a nostre Saint-Pere pour quelque affaire particulier (...) (1554, 18 décembre, à Bernardin Bochetel)

Enfin — ce sera notre dernier exemple — Du Bellay termine ironiquement l'une de ses lettres à Jean Bertrand par une citation de Paul aux Philippiens (*Phil.*, 2, 7: 'sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens'), dont il prend à son compte les paroles, de manière quelque peu osée, il faut bien le dire:

Je demande seulement estre réglé par le Roy qui a tout le mains me sçaura gré quant il verra si je luy obeiray es choses qu'aultres de ma qualité estimeroient estre citra dignitatem et que je n'auray esguard en ce que me pourra toucher a honneur n'y a riens fors que a sa propre volenté et que pour luy **exinanibo memetipsum formam servi accipiens** (1548, 7 mai, à Jean Bertrand)

### 3.5.2. Expressions ou constructions latines caractérisées par leur concision ou leur force d'expression

Jean Du Bellay est attaché à certaines formules ou constructions qu'il emploie de préférence à d'autres pour amorcer ses passages latins. Notre but ici n'est pas d'étudier de manière systématique et exhaustive comment sont amorcés les passages au latin, ni de dégager des règles strictes permettant de les expliquer, entreprise au départ vouée à l'échec: comment pourrait-on prétendre rendre compte dans chaque cas des processus mentaux de l'épistolier? Nous souhaitons simplement donner quelques exemples prouvant que nous avons affaire à un écrivain capable de penser en latin et qui se comporte en parfait bilingue. Précisons encore que les expressions dont il est question ici s'inspirent parfois de formulations antiques, si bien qu'il peut être difficile de faire la distinction entre citations ou proverbes d'un côté et belles expressions littéraires de l'autre.

Dans le passage suivant Du Bellay met en garde son correspondant en lui faisant voir que le coup de force fomenté par la France pour rendre Plaisance aux Farnèse, quelle qu'en soit l'issue, équivaldra à une déclaration de guerre.

Mais aussi fault-il entendre que ce faict ou executé ou failly, c'est **classicum belli**. Et qu'on pallie les choses comme on voudra, je ne voy point

que pour le mains, quant au Pape, ce ne soyt a luy manifeste ouverture de guerre. (1548, 14 janvier, à Charles de Guise)

L'expression '*classicum belli*' (littéralement: 'trompette de guerre') a sans doute été choisie pour sa concision ou *brevitas*<sup>61</sup>; le terme '*classicum*' est d'ailleurs un terme qui figure dans plusieurs expressions proverbiales.<sup>62</sup> Voici un autre exemple de concision dans l'expression:

Mais, pour continuer mes coups a vous dire, suyvant vostre continuelle semonce, ce qu'il me semble des choses de decza en l'expectation desquelles, ou pour myeux dire resolution, **omnium oculi sunt si unquam alias intenti**, premierement (...) (1548, 16 août, à Charles de Guise)

On peut supposer que l'expression latine a jailli spontanément de la plume de Du Bellay, qui n'a peut-être pas trouvé immédiatement d'expression française exprimant précisément ce qu'il avait à l'esprit, ou qui a jugé que le latin rendait sa pensée de manière plus élégante. L'expression (dont le sens est: 'les yeux de tous sont plus que jamais attentifs') est soignée: '*omnium oculi (...) intenti*' se caractérise par sa *brevitas*, de même que '*si unquam alias*', que l'on retrouve à deux reprises dans la correspondance de Du Bellay<sup>63</sup>.

Le passage suivant offre un bel exemple d'alternance français – latin; Jean Du Bellay passe allègrement et sans difficulté apparente d'une langue à l'autre:

(...) il proposa pour legat ledict de Monte et usa incidemment de quelques exagerations suz ledict Ferdinand **quasi non contentus impio illo facinore quod ejus auspiciis Placentiae esset admissum, non semel idem tentasset Parmae quod Placentiae esset exequutus**. Cela fut despeschié et a sa Saincteté très bien et saignement faict. **Non enim erat obscura suspitio Moronum totum se in fidem Caesaris contulisse**; de la passe suz la legation de Peruse pour le cardinal d'Urbain, et en sortit par la mesmes facilité que l'autre. En quoy, pour vous en parler rondement, je trouve du gras et du maigre car indirectement il met **firmissimum** et

<sup>61</sup> On notera que dans une lettre du même jour au même Charles de Guise, Du Bellay développe la même pensée, entièrement en français cette fois: 'Notez aussi qu'en ce cas il ne fault plus sonner de trompette car cela s'appelleroyt ouverture de guerre' (1548, 14 janvier bis, Jean Du Bellay à Charles de Guise).

<sup>62</sup> Dans l'adage '*Bellicum canere. Receptui canere*' Erasme commente, en plus de ces deux expressions, l'expression '*canere classicum*', qui signifie 'pousser à la dissension': '*Item canere classicum dicitur, qui excitat dissidium*' (Erasme, *Opera omnia*, II.5, n° 2488, 340).

<sup>63</sup> Ainsi dans la lettre du 10 février 1548, à Charles de Guise, qui est aussi une lettre bilingue, l'expression figure au milieu d'une phrase latine. On la retrouve dans la lettre du 29 juillet 1548, à François Olivier: 'Je ne suys si saige que de y povoir respondre, joint que je suys si battu du fillé que video mihi necesse esse, si unquam alias, tenere me intra meam pelliculam, par quoy je m'en taiz'; sur l'expression '*intra meam pelliculam*', voir ci-dessus, pt. 3.5.1 et n. 53.

**veluti unicum propugnaculum Sedis Apostolicae in arbitrium Urbina-tis; quo magis annitendum nobis fortasse fuerit, ut nobis eum demereamur.** Toutesfois je ne y veulx entrer plus avant. Le Roy en fera ce qu'il luy plaira, mais bien sçay-je que, si **aliquid Paulo humanitus acci-dat, dubium non est quin is qui nostris cervicibus incumbat videatur posse plurimum.** (1548, 16 juillet, à Charles de Guise)

Le premier passage en latin (le premier de la lettre), commence par *quasi* suivi d'un adjectif, construction qui semble plaire à Du Bellay, puisqu'on la retrouve comme amorce d'un passage latin dans deux autres lettres bilingues du cardinal.<sup>64</sup> Pour ce qui est de la suite du texte nous ne nous hasarderons pas à suggérer ce qui a pu déclencher le retour au latin. Tout au plus peut-on émettre l'hypothèse que c'est le désir d'employer le bel euphémisme 'aliquid humanitus accidere' signifiant 'mourir'<sup>65</sup> qui a déclenché le dernier passage au latin du texte.

La lettre de mi-novembre 1548 à Charles de Guise est entièrement en français, à l'exception de trois expressions ou phrases en latin; voici l'une d'entre elles:

Mais je ne sçay si le compagnon se vouldra servir de leurs affections pour faire son cas bon. **Duo sunt enim que mihi assidue obversantur ante oculos:** l'ung que quant le Camus de Bourbon (...) (1548, mi-novembre, à Charles de Guise)

La phrase a pu venir à l'esprit de Du Bellay pour sa concision ou sa beauté, à laquelle son imprégnation par des modèles antiques n'est pas étrangère: l'expression 'ante oculos obversari', en effet, se trouve notamment chez Cicéron.<sup>66</sup>

Dans le passage suivant on remarquera l'utilisation de la formule difficilement traduisible en français 'quisque pro suo captu' ('chacun selon ses capacités intellectuelles').

Aultres prenoient aultres opinions, **quisque pro suo captu.** L'esclaircis-sement qu'il en feist, c'est que (...) (1548, 29 mai, à Charles de Guise)

<sup>64</sup> Lettre du 27 mai 1548, à Charles de Guise: '(...) ne aussi peu ayant peur d'estre encores reprins par dela, comme desja j'ay esté, de trop avant me jecter aux matieres ou de faire trop bon marchié de ma plume, quasi vel sim nimius vel non sat exactam meditationem adhibeam ad meorum scriptorum frequentiam atque omnia veluti apertis cataractis temere effundam (...)'; lettre du 10 février 1548, à Charles de Guise: 'A ceste cause, Monseigneur, si vous voyez que ou par ce que luy ay desja, comme dict est, envoyé ou par ce que je luy envoie presentement, je peusse estre noté quasi vel temerarius vel inep-tus, suscipe, quaeso, hac in re ut in coeteris meum patrocinium'.

<sup>65</sup> Cic., *Phil.*, 1, 10: 'si quid mihi humanitus accidisset', 's'il m'arrivait quelque chose selon la nature humaine', c'est-à-dire un malheur.

<sup>66</sup> Cic., *dom.*, 141; voir aussi Lucr. 4, 978-979; Liv. 2, 59. Sur l'intérêt de Du Bellay pour la rhétorique cicéronienne, voir Petris, 'Vestiges de la bibliothèque du cardinal Jean Du Bellay', pp. 136-137.



C'est sans doute la *brevitas* de l'expression 'non absque magno meo incommodo' ('non sans grand inconvénient pour moi') qui a poussé Du Bellay à passer au latin dans l'extrait suivant:

Il pourra sçavoir si j'ay riens cherchié de revenge, mais je tiens pour chose impossible qu'il ne luy feust besoing que non seulement je ne usasse de revenge mais que je usasse de quelque declaree amytié au retour de son second voyage, comme vous sçavez que j'avoye, **non absque magno meo incommodo**, usé au premier. (1550, 23 juin, à Jean Des Monstiers)

C'est aussi pour sa *brevitas* ou son caractère rhétorique que Du Bellay utilise l'expression 'semel atque iterum et saepius', que l'on trouve notamment chez Cicéron.<sup>67</sup>

(...) car tant s'en fault que je me vueille mectre plus avant en la patenostre que piecza j'ay escript en Allemagne, **semel atque iterum et saepius**, a ce que je y ay de plus seurs amys, les conjurant qu'ilz n'eussent plus a riens me mander des affaires publiques (...) (1551, 11 août, à Jean de Monluc)

Dans le passage suivant, on trouve deux expressions latines concises et recherchées, 'suggerere iram' ('attiser la colère') et 'currente calamo' ('en faisant courir ma plume'<sup>68</sup>):

Mais, pour ne vous donner deulx ennuiz pour ung, je vous envoye la copie de ceste police de quoy l'on parle tant, qui fut suz le temps du combat par moy envoyee a nostre Saint-Pere, laquelle sa Sainteté trouva quelquefoiz bonne, quelquefoiz, selon que ses ministres desesperez contre moy **suggerabant iram**, mauvaise. Tant y a que, combien que souldainement et **currente calamo** (...) je la feiz, je ne m'en suys jusques icy repenty, mais bien me tiens pour très content d'en avoir, contre ma coustume, guardé ung double, avec toute la haste que j'avoye, afin que riens n'y feust desguysé. (1549, 2 janvier, à Charles de Guise)

L'ablatif absolu (comme ici 'currente calamo'), construction typiquement latine, offre souvent à Du Bellay une formule commode pour exprimer sa pensée de manière efficace. Voici encore trois exemples:

Ce matin mondict seigneur de Guyse — après la proposition faicte contre le conseil et advis d'aulcuns et contre l'esperance de plusieurs — a esté depesché pour Metz, **diis hominibusque plaudentibus**, chose de très grande consequence, comme l'on sçaura ung jour. (1547, 17 novembre, à Jean Bertrand)

Je les accompagne de chambre en salle, persistant tousjours a le faire ung peu actendre. 'Vous m'avez fait', dict-il, 'disner sans feu et suys tout morfondu, je m'en voys chauffer au soleil'. Je veulx faire faire du feu, il

<sup>67</sup> Cic., *Font.*, 26: 'semel atque iterum ac saepius'.

<sup>68</sup> L'expression 'currente calamo' se retrouve dans la lettre bilingue d'août 1548, à Charles de Guise, dans une phrase en latin.

n'en veult point et s'en va au grant pas, **inspectante et veluti mirante altero quem rogavi ut illum sequeretur**. Ilz s'en vont. (1548, 7 mai, à Jean Bertrand)

Mercredy y aura consistoire. Parlant d'aultres matieres, je verray si sa Saincteté me dira riens et **nacta occasione non deero causae, ut adhuc non defui quoties descendi in arenam**. (1548, août, à Charles de Guise)

A l'ablatif absolu '*nacta occasione*' s'ajoute dans ce dernier texte la construction *desum* + datif ('faire défaut à, ne pas donner son assistance à'), fréquente dans le latin de Du Bellay, notamment dans les amorces de passages latins:

Mais, pource que semblable matiere avoyt passé depuys deulx moys en çza, en laquelle le Theatin n'avoyt esté muet, et j'en avoye dict le plus doucement que j'avoye peu ce que ma conscience m'en jugeoit, quant ce vinst a ceste heure a luy, il se feist aussi bien entendre que l'autre fois **neque ego illi defui, quandoquidem mea praecipue interesset cavere ne, quom in causa translationis judicis partibus fungerer, causam ipsam, quae publica est, in unius alicujus singulari causa imprudens praejudicio quodam jugularem** (...) (1548, 27 mai, à Charles de Guise)

Je n'ay que faire de me faire beau envers vous de ce que je y faiz et conduyctz, cependant le temps le descouvrira **nisi vos vobis ipsis desitis; sed si non deeritis sentiet Rex te non frustra sibi ea de me recepisse, quibus, ut aliqua ex parte satisfaciam et respondeam tuae de me expectationi, iis uror stimulis ut nunquam nisi perfecta re sim conquieturus, et tamen non sic illis stimulis accendar ut in alterutram partem**. (1549, env. le 10 juillet, à Charles de Guise)

(...) leur ambassadeur estant icy, qui tant a faict l'imperial, nous faict maintenant prescher et presche nostre Sainct-Pere, **ne desimus Reipublicae, se quidem ipsos, si eo pede quo eramus ingressi pergitur, non defuturos**, de maniere que, s'il y avoyt par decza homme qui peust parler et communiquer avec eulx, et que l'intention du Roy feust d'achever ce qui est commencé, je penseroye que l'on y pourroyt ruer ung bon coup. (1548, 16 août, à Charles de Guise)

L'adjectif verbal ou le gérondif, autre construction typiquement latine, figure aussi à plusieurs reprises au début de passages en latin, comme dans les textes suivants:

Et voyla quant au Roy. Quant a vous, Monseigneur, **quem mihi propositi venerandum, amandum, colendum atque etiam extollendum omni genere laudis quoad mei ingenii tenuitas feret, non possum te caelare quantum ex hac mora detrahatur** (...) (1548, 7 mai, à Charles de Guise)

Mais, quoy que ce soyt, **video multa et miranda et metuenda, ut jamdiu et praevidi et tibi praedixi impendere christianae reipublicae, nisi deus nos aliquis (ut ille dicebat)<sup>69</sup> respexerit**. Et si fault la dessus noter que se

<sup>69</sup> Cic., *Att.*, 1, 16, 6: '*nisi quis nos deus respexerit*'.

renouant le Concile, ou il sera en la main du Pape ou de l'Empereur ou libre. (1548, 13 septembre, à Charles de Guise)

Ce dernier passage est amorcé par le verbe *videre*, phénomène fréquent chez Du Bellay. Nous avons dénombré plus d'une demi-douzaine de cas. En voici deux :

Aussi, a dire la verité, n'ay-je pretendu de me y monstrier tel, ne cherchant aultre felicité en ce monde que de tant m'en despouiller que avec la bonne grace du Roy **videar dedisse locum iniquae et in me saevienti fortunae** (...) <sup>70</sup> (1549, mi-juin, à Charles de Guise)

Je ne suys si saige que de y povoir respondre, joinct que je suys si battu du fillé que **video mihi necesse esse, si unquam alias, tenere me intra meam pelliculam**, par quoy je m'en taiz. <sup>71</sup> (1548, 29 juillet, à François Olivier)

Ici, c'est peut-être la construction du double datif qui a séduit Du Bellay :

(...) aussi en ce que je vous en ay demandé ou advisé je l'ay tousjours ainsi entendu, ne pretendant que chose peust emaner de vous **quod tibi fraudi esse possit**. Baste, que vous entendez ma conception! (1549, 2 juin, à Jean de Morvilliers)

Dans tous les cas considérés, des motivations esthétiques ou artistiques ne sont pas exclues (dans le cas d'une expression latine bien tournée, par exemple). Il faut noter toutefois qu'on n'a jamais l'impression que Jean Du Bellay écrit en latin pour montrer sa maîtrise de cette langue; il profite plutôt du fait que son correspondant la maîtrise pour utiliser toutes les potentialités du médium latin.

## Conclusion

Si l'on confronte la pratique de Jean Du Bellay à la théorie linguistique du code-switching exposée dans le premier point, on parvient à la conclusion que sa correspondance bilingue offre un bel exemple de code-switching ou alternance de codes écrit. L'alternance français – latin du corpus bilingue de Du Bellay est caractéristique d'un vrai bilingue: on y trouve une alternance 'intra-phrase' difficilement prévisible ou 'aléatoire', un parfait respect des règles et de la structure de chacune des deux langues,

<sup>70</sup> Du Bellay poursuit en latin sur plusieurs lignes.

<sup>71</sup> Cette phrase comporte aussi les expressions 'si unquam alias' et 'intra meam pelliculam' que l'on retrouve à d'autres reprises chez Du Bellay (voir ci-dessus, n. 53 et n. 63).

un parfait respect des règles de l'alternance, ainsi que la présence d'une langue matrice (le français) et d'une langue insérée (le latin).

La parfaite maîtrise des deux langues permet à Jean Du Bellay d'adapter son discours aux personnes et aux circonstances. La part du latin dans la lettre varie en fonction du plus ou moins haut niveau de latin du correspondant. Ainsi Jean Du Bellay n'écrit-il de longs passages en langue latine qu'à des correspondants maîtrisant parfaitement l'idiome antique. Dans de tels cas, les circonstances et le milieu dans lequel se trouve l'épistolier peuvent jouer un rôle: il est sans aucun doute plus facile pour Jean Du Bellay de rapporter en latin le contenu d'une discussion s'étant déroulée en latin lors d'une réunion du consistoire, par exemple; ce qui n'empêche qu'il soit parfaitement capable d'écrire le même jour sur le même sujet à un autre correspondant une lettre sans un mot de latin.

En plus de la fonction 'informative' qu'il revêt lorsqu'il est employé dans des passages d'une certaine longueur, le latin peut aussi avoir une fonction 'littéraire' ou 'rhétorique'. Dans ce cas, une expression latine peut faire irruption dans le discours français en raison d'une concision ou d'une force d'expression que le français ne fournit pas au moment précis où l'épistolier écrit; de telles expressions toutefois n'apparaissent pas sous sa plume si le destinataire ne comprend pas le latin. Enfin, les citations latines ou les proverbes en latin offrent à l'auteur la possibilité de faire montre de sa culture et de charmer son lecteur.

Les lettres bilingues de Du Bellay sont ainsi un exemple d'assimilation pleinement réussie de la culture antique: le fait de s'adresser à un correspondant bilingue donne à l'épistolier toute liberté d'intégrer dans son français des pans de cette culture latine si présente au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, culture certes peu à peu intégrée par le français mais qui resplendissait encore davantage lorsqu'elle était revêtue de son vêtement antique, le latin.

Université de Neuchâtel  
Institut de langue et civilisation françaises  
61-63, Faubourg de l'Hôpital  
CH – 2000 Neuchâtel  
david.amherdt@unine.ch

Université de Fribourg (Suisse)  
Département des Sciences de l'Antiquité  
16, rue Pierre-Aeby  
CH – 1700 Fribourg  
david.amherdt@unifr.ch

Magnus KARLSSON

THREE LETTERS OF PROPOSAL FROM  
ERIK XIV OF SWEDEN TO ELIZABETH I OF ENGLAND:  
EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION

The courtship of Elizabeth I by Erik XIV (reigned 1560-68, lived 1533-77) began before anyone of them had ascended the throne, the first known approach made in the spring of 1558, when Erik's former teacher Dionysius Beurreus, a factotum in the Swedish administration, arrived in England.<sup>1</sup> Erik, the oldest son of King Gustav Vasa, was at the time heir to the throne and just about to receive a great part of south-eastern Sweden as his enfeoffment<sup>2</sup>, while Elizabeth was in a much more uncertain position under her half-sister Queen Mary, having for a time even been kept in custody. However, in November 1558, Mary died, and Elizabeth succeeded her, which meant that the competition for her hand hardened considerably. In his letters of proposal, Erik would not fail to remind Elizabeth that he began courting her before she became queen, 'already during her difficult time'.

<sup>1</sup> On these and the later negotiations, see Ingvar Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar: studier i svensk diplomati och handelspolitik*, Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund, 17 (Lund: Gleerup, 1935) (with a summary in English); cf. Susan Doran, *Monarchy & Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 20 and 30-35. For a general biography, see Ingvar Andersson, *Erik XIV* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1963<sup>5</sup>); cf. Knut Carlqvist, *Kung Erik av folket* (Stockholm: Timbro, 1996) and Lars-Olof Larsson, *Arvet efter Gustav Vasa: berättelsen om fyra kungar och ett rike* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2005), pp. 21-161. For a biography in English, see Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden, 1523-1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 199-241. A short sketch of the king's life is found in *Erik XIV: Oratio de iniusto bello regis Daniæ anno 1563 contra regem Sueciæ Ericum 14 gesto*. Edited with introduction, translation, and commentary by Magnus Karlsson, *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 49 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), p. 9ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Swedish term is 'förläning', defined by Roberts, *The Early Vasas*, p. xiii, as 'allocation of crown revenues and services to an individual, by way of remuneration or reward, the beneficiary having the right to collect them himself'.

Beurreus came to stay in England as *legatus perpetuus* for three years, and in addition to this several other delegations were dispatched, including a very lavish one led by Erik's brother Johan (then duke of Finland, later to be Johan III of Sweden) in 1559-60. Twice Erik was about to go to England to visit the queen himself. The first time, in the autumn of 1560, he had to cancel the journey because of the death of his father. A year later, now king of Sweden, he set sail, but was forced to turn back due to storms on the North Sea. After 1562, no more delegations were sent. The correspondence continued, but dealt primarily with other state matters. A few sporadic marriage proposals were however made, the last as late as on 5 March 1567.<sup>3</sup> Only three months later, Erik would marry Karin Månsdotter, a Swedish commoner. In the years prior to this, he had also wooed Mary of Scotland, Christine of Hesse, and Renata of Lorraine.

Erik's long suit for Elizabeth's hand and simultaneous other marriage negotiations have in Swedish historiography often been seen as the whimsical politics of an unbalanced mind; this partly depending on the general view of the king, who did in fact lose his mind towards the end of his life, after his dethronement by his brother Johan, and suffered from at least one period of mental illness during his reign too (in connection with the so called 'Sture Murders' in 1567, when some noblemen, charged with high treason, were executed before the finishing judicial proceedings, the above-mentioned Dionysius Beurreus getting killed in the process, apparently just for getting in the way).

In his 1935 book *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar* Andersson pointed instead to the role of the English marriage in the plans nurtured

<sup>3</sup> For copies of this and other letters from Erik to Elizabeth, see the appended list. Andersson, *Erik XIV*, p. 188 was of the opinion that Erik gave up all plans of the English marriage in 1566, after a visit to Elizabeth from his sister Cecilia, who also corresponded with the queen, but he must have overlooked this letter. The musicologist Kristine K. Forney claims that Erik sent Elizabeth a letter 'still focused on marriage' on 7 March 1567. Her theory is that the music-book known as the 'Winchester Part Books' (which she dates 1566) was sent together with this letter as a gift in Erik's suit. However, as Forney offers no reference for the letter (which is all the more surprising as the hitherto unknown fact that Erik continued to propose after Cecilia's stay in England seems crucial to the chronology of her entire theory), it is unfortunately impossible to tell whether she misdates the letter of 5 March, has found another, differently dated copy of the same letter, or another letter altogether. (Kristine K. Forney, 'A Gift of Madrigals and Chansons: The Winchester Part Books and the Courtship of Elizabeth I by Erik XIV of Sweden', *Journal of Musicology*, 17/1 (1999-2000), 50-75 (quotation from p. 68)).

by Erik to make Sweden an important agent in the trade with Russia, and to the fact that marriage negotiations between leading men and women of the time were high politics, having little to do with love. Keeping several options open would thus be perfectly natural. Andersson saw in Erik a Machiavellian prince; regardless of whether he had actually read or even heard of *Il Principe*, his actions at different occasions of his life made it clear that he shared the princely ideals of his time.<sup>4</sup> Andersson's view of the English match has been generally accepted, although he has been criticized for making Erik's commercial plans more novel than they were, at the expense of Gustav Vasa, who had similar plans for a commercial empire.<sup>5</sup>

A notable contrast to Andersson's general picture of Erik was offered by Gunnar Annell in 1945.<sup>6</sup> One cannot reconstruct Erik's way of thinking without also considering his own statements, Annell maintained, and found that Erik shared the Christian/Lutheran beliefs of his time, the result in the case of marriage negotiations being that besides the political aspects, it was of great importance to Erik to find someone agreeable to him on a personal and purely physical level, so that he would not have to seek his love elsewhere and break the sixth commandment.<sup>7</sup> Annell has been rightly criticized for his method, most notably by Kurt Johansson who argued that it is almost impossible to reconstruct the true beliefs of any individual of this era from his personal statements; they cannot be separated from their original rhetorical context and say more about the intended audience than about the author.<sup>8</sup>

A contributing factor to the way Erik's proposal to Elizabeth was perceived by Annell and by historians prior to Andersson is the way in which the courtship itself was formulated. As we will see, rather than

<sup>4</sup> On this aspect, see above all Ingvar Andersson, 'Erik XIV och Machiavelli', *Scandia*, 4 (1931), 1-29. (Also in electronic edition: <http://runeberg.org/scandia/1931/> (27 January 2008).)

<sup>5</sup> Sven Lundkvist, *Gustav Vasa och Europa: svensk handels- och utrikespolitik 1534-1557*, Studia historica Upsaliensia 2, Scandinavian University Books (Stockholm: Diss. Uppsala University, 1960), pp. 386-387. Cf. Wilhelm Tham, *Den svenska utrikespolitikens historia*, ed. Nils Ahnlund, 5 vols (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1951-1961), I/2: 1560-1648 (1960), 18-46.

<sup>6</sup> Gunnar Annell, *Erik XIV: s etiska föreställningar och deras inflytande på hans politik*, Lychnos-bibliotek, 9 (Uppsala: Diss. Uppsala University, 1945).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 203-212.

<sup>8</sup> Kurt Johansson, 'Retorik och propaganda vid det äldre Vasahovet', *Lychnos* (1969-70), 1-60 (pp. 40-41, 44, 59) (the last two references overall observations, not criticizing Annell especially); cf. Andersson, *Erik XIV*, p. 231 and preface.

pointing to the political advantages of an Anglo-Swedish union, Erik chose to approach the queen as a man very much in love.

Ingvar Andersson had a dual, or indeed even contradictory attitude to this approach: On the one hand, he pointed out that Erik seems to have been the first among the queen's suitors to employ it, on the other, he stressed that it was customary to drape the more realistic issues of a marriage liaison in chivalrous poetry, and on this ground defended the most famous and extreme of the letters, one that 'has sometimes been ridiculed and taken as proof of Erik's oddness'.<sup>9</sup>

This letter of 15 October 1563 was sent when Erik had ongoing negotiations about a marriage with Christine of Hesse, daughter of Landgrave Philip. After gaining new hope that Elizabeth was interested in marrying him, Erik here told the English queen that he only wooed Christine to make her jealous and that she was his true love. The letter got into the hands of the Danes, and a copy was presented to Philip, who broke off the negotiations.<sup>10</sup>

Andersson characterizes the letter as 'yet another well-planned political use of the time's courtly (...) love style'.<sup>11</sup> However, King Frederik II of Denmark, commenting upon the letter at the time in his correspondence with Count Günther of Schwarzburg and the Elector August of Saxony, said that it contained 'die selzamsten possen' and that he now had to believe that Erik was reduced to the 'eussersten unsinnigkeit'.<sup>12</sup> With the 'Nordic Seven Years' War' (1563-70) with Denmark and Sweden as its main opponents now commencing, Frederik of course had every reason to paint Erik in black colours, but to formulate himself in such a way, he must still have counted on some kind of understanding from the addressees. Furthermore, not only were the negotiations with Hesse terminated as a result of the letter, but the affair also impaired Erik's relations with other princes.<sup>13</sup>

These facts suggest that this game of literary love was not a matter of course to everyone, at least not when taken to such extremes. If not

<sup>9</sup> Andersson, *Erik XIV*, pp. 60, 93, 87-88. (This and other translations from Swedish are my own.)

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88 and 160-161; Andersson, *Erik XIV*, pp. 72-74.; Frede P. Jensen, *Danmarks konflikt med Sverige 1563-1570* (København: Den danske historiske forening, 1982), pp. 107-108.

<sup>11</sup> Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, p. 88.

<sup>12</sup> Jensen, *Danmarks konflikt med Sverige 1563-1570*, p. 108.

<sup>13</sup> Gustaf Oskar Fredrik Westling, *Det Nordiska sjuårskrigets historia* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1879), p. 87.



‘odd’, Erik was at the very least a gambler. He could perhaps not predict that his letter would be intercepted, but he could hardly be certain that its contents would not be spread when it reached the court of Elizabeth. It thus seems to me that Andersson, while correct on the main issues, tended to make too light of Erik’s individualistic approach.

Sweden’s first Renaissance prince, along with his brother Johan, Erik had received, from early childhood, a humanistic education in the spirit of Erasmus and Melanchthon, with the main emphasis on Latin studies.<sup>14</sup> Several Latin texts in his name have come down to us, some of them in autograph (this goes for the letters to Elizabeth as well, cf. below), and the fact that his own diaries were composed in this language suggests that it was his first choice for writing.<sup>15</sup> The most accomplished work is the *Oratio de iniusto bello regis Daniæ anno 1563 contra regem Sueciæ Ericum 14 gesto*, an account of the events leading up to the Nordic Seven Years’ War (ed. Karlsson 2003).

The first known letter to Elizabeth is a credential of 1 November 1557, written in connection with the dispatchment of Beurreus. The first letter which might be labelled a ‘love-letter’ is the third known one, dated 12 July 1559.

On the whole, the love-letters can be characterized with the first sentence of a letter from 30 December the same year (see our edition below):

Cum ab initio amore, fide et constantia tuam serenitatem semper coluerim, serenissima potentissimaque regina, non possum satis dolere serenitatem tuam id sibi omnino non habere persuasum.<sup>16</sup>

Erik declares his love and constancy, stressing that he stood by Elizabeth’s side during her difficult time before she became queen, asking her for a definite answer to his proposal. Several such letters were written between 1559 and 1562. After this, and after the above-mentioned letter

<sup>14</sup> Andersson, *Erik XIV*, pp. 14-21; Johannesson, ‘Retorik och propaganda vid det äldre Vasahovet’, pp. 14-20; Karlsson (ed.), *Erik XIV*, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> On Erik’s Latin texts, see Karlsson (ed.), *Erik XIV*, pp. 11-19. Two diaries are preserved and published in *Erik XIV:s almanacks-anteckningar: hans dagböcker, ritningar och musiknoter i urval utgifna af Carl Magnus Stenbock* (Stockholm: Personhistoriska samfundet, 1912); also in the series: *Skrifter utgivna av Personhistoriska samfundet*, 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt och söner, 1912).

<sup>16</sup> This and other quotations from Latin manuscripts have been normalized as to spelling and punctuation in accordance with the principles set out below for the letter editions.

of 15 October 1563, only two proposals were made, both more formal and found in letters mainly dealing with other matters (28 June 1565 and 5 March 1567).

What, then, can have inspired Erik's daring style of approach? The *De conscribendis epistolis* of Erasmus includes a short section on the love letter, and the following paragraph might perhaps have played a part:

Quod si puellae animum ad mutuam amorem sollicitabimus, duobus potissimum arietibus utemur, laude et misericordia. Laude enim cum omnes homines, tum puellae imprimis gaudent, potissimum autem a forma, in qua summum bonum constituunt, tum ab aetate, moribus, genere, cultu, et rebus consimilibus. Deinde quod molli sit animo id genus, et facile ad misericordiam commouetur, quam maxime supplices videri studebimus. Quae illius sunt vehementer amplificabimus, nostra extenuabimus, aut certe summa cum modestia proferemus. Summum amorem cum summa desperatione coniunctum ostendemus. Nunc lamentabimur, nunc blandiemur, nunc desperabimus; nunc rursum nos ipsos callide laudabimus, pollicebimur; exemplis utemur illustrium et honestarum mulierum, quae ingenuo amori indulserunt, et iuvenum ipsarum fortunis, longe inferiorum. Amorem nostrum, quam honestissimum conabimur ostendere. Denique quam poterimus verecundissime orabimus ut si amantem redamare neutiquam dedignetur, saltem amari se citra incommodum, aequo animo ferat; quod nisi impetremus, decretum est apud nos quovis modo crudelem abrumpere vitam. Exemplum huius praeceptionis, ab Ovidio caeterisque poetis petent, quibus ea res curae est.<sup>17</sup>

Especially the part where the letter-writer is advised to show 'the deepest love joined with the deepest despair' is reminiscent of Erik. Besides the letters edited below, cf. e.g. the following passage from a letter of 17 September 1561, after the second attempt to travel to England:

Miror itaque cur diutius tua serenitas velit excruciare me; satis in hac causa iam diu fui afflictus. Credo Deum mihi hanc crucem fataliter destinasse, quod tam longo tempore varia spe in hoc negotio debeam fluctuare.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis; De ratione studii; De conscribendis epistolis; Dialogus Ciceronianus*, eds. Jean-Claude Margolin e.a., *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami: recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, I/2 (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1971), 153-580 (pp. 511-512). An English translation by Charles Fantazzi is found in Desiderius Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis; Formula; De civilitate*, ed. J. Kelley Sowards, transl. Charles Fantazzi, *Collected works of Erasmus*, 25, *Literary and Educational Writings*, 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 1-254 (p. 204).

<sup>18</sup> NA, SP 70/18, fol. 186. (For abbreviations of archives etc., see the appended list of letters.)

It is also possible to find further similarities with Erasmus' instructions in the letters edited below as well as in the others, but on the whole the advice seems too general to say anything conclusive about Erik's possible employment of the *De conscribendis epistolis*, and whether he owned a copy of it is uncertain: A work of reference on Swedish letter-writing asserts that he did, but unfortunately without any substantiation.<sup>19</sup> Erasmus' work is not included in a catalogue of Erik's library at Stockholm Castle which was drawn up after his dethronement in 1568 (but the catalogue of course only tells us what he had there and then).<sup>20</sup> The book was however included in the library of Erik's brother Magnus, a catalogue of which was made in 1579.<sup>21</sup>

Let us now turn to a few notable stylistic phenomena in the letters. One found in some of them is play on words, with rhymes and assonances:

(...) tua serenitas me ad aeternum **favorem et amorem** reddit devinctum.

(...) videbit tamen serenitas tua meum **alacrem affectum amoremque apertum**.

(...) felicem **exitum expeto et expecto**.

(...) sperans (...) maiestatem tuam non eo esse animo erga constantissimum suum amicum, ut patiatur eum perpetua **cruce excrucari**.

(...) quippe considerantes magnum mihi sibi que dolorem futurum, si infectis negotiis (...) cum **dedecore et detrimento** redire contingeret.

(...) nec umquam credi<di>ssem tuam serenitatem offensionem ita gravem nulla ferme de causa erga **amicum amicissimum** concipere potuisse.<sup>22</sup>

This stylistic device is used sparingly, in just a few of the letters, but it is worth noting that all examples are found in early letters of proposal, not in credentials or other more formal letters. Furthermore, such play is missing completely, or almost completely, from the above-mentioned *Oratio de iniusto bello*; the only possible example being 'homo iam **vetus, vietus** ac tussiculosus'.<sup>23</sup> It may perhaps seem obvious that love-letters are more suited to literary embellishment than orations on wars,

<sup>19</sup> Stina Hansson, *Svensk brevskrivning: teori och tillämpning* (Göteborg: Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, Univ., 1988), p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Ed. Knut Geijer in *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* (Stockholm, 1816-1860), 27 (1845), 380-90. For a brief summary, see Karlsson (ed.), *Erik XIV*, p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Otto Walde, *De svenska bibliotekens historia* (Uppsala, 1931), pp. 79-80.

<sup>22</sup> From letters of 12 July 1559, NA, SP 70/5, fol. 124; 30 Dec. 1559 (quoted from edition below, §11); *ibid.* §17; 14 Dec. 1560 (quoted from edition below, §6); *ibid.* §8; 22 July 1562, UUB, E 277, p. 535 (my emendation).

<sup>23</sup> Karlsson (ed.), *Erik XIV*, p. 164, §378.

but the *Oratio de iniusto bello* does in fact contain literary features too, such as quotations from classical authors; inverted quotations of anti-Swedish statements from Danish texts; and a kind of quasi-clausulae modelled on Cicero's well-known *esse videatur*.<sup>24</sup> It thus seems that Erik (with the possible help of his secretaries) varied his style.

Another feature which is dependent on the character of the letter is the form of address. The observant reader will have noticed in the short quotations above that Erik calls Elizabeth *tua serenitas/maiestas* instead of *vestra*. His choice of the singular instead of the plural is in itself hardly a sensation. Erasmus prescribed it, remarking that the only person you might possibly address in the plural is a pregnant woman.<sup>25</sup> In practice, the singular was used for instance by Johannes Eck in addressing Emperor Charles V.<sup>26</sup>

The interesting thing here is rather that Erik only employs the singular in the love letters and other non-credentials from the early years of the correspondence, probably to create an atmosphere of greater intimacy. In credentials for his legates, he always addresses Elizabeth *vestra serenitas/maiestas*. At one occasion, two letters with these two different addresses were even written on the same day (see below).

The first time Erik addressed Elizabeth *vestra maiestas* in a letter which was not a credential was on 14 March 1562. This was possibly due to the letter's being part of a rather heated discussion: After the second failed journey to England, Erik, perhaps in disappointment, sharpened his conditions for marriage, to which Elizabeth responded in surprisingly straight-forward terms that she would keep on corresponding with him but would have nothing more to do with his proposal of marriage.<sup>27</sup> The letter of March 1562, in its turn, is in answer to this.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-63.

<sup>25</sup> *De conscribendis epistolis* (ed. Margolin, pp. 266-276).

<sup>26</sup> *Johannes Eck (1486-1543), Briefwechsel*, hg. von Vinzenz Pfnür, bearbeitet von Peter Fabisch und Hans Jörg Gerste unter Verwertung von Vorarbeiten von Joseph Greving und Klaus Rischar <<http://ivv7srv15.uni-muenster.de/mnkg/pfnuer/Eck-Briefe.html>> [27 January 2008] (No. 138, 18 February 1521 <<http://ivv7srv15.uni-muenster.de/mnkg/pfnuer/Eckbriefe/N138.html>>).

<sup>27</sup> 'Et praeterea, ut finem ponamus his negotiis, si ad hunc finem haec vestra spectare vellent consilia, postulamus a vestra serenitate, ut desistat porro laborare in hac causa sive literis, sive nuntiis, sive alio quocumque modo; in hoc nostro responso acquiescere potest vestra serenitas et modum molestijs omnibus imponere. Et nos pro nostra parte benignitate Dei, ut antea semper fecimus, paratae erimus atque propositae ad gratificandum et respondendum omnibus principibus in omni mutui officii ratione, prout rerum

To the summer the same year we should probably refer an undated letter not dealing with the marriage, which also has the plural. In the same summer, the still persistent Erik planned a new delegation to England, which was, however, cancelled. In connection with this, two letters were written but never sent (both 22 July 1562), one a credential, in the plural as always; but in the other, a new letter of proposal, Erik adopted a more conciliatory tone, returning to the address *tua serenitas*. The three letters after that (20 and 31 Oct. 1562; 13 Aug. 1563), the second of which is largely focused on the marriage, all have the plural. Then follows the (in)famous letter of 15 October 1563, where Erik is back to the singular. Thereafter all letters have the plural.

Elizabeth seems to keep to the plural in her letters to Erik, except in a postscript in her own hand in a letter of 4 May 1561.<sup>28</sup>

Erik's letters to Queen Elizabeth can also give us an idea of his working procedure when composing an important text. Of the 18 letters extant in the National Archives, London, 16 are originals (in the few cases where this is not noted in the CSPF because the letter is imperfect, I base it on the signature, which seems to be in Erik's hand throughout, or on the

temporumque momenta videbuntur postulare'. The letter, dated 14 Dec. 1561, is preserved in a copy in The British Library, Royal MSS 13 B i, fol. 68v-70r.

<sup>28</sup> The letter is found in RA, Anglica, vol. 517, Elizabeth's hand identified in an annotation in the volume, and is reproduced in Carlqvist, *Kung Erik av folket* (unnumbered section of photographs). Anglica 517 contains many other letters from Elizabeth to Erik, most of them originals. (Many of these same letters are also found in copies in RR 35, a few of them also in UUB, E 277.) I have not studied in detail all the letters from Elizabeth to Erik that are only available in England, but as far as I have seen, these too have the plural. Some drafts and copies (also of letters not found in RA) are found in NA (on microfilm): 25 Aug. 1559, SP 70/6 (publ. in GR, XXIX, p. 838); 8 Nov. 1559, SP 70/8; 25 (and 22: several copies with different dates) Feb. 1560, SP 70/11 (publ. in GR, XXIX, pp. 840-841; transl. in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by George Bagshaw Harrison (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1968, repr. 1981) [London, 1935], pp. 31-33); 10 Feb. 1563, SP 70/50; 16 Aug. 1563, SP 70/62; 19 May 1565, SP 70/78; 8 Oct. 1565 (two letters), SP 70/80. The letters found in NA are summarized in CSPF (a letter from 1563, listed in CSPF 1564-65 as no. 1769, I have not been able to find on the microfilm). Several copies (some of letters not extant in either RA or NA) are found in The British Library, Royal MSS 13 B i; see George Frederic Warner, *Catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's collections in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1921), II, 89-90 (the catalogue mistakenly dates a letter of 14 Dec. 1561 as 14 Dec. 1562). Letters of 10 April 1560 (one to Gustav, one to Erik), and 14 March 1563 published in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham: Now First Collected and Revised, with a Life of the Author by the Rev. Dr. Giles* (London: Russell Smith, 1864-1865), II (according to the title page, but III according to the cover) (1864), 35-36 and 109.

fact that the running text is in his hand). Of these 16 letters, two (12 July 1559 and 17 Sept. 1561) have running text in Erik's own hand (except for the initial salutations). Two other finished letters which I judge to be in Erik's hand are extant, one (15 October 1563) in the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden, and one (22 July 1562), which was never sent, in Uppsala University Library, Sweden (there are two letters from this day in the volume E 277; this is the one found on pp. 535-538).

Even more interesting than this is perhaps the fact that a few drafts of letters to Elizabeth are extant in the National Archives, Stockholm. A draft for the letter of 11 April 1561 is in Erik's own hand and contains many deletions and alterations.<sup>29</sup> Of this initial draft there is a fair copy, made by someone else, with more alterations in a hand that looks like Erik's and in a third one. The final original letter is not extant, as far as I know, but in Uppsala there is a contemporary manuscript which is probably a copy of it (ed. below) and which seems to be in the same hand that made the running text of the second draft. As it is stated in the letter that it was written *propria manu*, we may conclude that the copy sent to England was in Erik's hand.

The other extant drafts also contain many corrections. An undated letter (the sixth on the list below) is written by someone other than Erik, but has insertions, at least one of which (the last) is rather clearly in his hand. There are three drafts for the letter of 17 Sept. 1561, which all seem to be in the same hand, at least as far as the running text is concerned. The first has only the beginning of the text, the second the whole text, the third only the end of the text. Neither the running text nor any of the many corrections seem to be done by Erik.<sup>30</sup> A draft for the other letter of 22 July 1562 is also written by someone other than Erik and does not seem to contain any corrections in his hand. (The finished, unsent letter, preserved in Uppsala, is not in Erik's hand either, but it is signed by him.)

Apart from telling us that a great deal of work was spent on the letters to Elizabeth, these facts suggest that Erik sometimes wrote himself, but that, during his time in office, his chief method when composing a text

<sup>29</sup> The identification of Erik's hand here is made in a handwritten note in the manuscript, also by Annell, *Erik XIV:s etiska föreställningar och deras inflytande på hans politik*, p. 25.

<sup>30</sup> Andersson, *Erik XIV*, p. 63 appears to have been of the opinion that the running text of these drafts is in Erik's hand ('Han har själv satt upp konceptet'). I cannot agree with him; perhaps he confused this letter with that of 11 April.

was dictation. To what extent the scribes were also used as consultants is of course impossible to tell, but the fact that we have seen examples of Erik's involvement both in the preparatory and in the finishing stages of making the letters should put it beyond doubt that he was the person in charge of formulating at least the early ones.

## Edition

The three letters edited here are from 30 December 1559; 14 December 1560; and 11 April 1561, and are the first three finished 'love-letters' that have not been edited before. The letters of December 1559 and 1560 are little known. They seem to have been overlooked in Andersson's standard work on the negotiations as they are not mentioned and as the letter of April 1561 is described as the first in which Erik's romantic style is fully developed<sup>31</sup>, while in fact the two earlier ones are much better examples of it. These two letters were however summarized in the Swedish history of Olof von Dalin in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>32</sup>, and the first of them is briefly mentioned by Annell, who considered that the romantic style was fully developed already in the letter of 12 July 1559, and is even more pronounced in this one.<sup>33</sup>

The punctuation of the letters has been changed into a chiefly syntactical one and they have been divided into paragraphs, subdivided into numbered units. The spelling has been normalized into a principally classical one but with a distinction between u and v, so that u is used for the vowel and v for the consonant. Abbreviations have been resolved.

Intended to facilitate the reading, these measures also seemed reasonable because the first two letters are only preserved in later copies, which cannot be trusted to reflect the standards of the original or contemporary copies of it. Even though the third letter is extant in two original drafts and also in a contemporary copy in a volume containing material from the archive of Erik's chancellor Nils Gyllenstierna, it seemed preferable

<sup>31</sup> Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, p. 60.

<sup>32</sup> *Svea rikes historia ifrån des begynnelse til våra tider, efter hans kongl. maj:ts nådiga behag på riksens höglofliga ständers åstundan författad af Olof Dalin*, 4 vols (Stockholm, 1747-1762), III (1760), 489-490 and 520-521.

<sup>33</sup> Annell, *Erik XIV:s etiska föreställningar och deras inflytande på hans politik*, p. 207, note 6.

to normalize this too in all these respects, in order to adopt one single standard for the edition as a whole.

Initial salutations were probably included in all three original letters sent to England. These are however not included in the copies on which the below editions are based.

### 1. 30 December 1559, Vadstena Castle

This letter is found in three later copies, one in UUB, Palmskiöld 27, pp. 37-40 (below referred to as A), and two in RA, SHH 5 (two different scribes) (B and C). No internal dependencies between the manuscripts could be determined, and they have all been collated below.

After the signature ('Tuae serenitatis amantissimus Ericus'), two of the manuscripts (A and C) seem to have copied a sign which can be seen added to the signature in some of Erik's original letters, while the third (B) has 'm.p.' and thus probably interpreted this same sign as *m[anu] p[ropria]*. However, the sign is found both in letters which are in Erik's hand throughout and in such as are just signed by him.<sup>34</sup> Therefore we cannot conclude that the original of the letter edited here was in Erik's hand, regardless of whether the scribe of B was correct in his interpretation.

Persons mentioned in the letter: Erik's brother Johan, duke of Finland, later king of Sweden (cf. the general introduction); his father Gustav Vasa, king of Sweden.

Elizabeth's response to the letter is extant and preserved in different copies, dated 25 and 22 February 1560 (see CSPF), in NA, SP 70/11, fol. 74ff. It is published in GR, XXIX, pp. 840-841, and translated into English in *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. by G.B. Harrison (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1968, repr. 1981) [London, 1935], pp. 31-33. (It is not entirely clear to me whether the GR edition and Harrison's translation are made from the same copy: they seem to be in accordance except for the fact that where GR has 'literae (...) vere vestrae 30 Decembris datae

<sup>34</sup> An example of the first case: 12 July 1559, NA, SP 70/5, fol. 125; of the second: 9 April 1560, NA, SP 70/13, fol. 44.



nobis per carissimum fratrem vestrum (...) traditae sunt', Harrison translates 'A letter truly yours (...) was given us on 30 December by your very dear brother (...) ' instead of what would be the correct rendering of the text as given by GR, namely 'A letter truly yours (...) dated 30 December was given us by your very dear brother (...) ' ; the latter is of course also the only thing that makes chronological sense.)

Elizabeth politely rejects Erik's proposal and in a postscript advises him against going to England.

Cum ab initio amore, fide et constantia tuam serenitatem semper coluerim, serenissima potentissimaeque regina, non possum satis dolere serenitatem tuam id sibi omnino non habere persuasum. **2** Et quamvis illustrissimus et excellentissimus dominus, dominus Iohannes, dux Finlandiae, proprius meus frater dilectus, serenitati tuae testimonium eius rei evidentissimum una cum aliis legatis meis perhibuerit, nihilominus adhuc serenitatem tuam de meo amore et fide haesitare audio, credens forte obtrectationibus et figmentis adversariorum nostrorum; quod equidem numquam a serenitate tua exspectassem.

**3** Verum utcumque se haec habent, tua serenitas potest de me existimare quod voluerit; experietur re ipsa, quod etiamsi formosiores, ditiores et aptiores amicum maritumque facile serenitas tua sit inventura, fideliores tamen et magis tuam serenitatem amantem reperiet numquam. **4** Nec est, quod tua serenitas existimet eum, qui in rebus adversis serenitati tuae addictus et amore devinctus fuit, ita esse mollem et vecordem, ut iam — rebus secundis ac prosperis — ad tuam serenitatem se conferre dubitet. **5** Immo, utinam scivissem tuae serenitati gratum fuisse! Etiam tum, cum res turbulentissimae erant, certe numquam recusassem, etiamsi per vitae meae periculum et sanguinis proprii effusionem tuam serenitatem liberare debuisssem. Cur igitur iam non essem paratus? Quid me remoraretur?

**6** Sed quaeret fortasse tua serenitas, unde mihi tantus amor erga ipsam, cum numquam tuae serenitatis personam oculis viderim. **7** Respondeo me ab omnipotenti Deo simul et fama tuae serenitatis perquam illustri ad hoc esse accensum, ut mihi honestum et decorum ducerem pro evangelica principe et stirpe regum illustri (si modo annueret) omnia pericula subire eamque ex captivitate liberare et coniugio legitimo mihi coniungere. Credat serenitas tua etiam, quod forma tuae serenitatis mihi non latuerit. **8** Et ideo omnino tuae serenitatis desiderio tenebar et teneor.

**9** Quod autem hactenus me ad serenitatem tuam non contulerim, eam culpam merito serenitas tua sibi ipsi ascribere debet, eo quod mihi nunquam aliqua certa spes literis aut aliquo evidenti signo a tua serenitate potuit contingere. **10** Aut quoniam percepi a fratre meo carissimo et ceteris legatis meis serenitatem tuam omnino decrevisse absenti non nubere nulloque certum responsum mihi daturam, priusquam me viderit, ad tuam serenitatem me conferre volo, proprio ore exponens ea, quae per legatos hactenus fuerint tractata.

11 Et quamquam tuam serenitatem mea praesentia fortasse parum oblectare poterit, videbit tamen serenitas tua meum alacrem affectum amoremque apertum, eo quod neglectis periculis, postpositis obstaculis, spretis incommoditatibus, relictis patria, parentibus et amicis ad gratificandum serenitati tuae pergam, 12 sperans me aliquando (Deo iuvante) illustrissimum et potentissimum regem, dominum patrem meum, qui quasi utroque filio orbatus iam senio confectus habens plurima et gravissima negotia atque de filiis suis tristantem una cum omnibus nostratibus, qui etiam, ne quid nobis contingat adversi, summo opere verentur, aliquando laeto et optato nuntio ob summum candorem serenitatis tuae recreaturum. 13 Tua serenitas igitur credat, quia, ut primum licentiam parentis habuero, ad tuam serenitatem advolabo.

14 Unum tamen oro, ne tua serenitas alicui mortalium id manifestare velit, nam occulte et secreto veluti privatus ad serenitatem tuam ire decrevi, ut tutius et melius iter conficere queam famaue non spargatur de nostris negotiis, antequam conclusa fuerint. 15 Interea serenitas tua ab optimo affectu, quem erga me concepit, non patiatur se abalienari et fratrem meum, quemadmodum hactenus, benevolentia complectatur; etenim ingentes serenitati tuae ago gratias pro exhibitis honoribus, collatis beneficiis et munifica tractatione suae dilectionis. 16 Quam equidem non tantum summa amicitia et obsequiis promereri nitebor, verum etiam quasi mihi ipsi fore acceptam serenitas tua cognoscet.

17 Nihil est, quod ulterius hac vice ad serenitatem tuam scribere stauerim, sed a Deo optimo maximo, qui me ad hunc amorem erga serenitatem tuam divinitus instigavit, felicem exitum expeto et expecto. 18 Quem etiam deprecor tuam serenitatem ab omnibus periculis et incommoditatibus liberare atque in felici politia et regni tui conservatione.

Datum 30 Decembris in Arce Wastenis anno 59.

Tuae serenitatis amantissimus Ericus

2 perhibuerit] perhibuerint B • credens] credentem *expectes* 3 habent] habeant B • tuam serenitatem] serenitatem tuam C 5 remoraretur] remorantur C 7 simul et] simul ac B • fama] famae C • credat ... quod] Credat tua serenitas, quod etiam B 10 Aut *ABC, fortasse* At *scribendum?* • responsum] rpsonum A • daturam B, daturum AC 11 postpositis] posthabitis B • spretis] spectis A 12 qui ... confectus habens ... tristantem] qui ... confectus (est) habens ... tristans *sive* qui ... confectus habet ... tristatur *expectes* • candorem] condorem C 14 id *om.* B 15 suae dilectionis *i.e.* Johannis 16 nitebor] nitar *expectes*

## 2. 14 December 1560, Stockholm Castle

As the letter above, this is preserved in UUB, Palmskiöld 27 (p. 73 ff.) (below referred to as A) and in RA, SHH 5 (only one copy in this case) (B). The hand in Palmskiöld seems to be another than that in the previous letter. The SHH copy has two hands: up to and including §5 of the below edition it is the hand of ms B from the previous letter, then the hand from

ms C takes over. No internal dependencies between the manuscripts have been possible to determine, and they have both been collated in the establishment of the text.

Persons mentioned: Dionysius Beurreus, see the general introduction; Nils Gyllenstierna (or Guildenstern) was Erik's chancellor. He was sent to England together with the secretary Mårten Helsing, originally to assist Beurreus, but in reality came to replace him, staying in England between the springs of 1561 and 1562. Gyllenstierna's letters and reports, much quoted in Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, have since been published in *Handlingar rörande Sveriges utrikespolitik 1561-1566*, ed. Ingvar Andersson – Sture Arnell, *Historiska handlingar*, 33/11 (Stockholm, 1946), pp. 107-232.

Dedi saepius ad tuam maiestatem litteras, serenissima potentissimaque regina. Insuper et plures misi legationes, usque dum postremo ob maiestatis tuae causam nec pepercerim proprio meo fratri, quin hunc laborem susciperet — omnia in eum finem, ut aliquando certior fierem, qualiter maiestas tua erga me esset affecta; **2** quod tamen adhuc omni industria et labore non potui assequi; insuper nec unicam litteram certi responsi sum consecutus.

**3** Nihilominus tamen cogit me verus ac legitimus amor, quo tuam maiestatem complector, has adhuc litteras perscribere atque de negotio nostro, quid in praesenti constituerim, tuae maiestati communicare ea expectatione me tuam maiestatem constantia ac fide mea tandem lenire atque tuae maiestatis animi sensum perfectius intellecturum. **4** Ante omnia autem Deum omnipotentem ex corde precor tuam maiestatem (quam millies milliesque beatam cupio) omni felicitate et rerum successu conservari proculque avertere a tua maiestate omnem tristitiam et infortunium, quibus ego iam angor et maxime affligor. **5** De ceteris rebus, quae a me sunt coram tua maiestate per legatos meos tractatae, sciat tua maiestas me adhuc in pristino amore constanter perseverare — fortunam quidem mutatam, verum summum desiderium tui minime.

**6** Ideo fit, ut amore tui in dies magis magisque languesco, sperans tamen contra spem maiestatem tuam non eo esse animo erga constantissimum suum amicum, ut patiat eum perpetua cruce excruciar; sed potius pro summa sua humanitate aliquid determinabit, ex quo intelligere queam, an frustra omnia tentavi. **7** Quam amicissime igitur oro, si quid preces meae valeant et si quidquam tuae maiestati aliquando gratum feci, ut maiestas tua velit mihi declarare suam mentem et aliquod certum responsum dare super petitionem meam. **8** Ego quidem paratus sum venire quam primum (ut antea sum pollicitus), sed antequam sciam an placeat maiestati tuae institutum meum, non ego sed subditi mei, qui mihi bene consultum cupiunt, dissuadent ac remorantur, quippe considerantes magnum mihi sibique

dolorem futurum, si infectis negotiis (quod certe mihi de tua maiestate non persuadeo) cum dedecore et detrimento redire contingeret.

9 Non debet tua maiestas tamen sibi hoc persuadere me quidquam a priori favore declinasse, cum mihi omnino proposuerim nullam aliam in coniugem velle ducere, dum maiestas tua innupta manebit, nisi evidentioribus rationibus perceperim me prorsus a tua maiestate esse repulsum.

10 Nec sum ita scrupulosus, ut quidquam de pietate, virtute, moribus, ingenio et forma tuae maiestatis dubitem; quamvis tuam maiestatem non viderim, sufficit mihi quod carissimus frater meus aliique fide digni viri retulerunt.

11 Si quidquam de me moribusque meis tua maiestas dubitat, mittat viros fideles et probos, qui omnia videant, mecum versentur, mores scrutentur atque postea quid eis videatur referant. 12 Tua maiestas potest tum statuere quid voluerit; verum quantum ad me attinet, plenariam potestatem dedi praestanti ac nobili viro mihique dilecto, domino Nicolao Gylldenstierm, cancellario meo, similiter et domino Dionisio Burreo, olim praeceptorum meo legatoque priori, cum tua maiestate tractandi de rebus omnibus quasi ipse adessem, iniunxique quam primum responsum ut referant. 13 Quicquid illi meo nomine ratificaverint et ex mandato meo concluderint, id ego etiam ratum et firmum habeo. Interea res ita haerebunt, usque dum intellexerim, quid mihi faciendum erit.

14 Expectabo igitur responsum, donec veniat, summa cum anxietate et tristitia, cum iam patre orbatus carissimae meae (quam coniugem speraveram) conversatione insuper privari cogor. 15 Accedit et hoc, si maiestas tua noluerit me aliquo bono responso consolari, quod reges et principes, quorum filiae aut sorores a me prius reiectae ob amorem tui, quasi convitiis me ultro lacerent, dicentes mihi merito contigisse, dum spreverim oblata, etiam omiserim desiderata.

16 Deus Omnipotens, averte hoc malum, nec eos permittas hoc gaudio laetari, quod pium meum propositum frustret et legitimus ordo ab initio mundi a te constitutus impediatur! 17 Tu enim novisti, quo animo hoc negotium suscepi, ideoque credere non possum te permissurum illam, quam plus me ipso dilexerim et cuius in adversitatibus proprio sanguinis et vitae periculo paratus eram succurrere, me nunc reicere.

18 Nihil hac vice scribere tuae maiestati ulterius possum, sed sciat me esse paratum perferre fortunam, quam Deus dederit, ea spe, quod omnia tandem in bonum finem vertet. 19 Ipse velit etiam tuam maiestatem conservare ab omnibus malis et incommodis atque largiri prosperam fortunam, felices successus et placitos multosque regnorum annos — et post hanc vitam aeternum gaudium.

Datum ex arce nostra Stockholmia 14 Decembris anno 1560.

1 potentissimaque] potentissimque B 3 quo tuam maiestatem] quo maiestatem tuam B 7 ut maiestas tua] ut maiestas vestra B 8 placeat maiestati tuae] placeat maiestati vestrae B • sibi] sibi B 9 declinasse] declinassa A • nullam] nuttam A 11 fideles] fides B 15 accedit] accidit B 18 scribere tuae maiestati] scribere tua maiestas A

### 3. 11 April 1561, Kungsör

As mentioned in the general introduction above, this letter is preserved in two drafts (RA, KK 4). The first will be referred to as A, the second as B. Furthermore, there is a contemporary manuscript which is probably a copy of the letter sent to England (UUB, E 277, p. 35ff.), referred to as C. The edition below is based on the latter. The drafts have been consulted when its readings have seemed doubtful, but otherwise they have not been used in establishing the text, and their differing readings are not, as a rule, presented in the apparatus criticus.

Persons mentioned: Nils Gyllenstierna (or Guildenstern), see the introduction to the previous letter; John Dymock, a London merchant who for a couple of years acted on behalf of himself and other English supporters of Erik to further the match and encourage the king in his proposal. At the time the below letter was written, he was believed by the Swedes to be on some kind of semi-official mission from Elizabeth, but in reality he had no mandate from the queen, and was imprisoned for his venture upon his return to England. After his release in the early autumn of 1561, he continued to promote the match, but in the summer of 1562, he and other supporters of Erik in England were taken into questioning on suspicion of some sort of conspiracy connected to their efforts. Nothing seems to have been found, however.<sup>35</sup> Dymock's dealings with Sweden soon became less friendly, revolving instead around a protracted feud concerning money he had lent to Gyllenstierna.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> 'Om den engelske köpmannen John Dymoch och hans förhållande till det svenska konungahuset (1560-1593)', in Fridolf Ödberg, *Tidsbilder ur 1500-talets Svenska häfder* (Stockholm: Fritze, 1896), pp. 43-110; Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, pp. 57-63, 66, 74, 84-85; Doran, *Monarchy & Matrimony*, pp. 34-35. Doran does not mention the imprisonment, only that his 'efforts brought Dymock into trouble with the queen and Council'; but that Dymock was taken into custody is clear from a Gyllenstierna report (Andersson – Arnell (eds), *Handlingar rörande Sveriges utrikespolitik 1561-1566*, p. 134) and from Elizabeth's response to the letter edited below (22 June 1561, RA, Anglica 517). Furthermore, according to Doran, Dymock was back in Sweden in the spring of 1562 to sell the king some jewels, but Ödberg and Andersson say nothing about such a journey, and according to them, jewels were brought on the 1561 trip (the one described here). Other Englishmen were however in Sweden in early 1562 (Ödberg, 'Om den engelske köpmannen John Dymoch', pp. 45, 63-65; Andersson, *Erik XIV:s engelska underhandlingar*, pp. 57, 74-77).

<sup>36</sup> Ödberg, 'Om den engelske köpmannen John Dymoch'.

Elizabeth's reply to this letter, dated 22 June 1561, is extant in the original in RA, Anglica 517.<sup>37</sup> She politely rejects Erik once more, strongly dissociating herself from Dymock, whom she has taken into custody, partly at the request of Beurres. (Gyllenstierna instead worked for and obtained Dymock's release;<sup>38</sup> the discrepancy in the Swedish policy was possibly due to slow communications.)

Etsi non decreveram, postquam abiit legatus meus Nicolaus Gyldenstiern novissime expeditus, plures litteras ad tuam maiestatem transmittere, serenissima potentissimaque regina, cum sperarem illum abunde in praesentia tuae maiestatis posse exponere, quae apud maiestatem tuam mihi tractanda essent, attamen praetermittere nolui hanc opportunam et commodam occasionem, quae mihi oblata fuit per praesentem hunc honestum et bonum virum, Iohannem Democh, fidelem famulum maiestatis tuae, quin et litteras meas propria manu scriptas ei confiderem. **2** Precor itaque intimis precibus Deum omnipotentem, ut tuae maiestati sanitatem corporis, felicitatem consiliorum et fidelitatem subiecti populi donare velit ad Dei gloriam et utilitatem subditorum.

**3** Refert mihi praeterea, serenissima regina, hic praesens nuntius se quidem propriis de causis in regnum meum iter constituisse verumtamen aliqua magni momenti negotia mihi communicare velle, quae cum avidis auribus (propterea quod ex Anglia venisset) audirem. **4** Percepi ex ipso multa et varia, quae animum meum non parum exhilararunt; in primis autem et inter cetera multifariam virtutes et dotes tuae maiestatis (mihi quidem nequaquam prius incognitas) commemoravit. **5** Deinde de bona valetudine et optimo erga me animo maiestatis tuae etiam me certiores fecit, asserens maiestatem tuam petitioni meae nequaquam renuisse, sed se sperare Dei omnipotentis adminiculo adhuc negotium confectum iri posse. **6** Offert suam operam, se comitem itineris una cum nuntio meo et proprium nuntium futurum atque, si sibi credatur, viam inventurum facillimam, qua laetum finem in diu expectatis rebus consequar. **7** Rogat ut a pictore suo meam effigiem delineari patiar et dona per manus suas tuae maiestati transmitti.

**8** Quae omnia cum apud me considero, quamquam credititias nec ulla alias litteras tuae maiestatis habet, tamen credere non possum ipsum tantae audaciae esse, ut haec omnia ita temere absque ulla certa spe dicere et temptare ausit, praecipue cum civis Londinensis non infimae condicionis (ut audio) sit et famulum tuae maiestatis se dicit. **9** Propterea ipsum cum literis istis ablegavi, si forte instinctu divino tuae maiestati in animum

<sup>37</sup> Also in two copies in UUB, E 277, pp. 79-94 (one complete, one partial), and in a copy (possibly made from a draft) in the British Library, Royal MSS 13 B i, fol. 50ff.

<sup>38</sup> Letter from Gyllenstierna to Erik of 25 September 1561, Andersson – Arnell (eds), *Handlingar rörande Sveriges utrikespolitik 1561-1566*, p. 155.

venire possit potius per suum proprium servitorem quam per alium quempiam extraneum mihi responsum definitum dare, ut tandem aliquid certi exstet, quo suscepta de tua maiestate bona opinio firmari et stabiliri queat.

**10** Rogo itaque summopere propter constantiam et amorem meum, propter tot adversitates, quas tua causa pertuli, propter maerore consumptos floridos annos, propter Dei omnipotentis ordinationem, ob preces subditorum tuorum et propter ipsius tui causam, ne ultima in stirpe tua censearis, ut per hunc presentem nuntium certum responsum accipiam. **11** Scio enim in tuae maiestatis potestate et voluntate situm esse totum, si velit me habere an secus. Nam quod cogitare possim tuam maiestatem velle et sibi non licere, id minime mihi possim persuadere, cum habeat subditos plurimum obedientes. Et nihil peto, quod sit contra institutum divinum aut noxium tuae maiestati vel regnis suis. **12** Cur debeam etiam credere quod non velit, cum fere omnes alios sua spe deiecerit et mihi certis indiciis maiorem addiderit animum? **13** Restat igitur nihil aliud, quam ut mihi voluntas tuae maiestatis planius declaretur, quae hactenus, ut reor, ob temporis et occasionis difficultatem nequierunt contingere.

**14** Nunc vero arbitror maiestati tuae ista non deesse: occasionem per praesentem nuntium tua maiestas habet; tempus aptissimum ob undique cum vicinis confectam pacem sese offert. Quid igitur tua maiestas vult diutius protrahere tempus? **15** A mea parte nihil scio, quod me (Deo favente) remorari potest; naves, sumptus, comites, commeatus et omnia sunt parata. **16** Si responsum tuae maiestatis placitum et explicitum accepero, nihil mihi iucundius auditu; tum omnia se bene habent, atque ad omnes labores suscipiendos alacer ero. Immo, etiamsi absque summo periculo fortunae et vitae fieri non posset, nihilominus iter aggrediar. **17** Obsecro igitur summis precibus, ne amorem nostrum in cassum iri sinas.

**18** Ista in praesentiarum scribere duxi, et tuae maiestatis responsum de die in diem exspecto. Deus optimus maximus tuam maiestatem diu incolumem servet et omnia ad votum tuum et salutem tuorum felicia largiatur.

Datum Konungsöör 11 aprilis anno sexagesimoprimo, anno vero regni primo.

Ericus

**1** Salutat: (i.e. Salutatio vel Salutatione) praemissa in marg. scr. C • tuae maiestatis AB, tuae maiestati C **3** quae cum AB, quae mihi cum C **7** rogat ut] ut supra lin. add. C, om. AB **8** credititias (i.e. creditivas, vide René Hoven, *Lexique de la Prose Latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1994)) A, creditias BC; credititias nec ullas alias litteras i.e. nec credititias nec ullas alias litteras, cf. *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, von J. B. Hofmann; neubearb. von Anton Szantyr. *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 2, 2, 2 (München: Beck, 1972), p. 517 (§283 h β); cf. etiam Karlsson (ed.), *Erik XIV*, pp. 84-86 (§9), ubi Ericus XIV scribit qui consuetudinem regionum, in quibus versamur, neque gestorum causas satis intelligunt **9** ipsum AB, om. C **14** ista non deesse B, ista deesse C (tota sententia deficit A) **18** in praesentiarum i.e. impraesentiarum

#### 4. Appendix: Letters from Erik XIV to Elizabeth I

**CSPF** = *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, ed. Joseph Stevenson et al., 53 vols (London: Her Majesty's stationery office, 1863-1950). **GR** = *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur, utg. af Riksarkivet; genom Joh. Ax. Almquist*, 29 vols (Stockholm 1861-1916). **KK** = Kungliga koncept. **NA** = The National Archives, London. **RA** = Riksarkivet (The National Archives), Stockholm. **RR** = Riksregistraturet (vol. 34 also called *Latinska riksregistraturet 1561-1562*; vol. 35 also called *Copiebok öfver latinska kansliakter 1561-1567*). **SHH** = Strödda historiska handlingar. **SP** = State Papers. **UUB** = Uppsala universitetsbibliotek (Uppsala University Library).

**1 Nov. 1557**, NA, SP 69/11, fol. 98r, orig., ed. GR, vol. 29, pp. 227-228.

**30 March 1559**, NA, SP 70/3, fol. 87r, orig.

**12 July 1559**, NA, SP 70/5, fol. 124r-125r, orig., ed. GR 29, pp. 612-614; RA, RR 35, fol. 52r. (there undated).

**26 July 1559**, NA, SP 70/5, fol. 171, orig., ed. GR 29, pp. 614-615.

**30 Dec. 1559**, UUB, Palmskiöld 27, pp. 37-40, copy; RA, SHH, vol. 5, 2 copies. Ed. here.

**Without date** (but mentions a letter of 30 Dec. as recently sent), RA, K 334, orig. draft.

**9 April 1560**, NA, SP 70/13, fol. 44r, orig.

**14 Dec. 1560**, UUB, Palmskiöld 27, pp. 73-78, copy; RA, SHH 5, copy. Ed. here.

**11 April 1561**, RA, KK 4, 2 orig. drafts; UUB, E 277, pp. 35-38, copy. Ed. here.

**17 Sept. 1561** (for the date, see Elizabeth's response of 14 Dec 1561, British Library, Royal MSS 13 B i, fol. 68v-70r), NA, SP 70/18, fol. 183r-187r, orig., imperfect (some 10 lines missing, including the date; in CSPF dated Sept. 1560); UUB, E 277, an original letter signed by Erik and of the same wording but dated 12 Nov. 1561; RA, KK 4, 3 drafts (two partial, one complete), Anglica 531, copy (all 4 dated Sept. 1561 by later annotations in the mss).

**18 Nov. 1561**, RA, RR 34, fol. 7r-8v, copy; UUB, E 277, pp. 325-328, copy, correctly dated (14 Kal. Dec.), but the table of contents and a note at the first side of the ms dates it 14 Dec.

**14 March 1562** (in Andersson 1935, p. 72, note 87, dated 12 March, probably by mistake), RA, RR 34, fol 48v-52v, copy, KK 4, copy.

**Without date** (but found among material from the summer of 1562 and mentions legates soon to be dispatched, which suggests that it was



written at approximately the same time as the next two letters), RA, RR 34, fol. 60v-61, copy.

**22 July 1562**, UUB, E 277, pp. 513-514, orig.; RA, KK 4, orig. draft.

**22 July 1562**, UUB, E 277, pp. 535-538, orig.

**20 Oct. 1562**, NA, SP 70/43, fol. 76, orig.

**31 Oct 1562**, NA, SP 70/43, fol. 213r-214r, orig.

**13 Aug. 1563**, NA, SP 70/62, fol. 64r-65r, orig.

**15 Oct. 1563**, Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden, SächsHStA, Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 10426/47, orig; NA, SP 70/64, fol. 54r-57r, two copies; RA, RR 35, fol. 70v-71v, copy, Anglica 531 (correctly dated, but later cover and an annotation dates it 1562); UUB, E 277, pp. 639-642, copy, Nordin 167, fol. 17r-19r, copy (with Swedish translation). Ed. *Acta literaria Sueciae, Upsaliae publicata*, 4 vols (Uppsala, 1720-1739), I (vol. *prim.*: *continens annos 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723 & 1724*) (1724), pp. 147-149; *Historiska märkvärdigheter, til uplysning af swenska häfder*, ed. Samuel Loenbom, 4 vols (Stockholm, 1768-1781<sup>2</sup>), I (1768), pp. 77-85 (with Swedish translation).

**19 Oct. 1563**, NA, SP 70/64, fol. 94r-95r, orig.

**1 June 1564**, NA, SP 70/72, fol. 10r-11r, orig.

**24 Nov. 1564**, NA, SP 70/75, fol. 90r-91r, orig.

**21 June 1565**, NA, SP 70/78, fol. 171, orig.; RA, RR 35, fol. 90r-91r (there dated 22 June), copy.

**28 June 1565**, NA, SP 70/76, fol. 3, orig. (undated; in CSPF dated 1565); RA, RR 35, fol. 91r-92r, copy (dated 28 June 1565).

**31 Oct. 1565**, RA, RR 35, fol. 98r-99r, copy.

**5 July 1566**, NA, SP 70/85, fol. 16r, orig.

**1566**, without month and day, RA, RR 35, fol. 134r, copy.

**31 Jan. 1567**, RA, RR 35, fol. 135, copy.

**5 March 1567**, RA, RR 35, fol. 138r-139r, copy.

**5 April 1567**, NA, SP 70/89, fol. 121r, orig; RA, RR 35, fol. 140v-141r, copy.<sup>39</sup>

Department of French, Italian and Classical Languages  
Stockholm University  
106 91 Stockholm  
Sweden  
magnuska@comhem.se

<sup>39</sup> I should like to thank Professor Jan Öberg for reading and commenting upon this paper.

Antonio SERRANO CUETO

EL *EPITHALAMIUM* DE JERÓNIMO RAMÍREZ  
EN HONOR DE LA BODA (1570)  
DE FELIPE II Y ANA DE AUSTRIA<sup>1</sup>

Disponemos de escasos datos sobre la vida del licenciado Jerónimo Ramírez (Hieronymus Ramirez). Nicolás Antonio, siguiendo noticias de la *Bibliotheca Lusitana* de Jorge Cardoso, lo hace hijo de la ciudad portuguesa de Évora.<sup>2</sup> Fue profesor de latines en el Estudio de la Villa de Madrid, donde en 1562 sustituyó al licenciado Vallés. Ocupó el puesto hasta 1566.<sup>3</sup> Allí tuvo por alumno a Miguel de Cervantes, cuyo amor por el mundo clásico debe mucho a este maestro. Al parecer Ramírez fue secretario de Fernando Cortés, marqués del Valle, según se deduce del epigrama que publicó en los preliminares del poema *Lusus pueritiae* (Madrid, 1599) de Juan Antonio Herrera Temiño: 'Io. Ramiri, amplissimi Vallis marquionis secretarii (...)'.<sup>4</sup>

Además del *Epithalamium* objeto de este trabajo y del epigrama mencionado, Ramírez publicó el poema en hexámetros *De raptu innocentis martyris Guardiensis libri VI* (Madrid, 1592), donde se cuenta el martirio del Santo Niño de La Guardia (Toledo) a manos de los judíos.<sup>5</sup> Se le identifica además con el autor de sendos epigramas laudatorios en los *Evangelicarum institutionum libri octo* (Madrid, 1579) de Pedro García Galarza; en la *Sphera del Universo* (Madrid, 1599) de Ginés Rocamora y

<sup>1</sup> Este trabajo se inserta en el Proyecto de Investigación HUM2006-05381 de la D.G.I.C.Y.T.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (Madrid: Visor, 1996; repr. facs. de Madrid: Joaquín de Ybarra, 1783-1788), II, 599.

<sup>3</sup> Ramírez cesó el 14 de octubre de 1566 y lo suplió interinamente el licenciado Francisco del Bayo. Cf. Justo García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España* (Toledo: Tipografía de R. Gómez Menor, 1945), p. 388.

<sup>4</sup> Apunta esta posibilidad Francisco Cerdá y Rico en *Clarorum Hispanorum opuscula selecta et riora* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1781), p. XVI; y lo da por hecho seguro Jack Weiner, *Cuatro ensayos sobre Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega* (Valencia: Publicaciones de la Universidad, 2005), p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> El poema fue reeditado en Cerdá y Rico, *Clarorum Hispanorum opuscula*, pp. 5-94.

Torrano; un soneto en *El peregrino indiano* (Madrid, 1599) de Antonio de Saavedra Guzmán, y una 'Apología en defensa del ingenio y fortaleza de los indios de la Nueva España' en la *Mexicana* (Madrid, 1594) de Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega.<sup>6</sup>

### **El *Epithalamium*: estructura y fuentes**

Jerónimo Ramírez debió de vivir de cerca la llegada de la princesa Ana de Austria a Madrid el 26 de noviembre de 1570. Como era costumbre, los festejos con que la Villa celebró el recibimiento habrían de quedar immortalizados por la pluma de un maestro relevante.<sup>7</sup> Por ello se encomendó a Juan López de Hoyos, a la sazón profesor de la Escuela de la Villa y maestro de Cervantes, recoger testimonio no sólo de la arquitectura efímera alzada en las calles de Madrid, sino también de los escritos laudatorios sobre el evento. La empresa, cuya publicación se demoró dos años, llevó por título *Real Apparato y sumptuoso recebimiento con que Madrid (como casa y morada de su M.) rescibió a la Serenissima reyna D. Ana de Austria* (Madrid, 1572).<sup>8</sup> Entre los escritos recopilados se halla el *Epithalamion de nuptiis Philippi II, Hispaniarum regis catholici, et dominae Annae, Maximiliani Romanorum imperatoris filiae* de Jerónimo Ramírez.

El poema sigue la senda del epitalamio de tipo narrativo iniciada por Estacio (*Epitalamio de Estela y Violentila*) e imitada posteriormente por Claudiano, Sidonio Apolinar, Ennodio, Luxorio, Draconcio y Venancio

<sup>6</sup> La relación con Laso de la Vega debió de ser estrecha, pues ambos se movían en el entorno del marqués del Valle. No se descarta que Jerónimo Ramírez sea el compilador de la anónima antología *Poesías Barias*, dedicadas a ensalzar la gloria de los Cortés. Cf. Weiner, *Cuatro ensayos*, p. 119. Para la obra de Ramírez véase también Juan Francisco Alcina Rovira, *Repertorio de la poesía latina del Renacimiento en España* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad, 1995), p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> Una década antes, con ocasión de la llegada de Isabel de Valois, el maestro Álvaro Gómez de Castro había plasmado por escrito los detalles del recibimiento en el libro titulado *Recebimiento que la imperial ciudad de Toledo hizo a su Magestad de la Reyna nuestra señora doña Ysabel [...]* (Toledo, 1561).

<sup>8</sup> Para esta *Relación*, véanse los estudios de Ana María Jiménez Gárnica et al., *Fiestas nupciales en el Madrid de Felipe II. Estudio interdisciplinar del recorrido festivo realizado por la reina Doña Ana de Austria, cuarta esposa de Felipe II, con motivo de su llegada a Madrid el 26 de noviembre de 1570* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1999), y María José del Río Barredo, 'Juan López de Hoyos y la crónica de las ceremonias reales en Madrid, 1568-1570', *Edad de Oro*, 18 (1999), 151-169.

Fortunato.<sup>9</sup> Se corresponde con el tercer grupo o 'descriptivo' de la clasificación que J. César Escalígero hizo en el capítulo CI de su *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon, 1561), dedicado al epitalamio:

Tertium genus apud poetas, quo res ipsa describitur: cuiusmodi est apud Musaeum de Leandro, apud Ovidium in nuptiis Orphei, apud Statium Stellae. Tale fecit Claudianus de Honorio et Maria.<sup>10</sup>

La estructura del epitalamio es compleja, ya que en ella se mezclan motivos retóricos tradicionales y acontecimientos históricos que son fácilmente identificables. Así pues, cabe proponer el siguiente esquema:

1. Inspiración de la Musa (vv. 1-8)
2. Júbilo de España (vv. 9-15)
3. Intervención de los dioses y elementos (vv. 16-36)
4. Enamoramiento y *querela* de Felipe (vv. 37-66)
5. *Laus coniugum* (vv. 67-85)
6. Beneplácito de las Parcas (vv. 86-107)
7. Travesía marítima de la novia (vv. 108-161):
  - 7.a. Despedida, navegación y cortejo marino (vv. 108-126)
  - 7.b. Vaticinio de Proteo (vv. 127-161)
8. Regocijo y festejos (vv. 162-182)
9. Súplica final: descendencia y buenos augurios (vv. 183-193)

<sup>9</sup> Para el desarrollo del epitalamio postclásico siguen siendo indispensables los trabajos de Camillo Morelli, 'L'epitalamio nella tarda poesia latina', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 18 (1910), 319-432; Arthur L. Wheeler, 'Tradition in the Epithalamium', *American Journal of Philology*, 51 (1930), 205-223, y Zoja Pavlovskis, 'Statius and the Late Latin Epithalamia', *Classical Philology*, 60 (1965), 164-177. Para su pervivencia en épocas posteriores, cf. Leonard Forster, 'Conventional Safety Valves. Alba, Pastourelle and Epithalamium', en *The Icy Fire. Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 84-121; Virginia Tufte, *The Poetry of Marriage. The Epithalamium in Europe and its Development in England* (Los Ángeles, 1970); Bodo L.O. Ritcher, 'Venere Pronuba: The French Renaissance Epithalamia', *Kentucky Romance Quarterly*, 19 (1972), 65-98, y Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Les premiers épithalamies humanistes en France', en *Mélanges à la mémoire de Franco Simone. France et Italie dans la culture européenne*, Bibliothèque Franco Simone, 4/6/8, 3 vols. (Genève: Editions Slatkine, 1980-1984), I: *Moyen Age et Renaissance* (1980), 199-224.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon, 1561; ed. facs. Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: Frommann, 1964 = 1987), p. 154. Escalígero utiliza el corpus teórico recogido en los tratados de Menandro el Rétor (*Sobre los discursos epidícticos*, I) y Pseudo-Dionisio (*Arte retórica*) sobre el discurso nupcial. Para la recepción de estos tratados en el Humanismo, cf. Mauro de Nichilo, *Oratio nuptialis. Per una storia dell'oratoria nuziale umanistica* (Bari: Università di Bari. Dipartimento di Italianistica, 1994).

Poetas como Giovanni Gigli (¿1434-1498?)<sup>11</sup> y Fausto Andrelini (1462-1518)<sup>12</sup>, entre otros, comienzan sus epitalamios con alusiones a la Musa que tienen por modelo los primeros versos del *Epitalamio de Estela y Violentila*. Al presentarse arrastrado por una música celestial que, por medio de la Musa, lo empuja hacia una nueva empresa (vv. 1-8), Ramírez hace lo propio. Es más, es posible que Ramírez conociera incluso el inicio del poema de Andrelini<sup>13</sup> y lo tuviera presente al redactar sus vv. 1-5.

Ramírez trata la alegría y el beneplácito de los dioses ante el evento de la boda en dos ocasiones.<sup>14</sup> La primera en los vv. 16-18, donde los olímpicos entonan un *festium paeana* (v. 17) que tiene reminiscencias de Stat., *Theb.*, 4, 157. Luego de intercalar una sección dedicada a la benevolencia de la naturaleza (vv. 19-25), introduce de nuevo la alegría divina (vv. 26-36). Aquí se mezclan los dioses paganos (*caelicolae*, v. 29) con un *Deus* (v. 26) que, como veremos, responde al Dios cristiano.

El regocijo de los dioses remonta al poema 64 de Catulo. Los olímpicos celebran con gran alborozo el casamiento de uno de los suyos (Tetis), con la aquiescencia de las Parcas, que procuran días felices para el futuro. Sin embargo, esta visión del ‘júbilo olímpico’ trascendió pronto el ámbito mitológico y halló acomodo en epitalamios sobre personajes reales. Cuando Menandro el Rétor expone sus preceptos para la elaboración del discurso que él denomina ‘epitalamio’<sup>15</sup>, propone como posible

<sup>11</sup> Gigli festejó con un extenso epitalamio el enlace del monarca Enrique VII con Isabel de York. Ha sido editado y estudiado por Gilbert y Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, ‘Giovanni Gigli and the Renaissance of the classical epithalamium in England’, en *Myrica. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef IJsewijn*, eds. Dirk Sacré – Gilbert Tournoy, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 16 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 134-193.

<sup>12</sup> Andrelini compuso un epitalamio (1514) en honor de Francisco, duque de Valois (futuro Francisco I de Francia), y Claudia, la hija del rey galo Luis XII. Véase la edición de Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, ‘Le manuscrit 1010 de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* et l’humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500 (II)’, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 26 (1977), 1-81 (pp. 73-75).

<sup>13</sup> Véanse los versos en el comentario final.

<sup>14</sup> Para la presencia de la mitología en el epitalamio, cf. Michael Roberts, ‘The use of myth in Latin epithalamia from Statius to Venantius Fortunatus’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 111 (1989), 321-348.

<sup>15</sup> Menandro distingue entre el ‘epitalamio’ (ἐπιθαλάμιος), que es un discurso de carácter más genérico sobre el tálamo, la alcoba, los novios, la familia y, sobre todo, el dios del matrimonio, pronunciado durante la celebración de la boda (399, 11), y el ‘discurso del lecho nupcial’ (κατευναστικὸς λόγος), que se centra más en la unión en el lecho (405, 15). Pseudo-Dionisio coincide en parte con Menandro, pero con los términos invertidos: el ‘discurso nupcial’ (γαμικὸς λόγος) (*Ars*, 270, 1; 271, 5) se pronunciaría durante la celebración de la boda y el ‘epitalamio’ (*Ars*, 260 ss.) sería la canción entonada en torno al tálamo. Esta última división ha sido adoptada tradicionalmente.

relato para el proemio contar cómo todos los dioses estaban presentes en la boda de Tetis y Peleo ofreciendo regalos, cantando, tañendo la lira, tocando la flauta y pregonando (Hermes) el himeneo.<sup>16</sup> Claudiano (9, 1-22 = prefacio del *Epitalamio de Honorio y María*) y Sidonio Apolinar (14, 1-29 = *Epitalamio de Polemio y Aranéola*) recogerán en sus versos esta alegría.

También aparecen en estos versos de Ramírez dioses estrechamente vinculados a las nupcias, como Himeneo y Juno Prónuba (v. 30). Ambos portan regalos para la novia, pero especialmente la diosa, que, además de joyas (vv. 33-34), le entrega símbolos de castidad fememina, virtud que es competencia suya (vv. 35-36). En la boda de Tetis y Peleo los mortales y los dioses acuden con regalos diversos (Catull., 64, 34 y 278-293, respectivamente). A partir de Estacio es frecuente que sean las Nereidas las encargadas de buscar regalos para la novia, en especial perlas marinas.<sup>17</sup>

En cuanto a la benevolencia de la naturaleza (vv. 19-25), intercalada, como decía, entre los dos pasajes referidos a los dioses, la retórica epidíctica aconsejaba hablar sobre la estación en que se celebraba la boda mediante una descripción basada en ideas tradicionales<sup>18</sup>. Por otra parte, Claudiano invocó la bondad de la naturaleza para el emperador Honorio (12, 1-45) y Sidonio Apolinar destacó en pleno otoño la 'primavera nupcial' (*carm.* 11, 126-128). En los epitalamios neolatinos la benevolencia de los elementos será un motivo constante.

La alusión mencionada a la castidad de la novia anticipa el motivo del amor legítimo sancionado por el matrimonio, algo que ya encontramos en Stat. *silv.*, 1, 2, 28-30, como argumento para acallar la maledicencia en torno al amor furtivo de Estela y Violentila. En el caso de Ramírez, *rectus amor* (v. 37) no sólo evoca el amor casto y sagrado<sup>19</sup>, sino también el *rectus amor* con que san Agustín designa el amor del hombre por su alma, es decir, el amor humano que no desprecia a Dios.<sup>20</sup> Esta interpretación cristiana casa bien con el tono final del epitalamio (vv. 183-193). Por otra parte, el amor legítimo permite y ampara el goce sexual (vv. 38-39).

<sup>16</sup> Men. Rh., 400, 15-20.

<sup>17</sup> Stat., *silv.*, 1, 2, 128-129; Claud., 10, 165-171.

<sup>18</sup> Men. Rh., 408, 8-27.

<sup>19</sup> Véase lo dicho en el comentario en relación con el verso 61.

<sup>20</sup> Aug., *serm.*, 330, 3 (= *Patrologia Latina*, 38, 1457).

El flechazo de Cupido (vv. 37-49), que forma parte de la tradición del género<sup>21</sup>, se divide en tres escenas con claras reminiscencias formales clásicas<sup>22</sup>: a) la llegada del dios al palacio (vv. 42-43); b) la preparación de la flecha (vv. 45-46); y c) el disparo (v. 46). Por otra parte, la *querela amoris* de Felipe II (vv. 50-58) parece seguir la estela dejada por los síntomas del novio enamorado que Claudiano inmortalizó al comienzo de su *Epitalamio de Honorio y María* (vv. 1-22). Tanto es así, que este pasaje fue imitado por humanistas tan dispares como el citado Gigli<sup>23</sup> y el lusitano Manuel da Costa (ca. 1512-1562).<sup>24</sup>

El elogio de los novios (vv. 67-85) comienza con una breve *laus* de Felipe, centrada en tres aspectos: los símbolos reales del cetro y la corona y la barba. Sigue una *laus coniugum*, primero por conexión o συμπλοκή (vv. 75-77), y seguidamente por paralelismo o ἀντεξέτασις (vv. 78-85), de acuerdo con lo preceptuado por la retórica epidíctica.<sup>25</sup> Del rey se exaltan el rostro, la mano guerrera y las armas (vv. 75-76); de ella, la belleza que sobrepuja la de la mítica Helena (v. 77). Por paralelismo se hace un encomio de la casa de Austria (vv. 78-85).

Después del elogio de la pareja, Ramírez introduce una escena en la que intervienen las Parcas, que dan su beneplácito a la boda (vv. 86-107). El célebre vaticinio de las Parcas en Catull., 64, 303-381 abrió el camino para su aparición en epitalamios posteriores.<sup>26</sup> Más que un vaticinio propiamente, que Ramírez reserva para Proteo (vv. 127-161), la intervención de estas diosas supone un punto de inflexión en las desdichas del rey, que dos años antes (1568) había perdido al príncipe Carlos y a Isabel de Valois.

Antes de iniciar la travesía por mar, la novia se despide de su familia. Se observa aquí la imagen tradicional de la novia reticente, subrayada por el motivo de la dependencia materna (vv. 108-110).<sup>27</sup> Dicha travesía,

<sup>21</sup> Stat., *silv.*, 1, 2, 74-75; 81-84; Claud., *carm. min.*, 25, 142-146; Sidon., *carm.*, 11, 62-64.

<sup>22</sup> Pueden verse detalladas en el comentario final.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Tournoy-Thoen, 'Giovanni Gigli', p. 160 (vv. 198-209).

<sup>24</sup> El *De nuptiis Eduardi et Isabellae carmen*, compuesto en 1537 (aunque publicado en 1552), comienza con versos de factura muy semejante a los claudianos. Cf. Antonio dos Reis – Manuel Monteiro, *Corpus illustrium poetarum Lusitanorum* (Lisboa, 1745), pp. 283-284.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Men. Rh., 403, 26-404, 7.

<sup>26</sup> Stat., *silv.*, 1, 2, 24-26 y Sidon., *carm.*, 14, 1-5; 15, 200-201.

<sup>27</sup> Véase mi trabajo 'La novia remisa y el novio ardiente en el epitalamio latino: una imagen que pervive en el Renacimiento', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 23 (2003), 153-170.

que se prolongará por varias decenas de versos (vv. 108-166), está inspirada en el viaje y séquito marinos de Venus en Claud., 10, 145-179. Son obvias también las influencias del *propemptición* de la retórica epidíctica, que aconsejaba que en el viaje por mar se mencionase la escolta de dioses marinos (Proteo, Glauco, Nereo, Posidón, Tritón) y el regocijo de delfines y ballenas.<sup>28</sup> Por otra parte, Ramírez debió de tener presente las imágenes sobre la navegación que figuraban en la arquitectura efímera que se alzó en Madrid en el recibimiento de la archiduquesa Ana. De hecho, en el primer arco triunfal había un cuadro de la navegación y en la inscripción que lo acompañaba se mencionaban a Neptuno y Tetis: 'Tentare Thetim ratibus'.<sup>29</sup>

Como se ha adelantado, el vaticinio no corresponde a las Parcas, sino a Proteo (vv. 127-161). La presencia de este dios como parte del aparato mitológico no es significativa en el epitalamio tradicional: en Estacio aparece, junto con otras divinidades marinas, buscando perlas en el mar para Violentila (*silv.*, 1, 2, 129), y en Claudiano (10, 51) constituye una mera referencia geográfica para ubicar la morada de Venus. Sidonio Apolinar ni siquiera lo nombra. Sin embargo, en la década de los cincuenta del siglo XVI el citado Manuel da Costa aprovechó su facultad profética para convertirlo en el narrador principal de la boda de Juana de Austria, hermana de Felipe II, con el príncipe Juan de Portugal.<sup>30</sup>

La incitación a la novia a acudir ante el novio (vv. 134, 136), sea por iniciativa del poeta, sea por la fuerza persuasiva de Venus, ya figura en los epitalamios de Catulo, Estacio y Claudiano, y contribuye a subrayar la imagen estereotipada de la joven reticente.<sup>31</sup> Cuando la boda implica, como en la que nos ocupa, el viaje de la novia hasta los dominios del futuro esposo, esta exhortación cobra mayor fuerza.

Siguen los vítores (*euge!*) al novio y las exhortaciones a vestir las galas nupciales (vv. 143-147) y a concebir pronta descendencia (vv. 148-151). La segunda parte se corresponde, según Menandro<sup>32</sup>, con la invitación

<sup>28</sup> Men. Rh., 399, 1-7.

<sup>29</sup> López de Hoyos, *Real Apparato*, ff. 85<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>v</sup>. Cf. Verg., ecl., 4, 32.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Antonio Serrano Cueto, 'La musa latina del jurista portugués Manuel da Costa: el *Ad Ioannam et Ioannem principes Lusitaniae serenissimos Proteus*', *Excerpta Philologica*, 6 (1996), 207-225.

<sup>31</sup> No obstante, algo de angustia real debían de sentir las jóvenes, dada la corta edad (12 ó 13 años) con que legalmente podían casarse en Roma. Cf. Sylvie Laigneau, *La femme et l'amour chez Catulle et les élégiaques augustéens*, Collection Latomus, 249 (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1999), pp. 216-217.

<sup>32</sup> Men. Rh., 405, 15-406, 1 ss.



propia del discurso del lecho nupcial, cuya finalidad no es otra que animar e incitar a la unión. En el caso del novio, escribe Menandro, conviene centrarse en la virilidad, que Himeneo jalea con frase como ésta: 'Ea, a luchar de manera digna de tus mayores'.<sup>33</sup>

Que los hijos del matrimonio se parezcan en virtudes a los padres es un recurso habitual en el epitalamio también formalizado por la retórica.<sup>34</sup> En este punto son obligadas las referencias a las diosas relacionadas con el parto, como Juno Lucina (v. 152) o Ártemis.<sup>35</sup> Dada la importancia social de las familias implicadas, los humanistas suelen llevar el parecido de la descendencia hasta los abuelos (vv. 149-150). La idea se repetirá en el v. 193, último hexámetro del poema.

Otra manifestación del carácter cortesano y laudatorio del epitalamio neolatino es la utilización frecuente del tema de la *aurea aetas* (con Virgilio como referente<sup>36</sup>), con especial énfasis en el período de paz que comienza con el enlace. Una década antes que Ramírez, el madrileño Diego de Guevara había celebrado el tiempo de paz propiciado por la boda de Felipe II con su tercera esposa, Isabel de Valois.<sup>37</sup> Ramírez pudo tener presente ese epitalamio cuando compuso los versos 152-154, cuya dependencia de los conocidos versos virgilianos de *ecl.* 4, 6-7 es obvia.

La noticia del arribo de la nave a puerto colma de alegría a las ninfas en los bosques (vv. 162-166). En este punto aparece la diosa Diana, mas no como divinidad vinculada al matrimonio (por su intervención en los partos), sino por sus atributos como diosa cazadora. La diosa canta y baila en un bosque en que ha quedado interrumpida la caza para no manchar con derramamiento de sangre los días sagrados (*sanctos dies*). Igualmente en Claud., 10, 190-202 se suspende la actividad militar con ocasión de la boda de Honorio y María.

Los versos siguientes (172-182) se hacen eco de algunos de los festejos celebrados en Madrid durante los tres días que duró la fiesta. Sabemos por la relación de López de Hoyos que hubo, entre otros, pantomimas, bailes, danzas de gigantes, juegos de cañas y de la sortija, y que en la explanada del Alcázar una rueda y un castillo de fuegos artificiales iluminaron la noche.<sup>38</sup> Con 'spectacula belli | Ficta' (v. 172-173) Ramírez

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 406, 24.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 404, 28; 407, 23.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 404, 25.

<sup>36</sup> Verg., *ecl.*, 4; *Aen.*, 6, 789-797.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. mi trabajo 'El epitalamio latino (1560) de Diego de Guevara en honor de Felipe II e Isabel de Valois', *Calamus Renascens*, 8 (2007), en prensa.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Gárnica et al., *Fiestas nupciales*, p. 58.

parece aludir a justas y otros encuentros entre caballeros. Los vv. 174-176 son una referencia clara a los fuegos de artificio. La mención después de una naumaquia contemplada por las Nereidas y el río Guadarrama (vv. 177-179) hace pensar en un escenario fluvial. Sin embargo, es posible que Ramírez se esté refiriendo a la ficción de una batalla naval con ocho galeras entre moros y cristianos que las autoridades municipales organizaron en un enorme estanque construido para la ocasión por el fontanero Diego de Oregón.<sup>39</sup>

Menandro aconsejaba que en el discurso del lecho nupcial se incluyese una plegaria en la que se pidiese a los dioses vida dichosa y pronta descendencia para los desposados.<sup>40</sup> Ramírez ‘cristianiza’ este motivo y dirige tales peticiones a Dios, al mismo *Deus* citado en el v. 26, en un pasaje dominado por la referencia bíblica a la historia de Adán y Eva (vv. 186-189). Ahora bien, el recurso no es nuevo. Con motivo de la boda en Milán en 1494 del emperador Maximiliano I y Bianca Maria Sforza, Pietro Bonomo (1458-1546), obispo de Trieste, compuso un epitalamio que concluye de forma parecida.<sup>41</sup> ¿Conocía Ramírez este epitalamio? Es posible, tratándose de un poema que celebraba la boda de un antepasado de Ana de Austria. En cualquier caso, este final del epitalamio podría evocar los símbolos bíblicos que adornaron los arcos triunfales en el recibimiento de Madrid.<sup>42</sup>

### Edición crítica

La edición matritense incluida en el *Real Apparato* (ff. 257<sup>r</sup>-262<sup>r</sup>) presenta numerosas erratas, la mayor parte de las cuales fueron advertidas en unos *corrigenda* al final del libro. Dos centurias después, el epitalamio fue editado de nuevo, también como parte de otra obra miscelánea, en *Clarorum Hispanorum opuscula selecta et rariora tum Latina, tum Hispana* (Madrid, 1781), obra de Francisco Cerdá y Rico. Como se verá

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>40</sup> Men. Rh., 411, 19-24.

<sup>41</sup> Véase estudio y edición de este epitalamio en Gilbert Tournoy, ‘Pietro Bonomo e il primo epitalamio stampato nei Paesi Bassi’, *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 23 (2003), 191-207. Hay edición reciente de este epitalamio en Stefano di Brazzano, *Pietro Bonomo (1458-1546), Diplomato, umanista e vescovo di Trieste. La vita e l'opera letteraria*, Hespérides, Série gold, 2 (Trieste: Parnaso, 2005), pp. 414-437. Agradezco la información sobre este libro al prof. Gilbert Tournoy.

<sup>42</sup> López de Hoyos, *Real Apparato*, f. 63<sup>v</sup>.

en el aparato crítico, este erudito ilustrado corrige casi todas las erratas de los *corrigen*da y otras no registradas allí; asimismo añade erratas propias. El propio Cerdá y Rico advierte de que ha podido dejar errores sin corregir: 'Multis prodiit deturpatum erroribus hoc poemation, quos nos si non omnes, maximam saltem partem eluere conati sumus'.<sup>43</sup>

En la presente edición he modernizado la puntuación y el uso de mayúsculas y minúsculas; asimismo he respetado las grafías típicamente renacentistas del impreso de 1572, pero regularizo según la norma clásica las letras ramistas (i/j, u/v), dada su especial problemática.<sup>44</sup> Ninguno de estos cambios se anotan en el aparato crítico, salvo cuando la lectura desechada afecta al sentido del verso o a la métrica.<sup>45</sup>

Las abreviaturas empleadas en la edición son las siguientes:

**M** = Matritensis editio 1572<sup>46</sup>

**E** = Matritensis editionis erratorum tabula

**C** = Matritensis editio a Francisco Cerdano accurata 1781.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Clarorum Hispanorum opuscula*, p. XVI.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. José María Maestre Maestre, 'La edición crítica de textos latinos humanísticos. I', en *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje al profesor Luis Gil*, eds. id. – Joaquín Pascual Barea – Luis Charlo Brea, 3 vols. (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz. Instituto de estudios turolenses, 1997), II/3, 1051-1106 (pp. 1088-1092).

<sup>45</sup> Tampoco registro los falsos cortes silábicos: *demore* (v. 23), *se se* (59), *Lustraferis* (v. 164), *in columi* (165), *Nilo ue* (v. 180) y *aurifero ue* (v. 181).

<sup>46</sup> Según el ejemplar R. 2859 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

<sup>47</sup> Según el ejemplar 5/1686 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

**Epithalamion de nuptiis Philippi II, Hispaniarum regis catholici,  
et dominae Annae, Maximiliani Romanorum imperatoris filiae.**

Quis mihi tam laeto titillat pectora motu  
 Et rapit ad plausus, dulcemque imitatus Olympi  
 Concentum (assidua dum se uertigine uoluunt  
 Orbes aetherei) complet sonus entheus aures,  
 Vt me, tam late nugis et mollibus odis 5  
 Assuetum, Manesque edoctum flere sepultos,  
 Ad regum thalamos, generosa ad carmina regum  
 Musa uocet stimuletque nouum tentare laborem?  
 Ipsa quidem cultus iam nunc induta priores  
 Hesperia, ipsa suos discussa nube nitores 10  
 Explicat et laeto perfundit pectora plausu  
 Respirans, lauroque comas et tempora uelat,  
 Ac si quae Lybicas inter caput extulit urbes  
 Terra, uiris armisque potens et faeta rapinis,  
 Capta sit et Solymis late domus inclyta templis. 15  
 Quin etiam superi thaedis orbique fauentes  
 Festiuum paeana canunt, uelut aethere ab alto  
 Cum male praecipites egit Iouis ira Gigantes.  
 Temperie nunquam maiori et foedere uincta  
 Seruarunt elementa fidem: furor impius Austri 20  
 Ventorumque minae ponto siluere quieto  
 Et Zephyri blando demulcent murmure terras.  
 Cum canas de more niues amnesque furentes  
 Praecipitet glacialis hyems e montibus altis,  
 Exarmata tepet uultuque arridet amico. 25  
 Hanc rerum faciem Deus atque haec tempora donat.  
 Non temere certatim omnes animisque uolentes  
 Coniugio festisque fauent ac munera reddunt  
 Caelicolae et radiis conniuent astra benignis.  
 In primis genialis Hymen et pronuba Iuno 30  
 Multa parant, laetoque accedunt omine thaedas:  
 Hic dulces annos dextra laeuaque cubile  
 Illaesum gerit et pendentia uincula collo;

Illa Arabum merces lapidesque Oriente petitos, Et pallam insignem castasque in tempora uittas Laeta offert, orisque decus sanctumque pudorem. Rectus Amor (qui pacta tori solemnia sancit Innectitque animos, et nulli obnoxia culpa Gaudia permittit) circum plaudentibus alis Ibat et aurata regis properabat in aulam.	35
Olli se Charites una iunxere uenustae Et nymphae Idaliae. Sed ubi Capitolia plantis Alatis tetigit nubes atque aera tranans, Constitit et paulum commoto pectore anhelans Auratam tinctamque rosis uiolisque sagittam Aptauit, rapido illa furit per inane uolatu Ac tandem stetit usque tremens, pectusque Philippi, Qui tunc pro rapta fundebat coniuge quaestus Traiecit, subitoque Annae inflammauit amore. At rex illato stimulatus uulnere amoris:	40
“Ecquis” ait “lacrymis modus, ecquis fletibus istis Finis erit? Semperne animo seruabo dolores Et me sol oriens et me nox atra uidebit Lugentem, quaerulaeque piis plangoribus urbes Vsque adeo resonent? Nec quis mihi ludet in aula Carolides patremque uocet? Ergo aduena nostras (Quod superi auertant!) haeres tractabit habenas Sceptraque, iam pridem serie deducta parentum? Ah, quantum nostris sese implicat Anna medullis! Et placet et sanctos animo iam uentilat ignes. Quamuis iuncta mihi materno sanguinis ortu Communes sortitur auos, iam denique uincat, Vincat Amor: tua tela, puer, tua uulnera teque Accipio agnoscoque libens, et publica curans Ad thalamos adspiro procus”. Sic fatus, acerbas Sopiuit curas lacrymasque et lumina tersit. Iam sceptrum regale manu, iam uertice celso Igniuomum diadema gerit, radiisque capillos Intonsos pectit fussamque in pectora barbam.	45
	50
	55
	60
	65

O quantum decus ore nitet! Sic aurea quondam	70
Adflauit Venus Aeneam faciemque rubore	
Pinxit et aethereos oculis diffudit honores,	
Cum nati aspectu miseram liquefecit Elisam.	
Nunquam alias casto deuincti foedere lecti.	
Tam magni coiere duces: hic ore manuque	75
Belligera clypeoque uiros et fortibus armis	
Vincit et illa potest prae se ridere Lacaenam.	
Sunt tamen ambo pares et non est coniuge coniux	
Inferior quidquam, si spectes stemmata et altos	
Austriacae gentis titulos et nomina auorum;	80
Consilium rerum grauitasque in fronte renidens	
Par ambobus inest et primis insita ab annis	
Maiestas iam digna polo regnare sereno.	
Sed terris contenta modo sceptroque minori,	
Res hominum foueat tenues et sydera donet.	85
Quod iam lanificae firmarunt numine Parcae,	
Cum bene connubii senserunt orgia sacri	
Phoebeasque lyras atque exultantia plausu	
Tecta poli. "Nunc, turba mihi dilecta, sorores,	
Exiluisse decet, nunc ora remittite saeuīs	90
Torua superciliis", Lachesis ait, "anxia uitae	
Stamina fatalesque manu deponite telas.	
Exempta arbitrio nostro mortalibus aegris	
Tempora eant, nec fila colo suspensa trahantur,	
Dum festus celebratur Hymen lateque resultat	95
Hesperiae tellus et foelix Mantua gaudet	
(Mantua Niliacae superans miracula Memphis),	
Et regum generosa domus sacrata triumphis,	
Quam male (pro facinus!) lacrymis oppressimus usque	
Funereisque rogis, uirides dum principis annos	100
Demetimus, regemque toris et coniuge chara	
Fraudamus fetuque uteri. Iam caedis abunde est,	
Firmemus thalamos Pyliique senilia uiuant	
Lustra senis, pulchris implentes regibus orbem".	
Finierat Lachesis, nec dictis abnuīt ulla,	105

73 liquefecit EC : liquifecit M

88 Phoebeas EC : Ploebeas M

79 Inferior EC : Inerior M

105 Lachesis C : Lachsis M

87 bene C : beue M

Consilium sed uoce probant pariterque uolentes  
 In pia fatales iurarunt uerba sorores.  
 Interea uirgo tectis egressa parentum  
 Regificis, roseasque genas et eburnea fletu  
 Ora rigans, dum matris amor pietasque recursat, 110  
 Caeruleum mare sulcabat ratibusque superbis  
 Credita dotales cursu tendebat in oras.  
 Quaque it, Nereidum chorus et Neptunia Thetis  
 Motas sternit aquas et mixtas floribus algas  
 Purpureasque rosas et rubra coralia fundit. 115  
 Aspiceres ora exertos et uerbere caudae  
 Plaudentes thynnos raptosque e littore nautas  
 Delphines bibulae sistebant margine terrae  
 Impositos humeris et iam per caerula uectos.  
 Nec tulit immanes euros incumbere ponto 120  
 Neptunus pater, ipse manu trifidoque tridenti  
 Ductabat classem, deerant ubi sydera caelo  
 Et syrtes scopulosque uadis monstrabat opertos.  
 Auditus concha Triton mulcere procellas  
 Atque uocare deas, quae claustris aequoris imis 125  
 Humidiora tenent solique imperuia regna.  
 Carpathio tunc forte mari squammosa trahebat  
 Proteus armenta et turpes in pascua phocas,  
 Qui postquam cantus sensit Tritonis ouantes  
 Et motum in plausus aequor, praesaga futuri 130  
 Pectora concutiens, diuinos mente calores  
 Concipit, et rerum pandens arcana latentum  
 Tranquillum claris complebat uocibus aequor:  
 "I, foelix uirgo, magno socianda marito,  
 Regia progenies et fessis anchora rebus; 135  
 I, digna Hesperiae sceptrum gestare tremendum  
 Et digna omniparae regnis succedere terrae.  
 Ipsa tibi late resonabilis Amphitrite  
 Ridet et ipsa tibi submittit lilia tellus.

110 rigans E : madens MC    112 credita EC : eredita M    113 it M : ait C | Thetys  
 EC : Therys M    117 nautas M : nautae C    120 euros E : uentos MC    123 mons-  
 trabat M : monstrabat C    125 quae C: qui M    129 postquam C : post qnam M  
 134, 136 I EC: L M

O quot opes iam nunc fluere, o quae surgere regna 140  
 Coniugio tali aspicio, quam mira laborum  
 Spectacula artificumque manus operumque figuras!  
 Euge!, pater patriae atque idem rex optime regum,  
 Euge! et opes hilaris iam tandem profer auitas  
 De locuplete penu, baccata monilia gemmis, 145  
 Quaeque uomant ignes et spirent undique odorem  
 Vestes, bombycum labor et mirabile textum.  
 Euge iterum!, faciet iam te regina parentem  
 Prole noua sanctoque inolescent pignora lecto,  
 Quae te, quae matrem referant atausque potentes 150  
 Et totum iustis submittant legibus orbem.  
 Tu, Lucina, faue, redeunt iam saecula mundo  
 Aurea et armisonos ponit Bellona tumultus  
 Paxque emissa polo laetis dabit otia terris.  
*Victor io, bellator io*, iam dicite, uates, 155  
 Dicite uictrices palmas laetosque triumphos.  
 Aspirat fortuna fauens et rebus Iberis  
 Incipit annuere et casus releuare priores”.  
 Haec ubi fatidico concussus numine Proteus  
 Edidit, innumeros texebat in aequore ludos 160  
 Et consulta uolens rerumque arcana ferebat.  
 Quid memorem choreas hilares cantusque sonantes  
 Nympharum quae rura colunt et peruia tantum  
 Lustra feris, cum fama ipsos effusa per agros  
 Rettulit incolumi portum tetigisse carina 165  
 Reginam septam Nymphis numeroque suorum?  
 Errarunt tuto in syluis hoc tempore damae  
 Et capreae ceruique leues, nec uulnera tergo  
 Sensit aper; Diana suis immista puellis  
 Dum canit exercetque choros, proiecit eburnum 170  
 Arcum humeris, scelus esse putans occidere quenquam  
 Et sanctos maculare dies; spectacula belli  
 Ficta dedit Mauors et amico milite campos

141 laborum C: labornm M    142 artificumque EC: artificiumque M    152 mundo  
 C: mnndo M    159 fatidico *correx*i (cf. Sil., 2, 67; Stat., *Theb.*, 8, 208): uatidico MC  
 162 cantusque M : cantuque C    167 tempore C : tempora M    172 maculare M:  
 muculare C



Struxit, et innocuos in morem fulminis ictus  
 Aerea canna dedit fumoque et puluere nigro 175  
 Obduxit conuexa poli tractusque serenos.  
 Nauales etiam pugnās celerēque triremes  
 Nereides uitreisque pater Guadarama fluentis  
 Attonitus uidit miratus classica bella,  
 Vt iam nec Baethi cedat Niloue potenti 180  
 Auriferoue Tago, cum magnae robora syluae  
 Antennasque graues liquidis uectarit in undis.  
 Sed tu, summe pater diuum, qui semina rerum  
 Solus habes hominumque genus seriemque nepotum  
 Amplificas pulchroque facis coalescere foetu, 185  
 Quique mala colubri deceptum fraude parentem  
 Primoeuum sancto sociasti foedere lecti  
 (Diuulsamque ferunt animasse uiragine costam,  
 Quae coniuncta uiro comes esset laeta bonorum),  
 Haec precor auspiciis sancti connubia faustis, 190  
 Summe pater, coniuxque diu cum coniuge uiuat  
 Turbaque natorum mensam numerosa coronet  
 Qui claris referant factis atque ore parentes.

177 Nauales etiam EC: Nauale set iam M    186 deceptum C: desceptum M  
 188 uiragine EC: uirgine M    189 esset C: esse M    190 connubia EC: connubis  
 M

Comentario<sup>48</sup>

- 1-4. **Quis (...) entheus aures:** cf. Sen., *Herc. O.*, 1436-1437: 'quis sonus nostras ferit | caelestis aures?' Como se ha anticipado en la introducción, es posible que Ramírez conociera los versos iniciales del *Epitalamio de Francisco, duque de Valois*, y *Claudia* de Andrelini: 'Peruenit unde meas tam creber cantus ad aures? | Vnde haec multiplici plectra canore sonant?'. Cf. Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit', p. 73, vv. 1-2.  
**pectora motu:** en la misma posición métrica en Stat., *Ach.*, 1, 302 y Verg., *Aen.*, 11, 217.
- 2-3. **imitatus Olympi | concentum:** cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 586: '(...) sonitus imitatur Olympi'.
7. **ad regum thalamos:** en la misma posición métrica en Lucan., 8, 405.
8. **nouum tentare laborem:** cf. Stat., *silv.*, 1, 2, 1-2: 'Vnde sacro Latii sonuerunt carmine montes? | cui, Paeana, noua plectra moues (...)'.  
**Hesperia:** nombre que los griegos daban a España.
10. **discussa nube:** en la misma posición métrica en Ov., *met.*, 15, 70; Stat., *Theb.*, 9, 175. Con esta expresión se alude a los nefastos acontecimientos del fatídico 1568, año en el que, como se ha dicho, habían fallecido, con pocos meses de diferencia, el príncipe Carlos y la reina Isabel de Valois.
15. **Solymis templis:** alusión a una hipotética recuperación de Jerusalén.
17. **Festiuum paeana canunt:** cf. Stat., *Theb.*, 4, 157: 'Herculeum paeana canunt' (misma posición métrica).
18. **Iouis ira:** en la misma posición métrica en Ov., *met.*, 1, 274; 15, 871.  
**ira Gigantes:** alusión a la Gigantomaquia.
24. **e montibus altis:** en la misma posición métrica en Lucr., 5, 663.
26. **Deus:** se refiere al Dios cristiano. Cf. v. 183.
30. **pronuba Iuno:** en la misma posición métrica en Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 166; Ov., *met.*, 6, 428. Desde Estacio, Himeneo y Juno son

<sup>48</sup> Este comentario, que sirve de complemento a la introducción, añade una selección de *iuncturae* de los autores antiguos y contemporáneos y ofrece información histórica.

relegados en los epitalamios a un papel secundario, como parte del cortejo de la diosa Venus, la verdadera soberana y *pronuba*, además de oficiante de la boda. Para el papel de las consejeras o damas de la novia (*pronubae*), cf. Laigneau, *La femme et l'amour*, p. 216. Cf. lo dicho respecto de los vv. 70-73.

33. **pendentia uincula collo**: cf. Tib., 3, 6, 45: 'pendentia brachia collo' (misma posición métrica).
37. **Rectus Amor**: para la posible reminiscencia del *rectus amor* agustiniano, véase lo dicho en el capítulo 'El *Epithalamium*: estructura y fuentes'.
38. **nulli obnoxia culpa**: cf. Verg., *georg.*, 2, 439: 'non ulli obnoxiae curae' (misma posición métrica). Amor legitimado por el matrimonio sagrado.
39. **Gaudia**: Ramírez recurre al sentido erótico que *gaudia* y *gaudet* ya poseen en la poesía amorosa latina, y que será recuperado para los epitalamios neolatinos sobre todo por Giovanni Pontano (1422-1503). Cf. Serrano Cueto, 'La novia remisa', pp. 153-170.
41. **Charites uenustae**: las Gracias. La retórica prescribía que se las nombrase en los discursos nupciales. Cf. Men. Rh., 404, 25.  
**nymphae Idaliae**: Idalia es una isla de Chipre consagrada a Venus. A veces con *famulae Idaliae* se designa a las Gracias (cf. Claud., *carm. min.*, 25, 8), pero aquí se trata de otras servidoras indeterminadas, ya que las Gracias han sido mencionadas en el verso anterior.
- 43-44. **plantis | alatis tetigit**: cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 259: 'ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis'.
45. **Auratam tintamque... sagitta**: cf. Ov., *Pont.*, 3, 1, 26: 'tinctaque (...) sagitta', y la descripción de las dos flechas de Cupido, una que hace huir y otra de oro que enamora, en *met.*, 1, 468-471.
46. **per inane uolatu**: cf. Ov., *met.*, 4, 716: 'per inane uolatu' (misma posición métrica).
50. **uulnere amoris**: en la misma posición métrica en Lucr., 1, 34.
- 51-59. El lamento de Felipe alude, como ya vimos en el v. 10, a los hechos luctuosos sufridos en 1568. Una vez muerto el príncipe

Carlos, con *Carolides* (patronímico del emperador Carlos) se queja expresamente de la falta de heredero varón en la línea sucesoria, lo que por entonces constituía un verdadero problema de Estado.

53. **nox atra:** en la misma posición métrica en *Ov., met.*, 10, 454; *Lucan.*, 1, 579; *Sil.*, 7, 728.
- 55-56. **quis mihi ludet in aula:** cf. *Verg., Aen.*, 4, 328-329: 'quis mihi parvulus aula luderet'.
60. **uentilat ignes:** cf. *Iuv.*, 3, 253: 'uentilat ignem' (misma posición métrica). Cf. *Aetna*, 351.
61. **materno sanguinis ortu:** La archiduquesa Ana era hija de Maximiliano II y de la infanta María, hermana de Felipe; era, pues, sobrina del rey. El papa Pío V les otorgó las dispensas pontificias a cambio de promesas políticas y militares.
63. **Vincat Amor:** cf. *Ov., am.*, 3, 2, 46: 'uincat Amor!'.
66. **lumina tersit:** en la misma posición métrica en *Stat., silv.*, 2, 2, 102.
67. **sceptrum regale:** cf. *Ov., met.*, 5, 422; *trist.*, 2, 1, 553: 'sceptrum regale'.
69. **in pectora barbam:** cf. *Ov., met.*, 12, 351: 'propexam ad pectora barbam' (misma posición métrica).
- 70-73. **Adflauit Venus Aeneam:** alusión al enamoramiento de Dido al ver por primera vez a Eneas (*Verg., Aen.*, 1, 613-614). Sólo en esta ocasión se menciona a la diosa Venus, a pesar del protagonismo que adquiere en el epitalamio narrativo desde Estacio (cf. lo dicho respecto del v. 30). La ausencia de Venus podría explicarse porque el humanista no desea que ninguna divinidad pagana haga sombra al Dios cristiano, ya aludido en el v. 26 e invocado al final del epitalamio como *summus pater* (v. 183).
77. **Lacaenam:** espartana o lacedemonia. Alusión a Helena.
81. **consilium rerum:** cf. *Sen., epist.*, 14, 16, 1: 'consilium rerum'.
85. **res hominum:** en la misma posición métrica en *Stat., Theb.*, 6, 48.
86. **firmarunt numine Parcae:** en la misma posición métrica en *Ciris*, 125. Sobre el papel de las Parcas en los epitalamios, véase lo dicho en el capítulo 'El *Epithalamium*: estructura y fuentes'.

- 90-91 **saeuis | torua superciliis**: cf. Ov., *epist.*, 17, 16: 'dura torua superciliis'.
89. **dilecta, sorores**: cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 31: 'dilecta sorori' (misma posición métrica).
99. **pro facinus**: cf. Mart., 1, 90, 6.
102. **caedis abunde est**: cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 552: 'fraudis abunde est' (misma posición métrica).
111. **ratibusque superbis**: cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 540.
113. **Quaque it**: cf. Ov., *Pont.*, 2, 1, 35: 'quaque ierit' (misma posición métrica).
114. **mixtas floribus algas**: cf. Claud., 10, 157: 'alternas uiolis Nereus interserit algas'.
117. **littore nautas**: cf. Lucan., 9, 140: 'littore, nautae' (misma posición métrica). Cf. Ov., *met.*, 3, 652; Verg., *georg.*, 1, 436.
119. **per caerula**: en la misma posición métrica en Lucr., 5, 772; Sil., 1, 21; 3, 59; 14, 416.
121. **Neptunus pater**: cf. Sen., *Ag.*, 553-554: '(...) pater | Neptunus (...)'
124. **sydera caelo**: en la misma posición métrica en Lucan., 4, 54; 4, 107; Ov., *am.*, 2, 10, 13; *met.*, 13, 292; Sil., 2, 89; Stat., *Theb.*, 10, 145.
128. **Proteus armenta et turpes in pascua phocas**: cf. Verg., *georg.*, 4, 385: 'armenta et turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas'. En relación con el uso en el epitalamio del poder profético de Proteo, véase lo dicho en el capítulo 'El *Epithalamium*: estructura y fuentes'.
130. **praesaga futuri**: en la misma posición métrica en Ov., *met.*, 11, 457; Lucan., 6, 414.
134. **I, foelix uirgo**: cf. Manil., 5, 587: 'Infelix virgo'. Como se ha dicho, la exhortación a la joven para que acuda a la boda es otra vertiente de la imagen de la novia remisa.
133. **Tranquillum... aequor**: cf. Stat., *sily.*, 4, 3, 93: 'tranquillum mare'. Cf. Sen., *nat.*, 5, 1, 1.
134. **magno socianda marito**: cf. Claud., 10, 276-277: 'o digno nectenda uiro tantique per orbem | consors imperii!'
- 143-144. **Euge**: Voz de aclamación que ya fue utilizada por Pontano en el *Epithalamium in nuptiis Eugeniae filiae* al invocar a Hime-neo: 'Euge, veni, bone dive, veni; bone sancte, venito'. Cf. *Poeti latini del Quattrocento*, eds. Francesco Arnaldi – Lucia Gualdo Rosa – Liliana Monti Sabia, La letteratura italiana.

- Storia e Testi, 15 (Milano – Napoli: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1964), p. 522 (v. 59).
147. **mirabile textum**: en la misma posición métrica en Stat., *Theb.* 10, 56.
- 152-153. **Lucina**: la diosa Juno, asimilada a Diana en su acepción de regidora de los partos.  
**redeunt iam saecula mundo** | **Aurea**: cf. Verg., *ecl.*, 4, 6-7: ‘iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna | iam noua progenies caelo demittitur alto’. Sobre la Edad de Oro como elemento del epitalamio neolatino, véase lo dicho en el capítulo ‘El *Epithalamium*: estructura y fuentes’.
155. **io**: El uso de esta exclamación ya aparece repetidamente en Catull., 61, 137-183. También Pontano la empleó varias veces en el *carmen nuptiale* compuesto para su propia boda con Adriana Sassone: ‘Io (...) Hymenaeae’; ‘Io (...) io, o Hymenaeae’; y en el epitalamio en honor de su hija Eugenia: ‘dicite “Io”, domus omnis “Io”... | dicat “Io”...’. Cf. *Poeti latini del Quattrocento*, p. 448 (vv. 14 y 18), p. 522 (v. 77-78).
162. **quid memorem**: en la misma posición métrica en Val. Max., 4, 600.
- 162-166. Cf. Claud., 10, 190-202.
- 170-171. **proiecit eburnum** | **arcum humeris**: cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 11, 11: ‘(...) ense collo suspendit eburnum’.
172. **dies**; **spectacula**: en la misma posición métrica en Ov., *fast.*, 4, 387.
177. **Nauales... pugnas**: cf. Stat., *Theb.*, 7, 804: ‘sic ubi nauales miscet super aequora pugnas’.
179. **classica bella**: cf. Prop., 2, 1, 28: ‘classica bella fugae’.
181. **Auriferoue Tago**: cf. Mart., 10, 96, 3: ‘auriferumque Tagum’ (misma posición métrica).
183. **Sed tu, summe pater diuum**: cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 9, 495: ‘aut tu, magne pater diuum’ (misma posición métrica). Sobre el giro cristiano que el epitalamio da a partir de este verso (cf. el v. 26), véase lo dicho en el capítulo ‘El *Epithalamium*: estructura y fuentes’.  
**qui semina rerum**: cf. Lucr., 2, 1072: ‘quae semina rerum’ (misma posición métrica).
186. **deceptum fraude parentem**: cf. Stat., *Theb.*, 6, 149: ‘seruatum fraude parentem’ (misma posición métrica).

- 186-187. **parentem | primoeuum**: alusión a Adán.
187. **sancto sociasti foedere lecti**: cf. Ov., *Ib.*, 15: 'Perpetuoque mihi sociatam foedere lecti'.
- 188-199. Alusión a la creación de Eva según el Génesis.
190. **Haec precor**: en la misma posición métrica en Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 621; Ov., *trist.*, 1, 9, 15; 1, 10, 33.
191. **Summe pater**: cf. Stat., *Theb.*, 9, 22. Como se ha adelantado en la introducción, desde este verso hasta el final Ramírez inserta la *adlocutio sponsalis* dirigida no a los desposados, según es tradición, sino a Dios.

Facultad de Filosofía y Letras  
Departamento de Filología Clásica  
Avda. Doctor Gómez Ulla, s/n. 11003 Cádiz  
antonio.serrano@uca.es

Antonio DÁVILA PÉREZ

“‘REGNAVIT A LIGNO DEUS”. AFFIRMAT ARIAS MONTANUS;  
NEGAT LINDANUS’. REVISIÓN DE LA POLÉMICA BENITO  
ARIAS MONTANO-WILHELMUS LINDANUS A LA LUZ  
DE NUEVOS DOCUMENTOS.

En el número 49 de *Humanistica Lovaniensia* vio la luz mi artículo ‘La polémica Arias Montano-Wilhelmus Lindanus: un nuevo documento (AGR I 115, n° 3714)’.<sup>1</sup> En aquella aportación recurrí al epistolario de Benito Arias Montano (c. 1525-1598)<sup>2</sup> para elaborar una síntesis de la polémica que el biblista español y el que fue obispo de Roermond Guillermo Dámaso Lindano (1525-1588) mantuvieron durante el último cuarto del siglo XVI.

El enfrentamiento entre ambos teólogos recrea las dos grandes perspectivas filológicas ante el texto sagrado en el siglo XVI. Desde sus primeros escritos, Lindano desacreditó los manuscritos hebreos de la Biblia, haciéndose eco de lo que afirmaban muchos eruditos antiguos y contemporáneos, ‘que los judíos, por odio a Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, habían corrompido con impío y sacrílego celo sus ejemplares, y las palabras ambiguas las habían tomado en el peor sentido, como afirma San Jerónimo, y las han interpretado en sentido impío para vilipendiar al Señor’.<sup>3</sup> Arias Montano, por su parte, coordinó entre 1569 y 1572 los trabajos

\* El presente trabajo forma parte del proyecto de investigación de la DGICYT HUM2006-05381/FILO. Agradezco a los profesores Luis Charlo, Tom Deneire, José María Maestre, Jan Papy y Dirk Sacré la atenta lectura del original y las sugerencias y correcciones con las que lo han mejorado.

<sup>1</sup> *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 49 (2000), 139-165.

<sup>2</sup> Por orden cronológico, las principales recopilaciones epistolares se encuentran en T. González Carvajal, *Elogio histórico del Doctor Benito Arias Montano*, en *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, VII (Madrid, 1832), cols. 188-193; B. Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia Políglota de Amberes en la correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano (MS. Estoc. A 902)* (Huelva, 1998), p. 68; y A. Dávila Pérez, *Benito Arias Montano. Correspondencia conservada en el Museo Plantin-Moretus de Amberes* (Alcañiz-Madrid, 2002).

<sup>3</sup> Carta de Guillermo D. Lindano a Benito Arias Montano (Roermond, 10 de abril de 1573), editada por Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, pp. 298-299.



filológicos para la edición de la Biblia Políglota de Amberes<sup>4</sup>, que incluía en la nómina de sus colaboradores a ilustres hebraístas y recogía, junto a la *Vulgata*, la traducción latina de Santes Pagnino. Así pues, en esta polémica entre hebraístas y misohebraístas, la Políglota de Montano quedaba claramente posicionada en el primero de los bandos.

He aquí los antecedentes de una rivalidad que se extendió durante más de quince años con algunos encuentros personales entre Montano y Lindano, pero también con todos los desencuentros científicos posibles. Por suerte, los archivos siguen produciendo valioso material manuscrito para los estudiosos del Humanismo. En mi artículo antes citado ofrecí la primera edición y traducción de una nueva carta de Montano a Lindano con fecha de 21 de septiembre de 1579 conservada en los Archives Générales du Royaume / Algemeen Rijkarchief de Bruselas. Esa misiva daba cuenta de una entrevista que ambos teólogos mantuvieron en El Escorial (Madrid). Con el tiempo han llegado a mis manos ocho nuevas cartas, conservadas también en la carpeta I 115 n° 3714 del mismo archivo bruselense<sup>5</sup>, que presentan ángulos desconocidos de aquella rivalidad científica. Esta carpeta, cuyo contenido inventariamos a continuación, parece contener toda la documentación archivada por Lindano sobre su contencioso con Montano.

1. [1579 00 00] Guillermo Dámaso Lindano [Roermond] a Felipe II [Madrid]  
b: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/3
2. [1579] 09 16 León de Castro (Valladolid) a Lindano  
o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/10
3. [1579] 08 28 León de Castro (Valladolid) a Lindano  
o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/11
4. [1579 09 00] León de Castro [Madrid] a Lindano [Madrid]  
o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/12
5. 1579 09 21 Arias Montano [El Escorial] a Lindano [Madrid]<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, et Latine, Philippi II Reg[is] Cathol[ici] pietate et studio ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae usum* (Amberes, 1569-1572). Un buen estudio de sus precedentes, elaboración y significado puede leerse en Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, LI-XLII. Para su descripción bibliográfica, véase L. Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam, 1980-1983), I, 280-315.

<sup>5</sup> Este interesante material manuscrito ha sido puesto a mi disposición por Diederik Lanoye, a quien agradezco públicamente su deferencia y generosidad.

<sup>6</sup> Carta ya publicada en mi trabajo 'La polémica Arias Montano-Wilhelmus Lindanus', pp. 157-159. Incluye, no obstante, un nuevo documento enviado por Montano con el mismo billete, su retractación formal para publicar en su siguiente obra. Consideramos, por tanto, oportuno reeditar aquí el documento completo.

- o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/3
- 6. 1584 06 19 Juan Molano [Lovaina] a Lindano [Roermond]<sup>7</sup>
- o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/4
- 7. 1586 04 02 Enrique de Grave [Lovaina] a Lindano [Roermond]
- o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/7
- 8. 1586 04 10 Jacobo Jansonio (Lovaina) a Lindano [Roermond]
- o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/6
- 9. [1586 00 00] Lindano [Roermond] a Arias Montano [El Escorial]
- b: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/8

El presente artículo tiene un doble objetivo: primero, ofrecer al estudioso la edición crítica y traducción de las nuevas cartas contenidas en la carpeta I 115 3714 de los Archivos Generales de la Biblioteca Real de Bruselas; en segundo lugar, presentar una síntesis de las novedades que aporta esta documentación. La enjundiosa colección de documentos que se publican en las siguientes páginas transmite los pasos más significativos que Lindano recorrió en su proyecto vital de destruir la blindada fama y el buen nombre de Arias Montano: por un lado, quejas formales ante el rey para mermar la posición política de Montano en la corte española (doc. n° 1); por otro, colección de censuras y pareceres de expertos teólogos lovanienses como Juan Molano, Enrique de Grave y Jacobo Jansonio, con objeto de reprobar los escritos montanianos (docs. n°s 6, 7 y 8, respectivamente); y por último, alianza con León de Castro (docs. n°s 2, 3 y 4), el más conocido de los detractores españoles de Arias Montano, de la que no había pruebas directas hasta ahora.

## I. Hitos cronológicos de la polémica

En su obra *De optimo genere interpretandi scripturas* (Colonia, 1558) Lindano plantea la tesis de que muchos lugares de los ejemplares hebreos de las Sagradas Escrituras fueron corrompidos por la maldad de los judíos. Entre sus argumentos, el obispo cita un Salterio en hebreo, al que llama anglicano o inglés, como antiguo y muy valioso, a partir del cual los judíos corrompieron los manuscritos bíblicos. Alega como prueba

<sup>7</sup> La carta venía acompañada de dos documentos más: la censura de Juan Molano a las *Elucidationes in quatuor euangelia* de Arias Montano (Amberes, 1575), con fecha de 1574, y las *responsiones* de Montano a esa censura con fecha de 7 de marzo de 1574. Son materiales que Molano envía a Lindano por si puede aprovecharlos en su cruzada contra Arias Montano.

que en ciertos pasajes, cambiados después por los rabinos, estaba más conforme a la traducción de la *Biblia de los Setenta* y a la *Vulgata*. En concreto, Lindano hace referencia explícita — y en dos ocasiones — a un pasaje del salmo 13 (*'Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum'*) conservado íntegramente en ese antiguo ejemplar del Salterio, pero omitido en todos los ejemplares impresos del Salterio en hebreo de su tiempo:

Quod enim 70 reddiderunt Psal. 13, uidelicet, *'Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum'* [...], apud Hebraeos in omnibus hodie impressis desideratur: quod autem olim in Hebraicis lectum fuerit codicibus, unus D. Paulus locum hunc integrum ad Romanos et Iudaeos Romanenses scribens, contestatur. Imo et hisce oculis uidi ipse meis uetustissimum quoddam Psalterii exemplar Hebraicum, quod D. Augustini Episcopi illius Cantuariensis [...] fuisse creditur, et obscurissima ob antiquitatem loquitur inscriptio, ubi locus iste in contextu hunc in modum legitur totus atque integer.<sup>8</sup>

Unas páginas más adelante, en el capítulo V, intitulado *'Deesse et iustas quasdam Hebraeorum codicibus sententias'*, Lindano intenta demostrar que la adulteración de los ejemplares hebreos de la Biblia no se limita solo a pequeños cambios de letras u omisiones de palabras, sino que incluso faltan frases completas. Como ejemplo, vuelve a traer a colación el salmo 13, capítulo 3, conservado y restituido en el antiguo ejemplar del Salterio antes citado. Para concluir su argumentación sobre la omisión de frases completas en los ejemplares hebreos, Lindano pasa a valorar la *Biblia de los Setenta*, donde se encuentran muchos lugares que no aparecían en los ejemplares hebreos del XVI: como ejemplo, aduce un caso célebre, el del salmo 95 *'Regnauit a ligno'*, en el que Justino acusa a los judíos de haber suprimido el sintagma *'a ligno'*. Leamos con atención el capítulo completo, que concentra en sí mismo el meollo de la polémica:

Demonstrato igitur uariare hebraicos istos codices impressos (unde plerique ueritatem uolunt metiendam Hebraicam) ab illis uetustissimis et castigatissimis qui fuere D. Hieronymi et 70 interpretum aetate, superest ut ostendatur (quo hunc semel concludamus locum) non litteras aut uoculas tantum, sed iustas etiam sententias isti, quam dicunt, ueritati deesse Hebraicae.

Nicolaus ille S. Damasi diaconus, ante annos circiter 400, aetate Lucii Secundi, anno Domini 1150, si Bessarioni credimus, peritissimus, Vaticanae Bibliothecae, ut idem ait, Suffraganeus, de Sacrae Scripturae, ad Petrum S. Petri Canonicum, emendatione, scribit se nonnulla comperisse, teste Cardinale

<sup>8</sup> Lindano, *De optimo genere interpretandi scripturas* (Colonia, 1558), pp. 19-20.

Bessarione, de Hebraeo abesse, quae tamen in omnibus latinis codicibus pariformiter reperiantur, quod exemplis comprobatur liquidis: quae utinam a Bessarione praeter illud, Exeamus in agrum, Ge. 4 non fuissent silentio praetermissa. Istius rei fidem sane perspicuam faciat uel unus ille locus dudum ex Psalm. 13 commemoratus, atque Hebraice antiquissimo ex codice Anglicano restitutus, cap. 3 qui in omnibus istis impressis libris, unde Hebraicam metiendam uolunt ueritatem, desideratur.

Quinetiam in illa nunquam satis laudata 70 editione reperiuntur plurima quae in codicibus hodie non extant Hebraicis: sed unum ex omnibus suffecerit prompsisse illustrius.

Nobilem illam de Messia crucifigendo et a ligno paganis regnatura Iudaei, teste D. Iustino, Dialo. In Triphone Archisynagogo Ephesio, fol. 83, mutilarunt. Nam cum eo hac de re disputans subterfugientem hoc Psal. 95 capitulo ‘Regnavit a ligno conuincit, illud τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, inquit, ἀφῆκαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι A ligno, sustulerunt Iudaei. Quod cum tota Triphonis cohors suo agnoscat silentio (plagium adeo nefarium atque sacrilegum haud dubie negatura, ni luce fuisset clarius meridiana) non est cur diffusius Iudaeos furti adeo sacrilegi arguamus, legisque Corneliae peragamus reos’.<sup>9</sup>

Once años más tarde, en el décimo cuarto tratado del tomo octavo de la Biblia Regia (Amberes, 1569-1572), titulado ‘Benedicti Ariae Montani de exemplari psalterii Anglicani animaduersio’, Montano y sus colaboradores intentan anular el valor filológico del manuscrito de los salmos alabado por Lindano, que pudieron inspeccionar con tranquilidad tras localizarlo en la biblioteca de Juan Clemente, antiguo secretario de Tomás Moro, según consta en los siguientes pasajes:

Cum [...] nihil magis incommodum sit, quam ut incerta pro certis habeantur, lectorem admonendum duximus, non omnia, quae aliquando commendantur, manuscripta exemplaria eam fidem mereri, quam ex commendantium autoritate aestimari oportuerat. Id [...] in uno Anglicano Psalterio Hebraicis literis manuscripto manifeste indicare possumus, quod id exemplaris correctissimi et antiquissimi nomine a doctissimo in nostra aetate scriptore, [...] non a se uisum, sed ex alterius relatu summe laudabatur atque ad grauissimae sententiae a se prolatae testimonium et argumentum citabatur in libro qui *De optimo genere interpretandi scripturas* inscribitur: illic enim contendit auctor multa in Bibliis Hebraicis loca esse deprauata et corrupta, Iudaeorum, ut dici solet, malitia, idque adstruit ex fide exemplaris Psalterii, quod magno in pretio haberi in Anglia dicit [...] Deinde unum

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28. Cabe apuntar que las palabras ‘ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου’ faltan en todas las fuentes hebreas, en todos los códices griegos, con la excepción del *Codex Veronensis* de San Justino, en las *Hexapla* de Orígenes, en los comentarios de San Jerónimo y en la mayoría de las versiones latinas.

maximi momenti affert locum, ibidem, ut ait, integre conseruatum, in caeteris uero mutilum; id est Psalmi nonagesimi sexti decimus uersus, *Dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnauit a ligno*; testatur enim illud, *a ligno*, in hoc Psalterio esse, quod Iudaeorum malitia olim euulsum inde sit, ut ex Iustino Martyre auctore Graeco ipse aliiue citant [...] nacti etiam sumus illud exemplar Psalterii appellatum Anglicanum, quod tanquam thesaurum magnum diligentissime conseruatum Ioannes Clemens<sup>10</sup> [...] possidet [...] tamen ad nonagessimum sextum Psalmum me contuli; ibi non modo non reperi illud testimonium, *a ligno*, uerum totum illum dimidium uersum desiderauit, uidelicet, *Dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnauit*.<sup>11</sup>

Según el dictamen de los editores de la Biblia Políglota, el manuscrito hebreo aducido por Lindano era falso por tres razones: en primer lugar, el libro ni era antiguo ni escrito por un buen conocedor de la lengua hebrea; en segundo lugar, en dicho manuscrito faltaba no sólo el sintagma ‘a ligno’, sino todo el verso ‘Dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnauit’; por último, algunas letras y signos de puntuación más se acercaban a los latinos que a los hebreos.

Si se confronta lo que realmente escribió Lindano y la ‘Animaduersion’ montaniana en la *Biblia Políglota* de Amberes, pueden constatarse dos faltas a la verdad en este último escrito: en primer lugar, Montano insinúa que Lindano no había visto el ejemplar de los salmos que tanto alababa, sino que hablaba de oídas, cuando Lindano asegura en su libro haber visto con sus propios ojos ese ejemplar del Salterio, testimonio que puede demostrarse porque dicho Salterio fue manejado en las clases de Andrés Baleno, maestro lovaniense de Lindano.<sup>12</sup> En segundo lugar, Montano daba a entender que Lindano declaraba en su tratado que el sintagma ‘a ligno’ (‘Desde la cruz’)<sup>13</sup> se encontraba en ese antiguo ejemplar del Salterio, cuando el hecho es que el obispo de Roermond había señalado de forma clara — y en dos ocasiones — que lo que se leía en ese Salterio inglés (y faltaba en otros ejemplares) era el lugar del salmo 13 (‘Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum’). Ciertamente, pocas líneas más abajo, en el mismo capítulo de su tratado, Lindano cita el salmo 95 ‘Dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnauit a ligno’, pero en absoluto afirma que se encuentre en el Salterio inglés, sino que lo cita como

<sup>10</sup> ‘Clonens’ en la edición de la *Biblia Regia* que he cotejado.

<sup>11</sup> Fol. 1<sup>4</sup>, pp. [3-4]. El tratado viene precedido de la *Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispanensis de uaria in Hebraicis libris lectione ac de Mazzoreth ratione atque usu praefatio ad lectorem*, redactada el 13 de enero de 1572.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, p. 294-295.

<sup>13</sup> Vulg., *psalm.*, 95, 10: ‘Dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnauit a ligno’.

un ejemplo comúnmente admitido desde San Justino del valor de la *Biblia de los Setenta*, que conservaba íntegro este texto, frente a los ejemplares hebreos posteriores, donde los judíos eliminaron el sintagma ‘a ligno’.

Lindano estaba seguro de que el sintagma ‘a ligno’ había sido suprimido del salmo 95 por los judíos, pero también había cotejado él mismo en varias ocasiones el ejemplar inglés durante sus clases con Baleno y sus compañeros, comprobando que tales palabras tampoco existían en el Salterio inglés, que, si bien era antiguo, ya estaba corrupto. A la vista de estas falsas acusaciones, no es extraño que en el otoño de 1572, mientras Arias Montano trataba de conseguir en Roma la aprobación papal de la Políglota, Lindano amenazara con incoar un proceso de difamación. Por mediación del obispo de Amberes Francisco Sonnio, Montano se ve obligado a retractarse de la primera de sus infamias (que Lindano no había visto el salterio), antes del mes de abril de 1573.<sup>14</sup> Pero Lindano no se conformaba con esto: quería que Montano admitiese públicamente que él nunca había dicho que las palabras ‘a ligno’ se leían en el código inglés.

Después de tres años de intrigas, quejas y hostilidad manifiesta, en sus *Meditationes in aureum illum psalmum CXVIII* (Colonia, 1575), Guillermo Lindano lanza un furibundo ataque contra los autores de la *Políglota*, intentando demostrar que para la edición de la Biblia se utilizó un código hebreo corrupto. Concretamente censuraba que en el capítulo segundo del primer libro de los reyes (tomo IV de la Políglota, en hebreo, y tomo VII, que contenía la *Biblia Hebraea* de Santes Pagnino con traducción latina interlineal), se había producido una confusión de la letra *he* (ה) con la *thau* (ח), ofreciéndose la lectura *hebel* (הבל) o *confusionem* en lugar del correcto *thebel* (חבל) u *orbem*. Detrás de esta acusación de Lindano estaba, de nuevo, la adhesión completa a la versión de los *Setenta* y la condena de todas las traducciones basadas en los originales hebreos adulterados.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. carta de Lindano a Montano del 10 de abril de 1573, donde se hace referencia a una carta de retractación de Montano con fecha del 13 de febrero del mismo año. Cf. Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, p. 301.

<sup>15</sup> Contra los argumentos de Lindano se conservan extensas refutaciones de Juan Harlemio (Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, pp. 394-401) y Francisco Rafelengio (*Ibid.*, pp. 444-447), quienes tratan de demostrar a Lindano que era él quien había cometido el lapsus: en cuanto a la forma de las letras hebreas, en la versión de la Políglota aparecía el signo hebreo *daghes*, que no puede ir con la *he* (ה); en cuanto al significado, era

Tras una estancia de tres meses en Roma durante la primera mitad de 1579<sup>16</sup>, Lindano embarca hacia España y, pasando por Valencia, llega finalmente a Madrid hacia el mes de junio. A mediados de septiembre de ese mismo año tiene lugar una entrevista entre Lindano y Montano en El Escorial propiciada por el Cardenal de Granvela. Hasta hoy sólo se conocía una breve nota de Montano a Lindano escrita pocos días después de esta visita. En el presente artículo daremos cuenta de un texto inédito de Montano, enviado adjunto a esa nota, en el que vuelve a retractarse de las dos infamias que lanzó contra Lindano.

Pese a las retractaciones de Montano y a los intentos de conciliación en el comercio epistolar entre ambos, el obispo de Roermond coordinó hasta su muerte en 1586 una pertinaz campaña para desacreditar los escritos de Arias Montano, rastreando todos los errores que se desviaban de la fe católica y acercaban las posturas del biblista a judíos y protestantes. Entre los escritos de Arias Montano, los dos pasajes que fueron objeto de ataques continuados por Lindano y sus aliados fueron las anotaciones a Malaquías 1, 11 y Habacuc 1, 3 de los *Commentaria in XII Prophetas* (Amberes, 1571 y 1583). El texto del primer profeta se había interpretado desde San Justino un anuncio del sacrificio de la Eucaristía, mientras que Arias Montano se refiere exclusivamente a los sacrificios de los judíos, que son más puros que los de los gentiles por la selección de las víctimas que ofrecen. En el segundo pasaje, Montano se acerca a la herejía de Pelagio al escribir que la justicia filosófica sin noticia de Dios y sin la fe de Cristo tiene tal fuerza que hace que algunos no sufran al morir las penas eternas del infierno, de lo que se infiere la posibilidad de eludir el castigo eterno sin Cristo, aserto que, según Lindano, podría inducir incluso a seguir a Mahoma, ya que se podría eludir el infierno sin la ley de Cristo. Montano fue advertido desde la primera edición de sus *Commentaria in XII Prophetas* (Amberes, 1571) de la incorrección de tal comentario y, pese a que dio instrucciones de que se cambiara ese pasaje, finalmente algunos ejemplares de la reedición de 1583 siguieron recogiendo las mismas palabras.

cierto que en la versión interlineal de la Biblia Regia se había optado por *confusionem*, significado también asignado a חבל (lo que había hecho que Lindano pensara en el lapsus denunciado en su obra) pero al margen se recogía la traducción menos literal *orbem*, procedente de la versión de Santes Pagnino.

<sup>16</sup> En 1578 Lindano es nombrado por Gregorio XIII asistente al trono pontifical.

## II. Nuevos datos sobre la polémica a la luz de la colección de documentos inéditos de AGR I 115, 3714

### II.1. *La queja ante el Rey de España*

Desconocíamos hasta hoy que Lindano escribiera una carta de queja a Felipe II sobre su polémica con Arias Montano.<sup>17</sup> Resulta crucial calcular la fecha de esta carta, que ha sido archivada en forma de borrador entre los papeles de Lindano. La referencia cronológica más clara procede de la pluma de Lindano, que afirma llevar luchando en defensa de la Iglesia Católica con sus escritos durante más de veinte años.<sup>18</sup> La primera obra de Lindano fue publicada en Colonia en 1558<sup>19</sup>, por lo que esta referencia nos situaría a principios de 1579, justamente el año en que Lindano inicia su viaje a Italia y recalca finalmente en España.

La queja de Lindano ante Felipe II respeta las partes y reglas del arte retórica. En el *exordium*, después de apelar a la intercesión del monarca como ‘Iustitiae uindictam atque afflictorum et iniuriis uexatorum defensorem’, esgrime Lindano una *captatio benevolentiae* presentándose como víctima de distintos ultrajes (expolio de su biblioteca y menaje en 1572 por parte del Príncipe de Orange y más privaciones a las que se ha visto sometido en los años del establecimiento de los Estados Generales de Brabante), de entre los que más le ha afectado, en claro tópico de sobrepujamiento, es la calumnia de mentiroso que Arias Montano lanzó contra él. La *narratio* se articula en una frase, clara y concisa, que concentra el meollo de una rivalidad científica de quince años: ‘In eo autem tota est quaestio, an Arias Montanus uerum dixerit, asserens Lindanum scripsisse ac testari edito in uulgus libro se in quodam anglicano Hebraico Psalterio illud Psalmi legisse “Regnavit a ligno Deus”. Affirmat Arias Montanus; negat Lindanus’. En la *argumentatio* Lindano insta a Felipe II a hacer rápida justicia sobre este particular por dos motivos fundamentales: porque no conviene al rey o bien tener a su servicio ministros calumniadores (si Lindano lleva razón) o bien tener a su servicio ministros mentirosos (si la lleva Montano); porque interesa borrar esa mancha de la Obra Real de la Biblia, de la que Lindano avanza

<sup>17</sup> Guillermo Lindano a Felipe II, [79 00 00].

<sup>18</sup> ‘(...) huius episcopi eam nunc per annos xx scriptis plurimis propugnantis (...)’, carta de Lindano a Felipe II.

<sup>19</sup> Nos referimos a la ya citada obra *De optimo scripturas interpretandi genere libri III* (Colonia, 1558).



también otras flaquezas montanianas que la alejan de la ortodoxia católica y la acercan a judaizantes, mahometanos y protestantes. En la *peroratio*, de nuevo, el quejoso trata de hacerse al juez benévolo, dócil y atento: implorando su castigo, si es que se lo merece, o exigiendo que se le restituya para siempre la fama dañada, si se descubre que Montano no sólo lo ha calumniado a su nombre, sino que ha causado un baldón a la Iglesia Católica y a la dignidad episcopal.

Curiosamente, en marzo de este mismo año de 1579 Arias Montano había enviado otra carta al monarca español solicitándole amparo para defenderse de unos dominicos de Andalucía, que andaban difamando su obra.<sup>20</sup> Felipe II se encontraba, pues, en medio del fuego de suplicantes.

Faltan datos para delimitar si esta efectista queja de Lindano fue escrita desde los Países Bajos, desde Italia o, incluso, desde España. En todo caso, me atrevo a conjeturar que la presión a la que somete Lindano al Rey, obligándole a elegir entre Montano y él mismo, pudo ser la causa de que desde la corte española, y más en concreto por la intercesión del Cardenal de Granvela, se propiciara el intento de acercamiento que tuvo lugar entre ambos teólogos en 1579.<sup>21</sup>

## II.2. *La nueva correspondencia latina Lindano-León de Castro*

El teólogo y catedrático de griego en Salamanca León de Castro († 1586) se mostró como uno de los más encarnizados enemigos científicos de Arias Montano en España. Acérrimo detractor de la Biblia Hebrea y defensor de los *Setenta* y la *Vulgata*, acusó a Montano de haber empleado en su edición de la *Políglota* los originales hebreos y caldeos de la Biblia, y de haber dejado en un segundo plano tanto a los Santos Padres como a las versiones griega y latina.<sup>22</sup> Una interpretación demasiado

<sup>20</sup> Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, p. 475.

<sup>21</sup> Sobre el que versa, básicamente, la carta publicada en mi citado artículo 'La polémica Arias Montano-Wilhelmus Lindanus', pp. 157-158.

<sup>22</sup> León de Castro plasma la sustancia de estos planteamientos en su *Apologeticus pro lectione Apostolica et Euangelica pro Vulgata D[iui] Hieronymi, pro translatione Septuaginta Virorum, proque omni ecclesiastica lectione contra earum obrectationes* (Salamanca, 1585). Entre su producción exegética se enumeran los *Commentaria in Esaiam Prophetam ex Sacris Scriptoribus Graecis et Latinis confecta aduersus aliquot commentaria et interpretationes quasdam ex rabbinorum scriniis compilatas* (Salamanca, 1570) y *Commentaria in Oseam Prophetam ex ueterum Patrum scriptis, qui Prophetas omnes ad Christum referunt* (Salamanca, 1586). Cf. Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Noua siue Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD ad MDCXXXIV floruerunt notitia*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1783-1788 = Turín, 1963), II, 14-15.

estrecha del *Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum*<sup>23</sup> suponía, en efecto, una amenaza clara sobre la Políglota, en la que el texto de la *Vulgata* iba acompañado de traducciones hebraístas. La polémica con León de Castro preocupó siempre más a Montano que la hostilidad de Lindano por razones varias: se trató de una campaña orquestada desde España, llegó a los principales centros europeos y tenía como objetivo la prohibición *in toto* de la Políglota con los consiguientes riesgos incluso para la integridad y libertad de Montano. En 1574 León de Castro presentó una denuncia ante el Consejo de la Inquisición; el 9 de noviembre de 1576 formuló una requisitoria ante la inquisición de Valladolid, por la que solicitaba la comparecencia de Montano para dar razón de sus cosas.

En la correspondencia de Arias Montano se encuentran abundantes referencias metafóricas a León de Castro como un rugiente felino: ‘allende de los Leones y otras personas que los días passados dexó levantar bramidos contra mis estudios’;<sup>24</sup> ‘en Madrid el León bramando y procurando tragarme, deshonrándome por las audiencias y oydores y plaças e iglesias y monesterios, ayudándose de la terribleza y ímpetus de Lindano y de los demás que lo encienden’.<sup>25</sup>

No pude con esto satisfazerles, porque me dixerón que en Roma havía cartas de León y otros mandados y negocios de su parte, con que procurava levantar aquí mayor escándalo y ruydo que en España, y que a esto ayudava mucho ser él menos conocido aquí, empero que en manos de pers[on]as de crédito se havían visto aquí cartas suyas por las quales pretendía encender aquí este fuego de infamar aquella obra, y de resurtida a mí y a todos quantos huviessen trabajado en ella. Y que se entendía insistía en hazer preiudicios de la edición vulgata, y condemnar todas quantas otras versiones havía de Sagrada Escrittura, y entre ellas la de Sanctes Pagnino, que es la que él tachava en el Apparato Sacro de la Biblia Real.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Aprobado en la sesión cuarta del 8 de abril de 1546 del Concilio de Trento, se proclama la autoridad y prioridad de la *Vulgata* como texto consagrado por la tradición. Puede leerse el texto completo del decreto en la obra de Stephan Ehses, *Concilium Tridentinum, diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum noua collectio* (Freiburg, 1901-), V, 91-92.

<sup>24</sup> Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, p. 475.

<sup>25</sup> Carta de Arias Montano a Gabriel de Zayas, 10 de octubre de 1579, original en Archivo General de Simancas E, 583/160, publicado en ‘Correspondencia del Dr. Benito Arias Montano con Felipe II, el secretario Zayas y otros sugetos desde 1568 hasta 1580’, en *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* (Madrid, 1842-1914), XLI, 407.

<sup>26</sup> Arias Montano (Roma) a Gaspar de Quiroga (Madrid), 12 de agosto de 1575, original en Archivo General de Simancas E, 583/160, publicado en *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, pp. 316-320.

En esta campaña antimontaniana conducida por León de Castro era de suponer algún contacto de este con Lindano. Ya a principios de 1573 Lindano sabía de la encarnizada oposición de Castro a Montano y, aunque admitía no compartir algunos de sus planteamientos, sí alababa su diligencia y celo cristiano.<sup>27</sup> En algún testimonio Arias parece aludir a ese contubernio hispano-flamenco en contra de sus escritos: 'Nunca tuve rencor ni pasión contra él [Lindano] en el tiempo que vivió, aunque supe cuanto dijo contra mí en Flandes, en Roma y más en España, donde parece hallaba oídos más a propósito'.<sup>28</sup> Pero la hipótesis anterior se convierte en hecho probado gracias a la correspondencia entre Lindano y Castro conservada en la nueva documentación que aquí presento. Las tres cartas entre ambos teólogos se escribieron durante el período que Lindano visitó España, en el verano de 1579. Las dos primeras misivas se envían desde Valladolid, donde León murió como magistral; el breve billete que fechamos en septiembre de 1579 debió de enviarse desde Madrid. Ambos humanistas cruzaron con seguridad más cartas de las conservadas en esta carpeta; así se deduce de las referencias a cartas no localizadas y del tono de confianza mutua que ya existe en la primera comunicación conservada entre ellos.

En su misiva del 16 de junio de 1579, fecha en la que ya Lindano estaba en España, León de Castro nos habla de una inminente cita personal con Lindano para tratar detalles de una batalla ('lis') en la que anda implicado. Lindano insufla ánimos al catedrático de Salamanca, pues lidera un grupo de eruditos europeos que, como él, denostan el quehacer biblista de Arias Montano, de quien lamenta León de Castro que viva protegido por los más influyentes personajes de la corte española. Ya cita León su *Apologeticus* como obra terminada y en espera de aprobación, aunque este trabajo tendría que esperar seis años para ver la luz. Una nueva prueba, pues, de las dificultades que en el terreno oficial encontró el salmantino en su oposición a Montano.

En la segunda carta de Castro a Lindano, con fecha de 28 de agosto de 1579, aún no se ha producido la ansiada entrevista personal entre ambos; Castro está muy interesado en conocer la opinión de Lindano sobre el *Apologeticus* y lo emplaza para la visita personal en Madrid de unos días. Esta entrevista debió de producirse en la primera mitad de

<sup>27</sup> Carta de Lindano a Montano, 10 de abril 1573, en Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, p. 305.

<sup>28</sup> Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, p. 189.

septiembre, próxima en fecha a la que mantuvieron a su vez Lindano y Montano.

La lucha encarnizada que mantuvieron estos dos teólogos se desarrolló entre el proyecto de hacer el mayor ruido posible por parte de León de Castro y los intentos de acallarlos por parte de Montano. León de Castro lamentaba que sus quejas, que él consideraba necesarias para el bien de la Iglesia de Cristo, encontraran tantos obstáculos en las instancias oficiales a las que las presentaba. Lindano y sus apoyos flamencos dieron un balón de oxígeno a un León de Castro agotado por la edad y las dificultades que Montano y sus patronos de la corte ponían en su camino.

### II.3. *El episodio de 1579: una nueva retractación formal de Montano*

En ese mismo mes de septiembre de 1579, cuando se agotaba ya su visita a España, y posiblemente pocos días antes o después de entrevistarse con León de Castro, Lindano, por la mediación del Cardenal de Granvela, se ve cara a cara con su rival Arias Montano. Habida cuenta de la carta de queja de Lindano a Felipe II, publicada en este trabajo, es posible que el rey de España moviera hilos para que se produjera este encuentro, que Montano relata en una carta del último período de su vida.<sup>29</sup> Tras esta entrevista, Lindano consigue de Montano un compromiso formal, que el español resume así:

Yo le juré que no habría hombre que con verdad dijese haberme oído decir de él menos que bien, y en esto me declaré tanto que me dijo: pues una cosa os pido, que en la primera obra que hiciereis, profeséis mi amistad y digáis que siempre me quisisteis bien, y de esta manera cesarán los que piensan lo contrario; y le dije, yo se lo prometo.

Hasta aquí sabríamos de este encuentro de 1579, por el testimonio directo de Montano, de no haber tenido acceso al prefacio que escribió el sabio español de su puño y letra. Un prefacio que, como suplica en su carta de septiembre de 1579, prefiere que Lindano no muestre a los españoles — siempre viene a nuestra mente el nombre de León de Castro — para evitar las especulaciones a las que eran tan dados los compatriotas montanianos. La cuestión es que en este prefacio que aquí publicamos Montano no se queda en la pública declaración de amistad por Lindano,

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

como explicaba en su cita de arriba, sino que se ve obligado a admitir una vez más y de forma meridiana que faltó a la verdad al afirmar que Lindano había escrito que leyó el sintagma ‘a ligno’ en el manuscrito inglés.

Ya Montano se había retractado en dos ocasiones anteriores de tal afirmación incluida en su *Animadversio*. La primera, antes del 10 de abril de 1573, se vio obligado a admitir que Lindano había visto con sus propios ojos el Salterio anglicano, de lo que expresó sus dudas en la Políglota con las siguientes palabras: ‘Sed cum Psalterium uideremus, non potuimus non uehementer dolere, grauissimo et doctissimo uiro, qui ex aliena fide scripserit et docuerit, sic turpiter esse impositum’.<sup>30</sup> La satisfacción de Montano se resume en el siguiente pasaje: ‘[...] si él tenía por agravio el haber yo dicho que no había visto el libro, yo me daría por engañado en tal juicio, y lo repondría diciendo que de su afirmación sabía haberlo visto’.<sup>31</sup> En esta primera retractación, pues, nada admite Montano sobre el meollo de la cuestión, a saber, que Lindano no había dicho que las palabras ‘a ligno’ se encontraran en el manuscrito inglés.

Parece que en una segunda ocasión, y esta vez de forma impresa, Arias llegó a tocar más de cerca la clave de su polémica, afirmando que Lindano no había leído ‘a ligno’ en el manuscrito inglés, sino en otro lugar, sin especificar el lugar. Esto tampoco podía satisfacer a Lindano, al no aclarar lugar ni fuente. Por ello Montano desciende un poco más en la retractación que envía con este nuevo documento inédito, diciendo que el libro donde Lindano había leído que aquel lugar se había cambiado era en Justino Mártir, que es entre los autores griegos antiguos el precursor de esta observación.

El prefacio de Montano redactado en 1579 no llegó a publicarse. Lindano realiza tres anotaciones en su censura antes de reenviarla firmada ante notario desde los Países Bajos a Montano, que en su billete a Lindano insistía en que éste le enviara el prefacio corregido. En las tres adiciones, Lindano insiste en lo que Montano se resiste a admitir, que él nunca escribió haber leído el sintagma ‘a ligno’ en el manuscrito inglés.

<sup>30</sup> En ‘Benedicti Ariae Montani de exemplari psalterii Anglicani animaduersione’, situado en el décimo cuarto tratado del tomo octavo de la *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine, Philippi II Reg[is] Cathol[ici] pietate et studio ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae usum* (Amberes, 1569-1572).

<sup>31</sup> Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, p. 191.

#### II.4. Aliados de Lindano en los Países Bajos

Entre los aliados de Lindano en los Países Bajos hasta ahora conocíamos el papel beligerante del teólogo de Lovaina Enrique de Grave.<sup>32</sup> En la documentación inédita conservada en Bruselas se destapa también como aliado de Lindano el teólogo Juan Molano<sup>33</sup>, quien en su carta menciona a de Grave. Entre los pasajes más conflictivos que Lindano argüía contra Montano parecía haber ‘una anotación sobre uno de los evangelistas y otra sobre un profeta’.<sup>34</sup> De los problemas surgidos en torno a dos pasajes de los *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (Amberes, 1571 y 1583) tenemos amplia bibliografía: se trata de Malaquías 1, 11 y Habacuc 1, 3. El texto conflictivo de uno de los evangelistas se desconoce, aunque Lindano solicita precisamente a Molano que le envíe su censura a las *Elucidationes in quatuor euangelia* de Montano (Amberes, 1575) y la respuesta de Montano. Estos dos documentos, fechados en 1574 (la censura de Molano) y el 7 de marzo de 1574 (la respuesta de Montano) se conservan en la misma carpeta de donde proceden las cartas que aquí editamos. Lindano había recogido en su viaje a España críticas a esta obra y recurre a una censura de hace seis años para dar soporte teológico lovaniense a esta nueva reprobación de los escritos montanianos. Tras la lectura atenta de estos documentos, que recorren censura y *responsiones* sobre pasajes diversos de los cuatro

<sup>32</sup> Enrique de Grave (Lovaina, 1536-Roma, 2 abril 1591), hijo del impresor Bartolomé de Grave, obtiene el doctorado en Teología el 30 de mayo de 1570. Compaginó tareas de docencia y presidencia en el Gran Colegio de Eprit hasta 1590, año en que, a petición de Sixto V, fue delegado en Roma por la Universidad de Lovaina, ejerciendo de revisor de la tipografía vaticana. En Roma se relacionó con ilustres cardenales como César Baronio, Antonio Caraffa y Alejandro Peroto. A él debemos unas *Annotationes in tomum VII B[eat]i Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi* (Amberes, 1577), y la *Censura Facultatis Sacrae Theologiae Lovaniensis super quibusdam articulis de Sacra Scriptura* (Lovaina, 1586). Cf. *Biographie nationale de Belgique* (Brussel, 1886- ), V, cols. 127-131.

<sup>33</sup> Jean van der Moelen (Vermeulen) nació en Lille hacia 1533. Realizó sus primeros estudios en Diest y Lovaina, tras lo que inició la carrera de Teología que culminó con el doctorado el 12 de septiembre de 1570. Ocupó la canonjía de San Pedro en Lovaina y fue profesor de la universidad y rector en 1578. Sus publicaciones están dedicadas al culto de los Santos. Fallece el 18 de septiembre de 1585. Entre sus publicaciones destaca el *Calendarium ecclesiasticum* (Amberes, 1569). Cf. H. De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517-1550*, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 10-13, 4 vols (Lovaina, 1951-1955), IV, 6; P. F. X. De Ram, *J. Molani historia Lovaniensium*, 2 vols (Bruselas, 1861), I, vi-xcix; *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, XV, cols. 48-55.

<sup>34</sup> Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, 192.

evangelistas, nos quedamos sin saber a qué pasaje concreto se circunscribía la polémica.

La sociedad Lindano-de Grave ha dejado en el archivo bruselense la carta entre ambos que editamos en este artículo. Lindano, años después de su visita a España, solicita a Gravius su parecer sobre los dos pasajes conflictivos de los *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* citados en el párrafo anterior. El 10 de marzo de 1586 firma Gravius una breve misiva en la que suscribe su disconformidad con estos pasajes aduciendo breves pero contundentes argumentos. Los resultados de este intercambio epistolar tienen su eco en la correspondencia de Cristóbal Plantino con Arias Montano: el ejemplar de los *Prophetas* que de Grave dice haber esperado desde Amberes en su carta de marzo de 1586 era de la primera edición. Plantino envía el 12 de abril de 1586 un ejemplar corregido por la mano de Montano, demostrando que la segunda edición era bien distinta a la primera. Pero lo cierto es que, pese a la decisión de Montano de modificar su primera versión del comentario a Habacuc 1, 3 ('utile etiam est ut qui illa omnino praediti fuerint aeternas in morte poenas non subeant') que parecía admitir la salvación sin fe y sin la gracia de Dios, por este otro pasaje ('utile quoque est ut qui ea omnino praediti fuerint, si qui tamen fuerint, aeternas in morte poenas, ob eam non timebunt'), que admitía la dificultad de que alguien sin la fe de Cristo pueda salvarse, este cambio no apareció en los primeros ejemplares de la reimpresión de 1583.<sup>35</sup> La adición de los folios 817 y 818 a los volúmenes de la edición de 1583 pudo ser una consecuencia de estas críticas.<sup>36</sup> En su tratado *De locis apud Habacuc et Malachiam notatis*<sup>37</sup>, previsiblemente redactado al calor de esta polémica del año 1586, Arias decía reconocer en las críticas a sus *Commentaria* la mano de Enrique de Grave, pero la voz de Lindano, aludiendo a la alianza que ahora ha confirmado el documento inédito que edito.

En el argumentario crítico contra los referidos dos lugares del comentario montaniano tuvo gran parte, a juzgar por los nuevos documentos, el teólogo de Lovaina Jacobo Jansonio<sup>38</sup>, a quien de Grave pide, en nombre

<sup>35</sup> Cf. A. Dávila, *Benito Arias Montano. Correspondencia*, n° 83 09 22, líneas 55-56.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589)*, I, 168-171 (n° 578).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. B. Macías Rosendo, 'De locis apud Habacuc et Malachiam notatis, una obra inédita de Benito Arias Montano', *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, 51-3 (1995), 647-676.

<sup>38</sup> Jacobo Janson (Amsterdam, 1547-1625), profesor de Teología en la Universidad de Lovaina. Fue sucesor de Bayo como deán de la colegiata de San Pedro y maestro de

de Lindano, su parecer sobre Habacuc 1, 3 y Malaquías 1, 11. La censura de Jansonio está muy bien razonada: encontramos citas y referencias a los padres, orden lógico y profusión de argumentos. En cuanto a Malaquías 1, 11 (‘ab ortu enim solis usque ad ocassum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco sacrificatur et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Deus exercituum’), es obvio que la argumentación de Jansonio se realiza sobre un ejemplar antiguo de los *Commentaria*, porque en su reedición de 1583 Montano había ya rectificado su interpretación judaizante, admitiendo la interpretación arcana comúnmente aceptada desde San Justino que apuntaba a un anuncio del sacrificio de la Eucaristía.<sup>39</sup>

En cuanto al comentario sobre Habacuc 1, 3 los argumentos de Jansonio se resumen en los siguientes puntos:

1. El aserto montaniano implica que los que atesoran la justicia filosófica o bien no tuvieron pecado original, o bien han sido absueltos de él sin la fe de Cristo o bien no caen en la pena eterna por el pecado original, premisas todas contrarias a la ortodoxia católica.
2. No es creíble que nadie haya pasado la vida sin un pecado mortal.
3. Es muy probable que incluso los más esforzados cultivadores de la justicia moral hayan incurrido al menos en un vicio, el de la soberbia.
4. No es posible que nadie haya conseguido la remisión de sus pecados si no es por la fe en Cristo, en quien los filósofos antiguos no creyeron.
5. Condena también la distinción en cuanto al género de la justicia de los filósofos y la justicia de los cristianos. Ambas proceden de la gracia de Dios (Beda), por lo tanto no se distinguen en cuanto a género, sino en cuanto a plenitud. Es más, se propone no llamar simplemente justicia a la de los filósofos, sino justicia ‘secundum quid’ como Santo Tomás habla de virtudes ‘secundum quid’.

Especialmente el comentario de Habacuc 1, 3 había disgustado no sólo a los detractores de Montano, sino también a algunos de sus admiradores

Cornelio Jansenio. Representa, pues, en Teología la sucesión del Bayismo al Jansenismo y era uno de los que pretendían que las proposiciones de Bayo, condenadas por el Papa, reproducían, en cierto modo, la doctrina de San Agustín.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Hunc locum multi ex Graecis et Latinis scriptoribus magna pietate atque doctrina ad sacrificium Christianum corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi referunt, cuius puritas et uirtus omnia Iudaeorum sacrificia, ut umbram lux, antecellit’, en *Commentaria in duodecim Prophetas* (Amberes, 1583), p. 845.



como Hernando del Castillo.<sup>40</sup> En su viaje a España Lindano pudo recopilar todos los pareceres sobre este evidente desliz teológico de Montano, del que él mismo se retractó en su momento y que le acarreó conflictos con la Inquisición en vida y después de muerto.<sup>41</sup> Lindano lo que hacía era poner más el dedo en la llaga con un argumentario procedente de autoridades teológicas lovanienses.

### III. Notas a la edición

Los documentos se han dispuesto cronológicamente y reciben una primera numeración ordinal. A continuación sigue la numeración cronológica: así, una carta del 16 de junio de 1579 recibe el número 79 06 16. Cuando no se conoce el mes o el día exacto de la misiva se escribe el doble cero; los corchetes cuadrados indican que la fecha es conjetura del editor: [79 00 00] significa, por tanto, que la fecha conjeturada comprende todo el año de 1579.

El texto latino se ha transcrito manteniendo como norma general los usos gráficos de los correspondientes. Las variaciones gráficas del diptongo *ae* (monoptongado o no, o con cedilla) han sido escritas siempre con el dígrafo para facilitar su lectura. Por *j* se ha escrito como norma *i*; también se ha regularizado la grafía *u* y su correspondiente mayúscula *V* tanto para uso vocálico como semiconsonántico. La puntuación ha sido modernizada de acuerdo con las exigencias filológicas actuales, descargando las cartas de las comas que, siguiendo la norma humanística, aparecen ante conjunciones. Conservamos en nuestra edición las mayúsculas iniciales de tratamiento, cargos, títulos, meses y días del

<sup>40</sup> Que expresa su parecer negativo en Ms. Estocolmo A902, f. 204 r. En la misma línea se manifestaron el doctor Heredia, fray Jerónimo de Almonacir, fray Jeremías de Guzmán, el doctor Torres, Alfonso de Montoya y otros, cuyos informes se leen en Ms. de Estocolmo A-902 ff. 203r-204v. Cf. Macías, '*De locis*', p. 657.

<sup>41</sup> La exégesis montaniana de los referidos pasajes de Habacuc y Malaquías le acarreó tener que afrontar severos exámenes por parte del Tribunal Supremo de la Inquisición y sufrir incluso censura en los siguientes índices expurgatorios: así en el Índice Romano de 1607 se incluye el pasaje de Malaquías, pero no en el Índice Expurgatorio de Sandoval y Rojas (1612), para el que Pedro de Valencia aceptó asumir la defensa, con éxito por cierto, de los pasajes montanianos censurados en el Índice Romano (cf. Macías, '*De locis*', p. 653). El pasaje de Habacuc, por su parte, pasó inadvertido en el Índice Romano pero fue marcado con la anotación al lector '*caute lege*' en el Índice de Sandoval y Rojas (cf. Macías, '*De locis*', p. 661).

calendario latino, como corresponde al *usus scribendi* generalizado del latín humanístico.

Las abreviaturas se han expandido entre corchetes rectangulares [ ]. Las tachaduras y rectificaciones han sido consignadas en el aparato crítico entre corchetes dobles [ ]. Las intervenciones del editor en el cuerpo del texto aparecen en cursiva y entre corchetes rectangulares.

En cuanto a la anotación de los testimonios, **b** significa borrador o minuta (es el registro personal que, en esta carpeta, conservó Lindano de los documentos originales enviados); y **o** se refiere a los originales (recibidos por Lindano y conservados en esta colección).

## [1] — [79 00 00]

**Guillermo Dámaso Lindano [Roermond] a Felipe II [Madrid] [1579]**

**b:** Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/3

La fecha de este documento debe de acotarse hacia 1579 por la referencia cronológica a los cuatro años de conflicto después de 1575. Lindano afirma llevar veinte años luchando con sus escritos en favor de la Iglesia Católica (*De optimo genere interpretandi*, Colonia 1558). En 1579 el obispo inicia un viaje a Italia donde es nombrado asistente al trono pontifical para los asuntos de los Países Bajos. Esta carta de queja pudo escribirse desde Flandes, Italia o incluso España. La letra es de un escribano de Lindano; el obispo introduce de su mano las correcciones y añadidos al margen, además de algunas anotaciones de difícil lectura al pie del documento.

S[acra] Catholica Ma[ies]tas:

Cum Deus S[acram] V[estram] Catholicam Ma[iesta]tem suo populo praeposuerit Iustitiae uindicem atque afflictorum et iniuriis uexatorum defensorem, cogit hunc supplican-tem iustissima ratio de grauissima ipsi  
 5 illata iniuria apud S[acram] V[estra]m Cath[olicam] Ma[iesta]tem conqueri. Non hic commemorabit supplicans quantam iniuriam pertulerit anno 72, quando a Principe Aurangiae fuit omni suppellectili sua et amplissima Bibliotheca spoliatus; non quod anno 75 ab hispanis militibus, qui sui tumultus caput quendam electum hispanum praefecerant,  
 10 supra tria milia flor[enorum] damno fuit affectus; non quod annos istos totos quatuor omnibus est a Statibus Brabantiae prouentibus priuatus: sed quod famam et nomen eius turpissima mendacii infamia libro in publicum edito denigravit D[ominus] D[ominus] Arias Montanus. Is enim spiritu non bono actus (non refert qua ex causa) audebat in Opere  
 15 Biblitorum Cath[olicae] V[estrae] Ma[iesta]tis quandam orationem, siue, uti appellatur, Animaduersionem in uulgas edere. Qua post uanissimas nugas et pseudologias manifestissimas 3 aut quatuor supplican-tem apud totum orbem foedissimi conatur arguere mendacii, ac eum quasi tanti flagitii conuictum ouans apud doctos omnes traducere non desinit. Vnde  
 20 et apud doctos V[estrae] Cath[olicae] Ma[iesta]tis aulicos supplicans habetur Episcopus mendax et uilipenditur quasi falsarius per Ariam Montanum crimine falsi liquido conuictus. Ad haec et Germani Catholicam Chr[ist]i Eccl[esi]am oppugnantes supplicantis scripta non sine fructu (si

15 ora[praefat]tionem **b**    16 uti appellatur *suprascriptit* **b** Lindani manu    17 3 aut quatuor *suprascriptit* **b** Lindani manu    22 liquido *suprascriptit* **b** Lindani manu

Sagrada Católica Majestad:

Dado que Dios ha puesto a Vuestra Sagrada Católica Majestad al frente de su pueblo como garante de justicia y defensor de los afligidos y vejados por injurias, la justísima razón obliga a este suplicante a quejarse ante Vuestra Sagrada Católica Majestad de la gravísima injuria ocasionada a él mismo. No recordará aquí el suplicante qué gran injuria soportó en el año 72 cuando fue expoliado de todo su menaje y de una amplísima biblioteca por el Príncipe de Orange;<sup>42</sup> ni que en el año 75 sufrió una pérdida de más de tres mil florines por los soldados españoles, que habían colocado al frente de su motín a cierto cargo electo hispano;<sup>43</sup> ni que en el conjunto de estos cuatro años ha sido privado de todo por los sobrevenidos Estados de Brabante.<sup>44</sup> Sino de que el señor Arias Montano denigró su fama y nombre con una ignominiosa infamia y mentira en un libro que ha visto la luz. Pues éste, guiado por un espíritu no bueno (no importa por qué causa) se atrevía en la Obra de la Biblia de Vuestra Católica Majestad a publicar cierto discurso o, según se llama, *Animadversión*<sup>45</sup>, en la que tras vanísimas simplezas y tres o cuatro manifestísimas falsedades, intenta acusar a este suplicante ante todo el mundo de una muy infame mentira, y no deja de presentar con orgullo ante todos los doctos a éste como un convicto de tan grande crimen. Por lo cual también ante los doctos que forman parte de la corte de Vuestra Majestad este suplicante es considerado un obispo mentiroso y es vilipendiado como falsario convicto rotundamente por Arias Montano del crimen de falso. Junto a esto también los Germanos que atacan la Iglesia Católica de Cristo, los escritos del suplicante que vieron la luz no sin provecho (si se da crédito a píos y doctos señores (alabanza y gloria de Cristo Jesús), pudieron menospreciarlos con

<sup>42</sup> Lindano se muestra aquí como afectado individual de los acontecimientos bélicos de 1572, año en que, bajo el gobierno del duque de Alba, estalla por segunda vez la revolución en los Países Bajos: se sublevan Flesinga, Rotterdam, las ciudades de la costa, de Holanda y de Zelanda; por el sur, se desencadena la segunda guerra orangista. Cf. Luis Morales Oliver, *Arias Montano y la Política de Felipe II en Flandes* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 204-208.

<sup>43</sup> Desde abril de 1574, con la derrota del ejército orangista en las riberas del Mook, a dos leguas de Nimega, los ejércitos reunidos por el gobernador de turno, don Luis de Requesens, comenzaron a amotinarse para reclamar sus pagas a un erario carente de recursos. Amberes fue una de las primeras ciudades amenazadas por los amotinados.

<sup>44</sup> Desde noviembre de 1576, con la Pacificación de Gante, cuando todas las provincias se unieron para expulsar a las tropas españolas tras los excesos cometidos en los motines, hasta mayo de 1579, fecha en que las provincias del Sur, Brabante incluido, vuelven a reconocer la autoridad del rey y declarar su confesión católica.

<sup>45</sup> Se refiere a la ya citada ‘*Benedicti Ariae Montani de exemplari psalterii Anglicani animaduversio*’, situado en el décimo cuarto tratado del tomo octavo de la *Biblia Sacra*.

uiris piis et doctis habenda | est fides) in lucem edita (Chr[ist]o Iesu laus  
 25 et gloria) poterunt ea cum Fidei detrimento flocci facere ac merito huius  
 episcopi eam nunc per annos xx scriptis plurimis propugnantis authorita-  
 tem contemnere; quod D[ominus] Arias Montanus sese mendacii glorie-  
 tur apud suos illum manifestis exemplis conuicisse. Quo mendacii conui-  
 cio apud Germanos nullum est honesto uiro nedum ecclesiastico et adeo  
 30 episcopo atrocius aut infamius aut odibilis. Rursus non leuis est Catho-  
 licae Chr[ist]i Eccl[es]iae nota, quod Ep[iscopu]m habeat falsarium aut  
 saltem tot iam annos falsi in Bibliis Regiis catholici accusatum de men-  
 daciter recitato S[acrae] Scripturae testimonio. In eo autem tota est quaes-  
 tio, an Arias Montanus uerum dixerit, asserens Lindanum scripsisse ac  
 35 testari edito in uulgo libro se in quodam anglicano Haebraico Psalterio  
 illud Psalmi legisse 'Regnauit a ligno Deus'? Affirmat Arias Montanus;  
 negat Lindanus. Quod liber Lindani ab Aria allegatus non habet. De hac  
 mendacii nota Bibliis S[acrae] C[atholicae] V[estrae] Ma[iestatis] tol-  
 lenda et emendanda D[ominus] Arias iampridem amice a Lindano admo-  
 40 nitus promittebat se famam Lindano restitutum libro suo emendato ac  
 recudendo, quod adeo non fecit Arias, ut calumniam suam illa oratione  
 castigata duplicarit. Scripsit enim Lindanum istud quidem non scribere  
 in libro illo ab ipso prius citato, sed alibi, inquit, nullum allegans locum  
 aut librum, ut suam calumniam orbi magis redderet manifestam, maio-  
 45 rem infelix habens sui nominis quam ueritatis rationem, cum eam recla-  
 mante sua conscientia, audebat non sancte uiolare, atque boni nominis  
 Ep[iscopu]m turpiter adeo infamare atque odibilem toti orbi facere. Inter-  
 est autem et S[acrae] V[estrae] M[aiestatis] ut istius causae cito fiat  
 iustitia, quia turpe est S[acram] V[estram] Ma[iestatem] habere minis-  
 50 trum aut mendacem Episcopum Lindanum aut falsarium et calumniato-  
 rem sycophanticum Ariam Montanum. Deinde turpis nota haec Operi  
 Regio mendaciter immo calumniose inusta, totum Regium Opus Bibliorum

25-27 huius...authoritatem: *add. in margine b* 28 manifestis exemplis *supra-*  
*scripsit b* 29-30 nedum...Episcopo: *add. in margine b* || 30 aut odibilis *supra-*  
*scripsit b* 32 falsi [accusatum de] *b* || in...mendaciter: *in marg. addidit b* 35 edito...  
 libro: *supra-**scripsit b* 37 [Sed] liber *b* || ab Aria allegatus *supra-**scripsit b* ||  
 Lindani [inspectum] *b* 38 Bibliis...tollenda: *add. in margine b* 40 suo *supra-*  
*scripsit b* 41-42 ille...castigata: *add. in margine b* 46-47 atque...facere: *add. in*  
*margine b*

detrimento de la Fe y desdeñar merecidamente la autoridad de este obispo que ahora la ha defendido con muchos escritos durante veinte años<sup>46</sup>, puesto que el señor Arias Montano se vanagloria de haberlo acusado en su país de mentiroso con ejemplos manifiestos. Entre los germanos nada hay más atroz, infame y odioso para un honesto varón, mucho más para un eclesiástico y además obispo, que esta acusación de mentira. A su vez no es mancha sin importancia para la Iglesia Católica de Cristo tener un obispo falsario o al menos acusado de falso ya durante tantos años en la Biblia del Rey Católico por un testimonio de la Santa Escritura falsamente recitado. Y toda la cuestión se resume en esto, si Arias Montano ha dicho la verdad al asegurar que Lindano escribió y atestigua en un libro publicado que en cierto Salterio hebraico anglicano leyó aquello del salmo ‘Reinó Dios desde el leño’. Lo afirma Arias Montano; lo niega Lindano. Qué libro de Lindano ha sido alegado por Arias no se sabe. El señor Arias, amonestado amistosamente por Lindano ya hace tiempo sobre la necesidad de suprimir esta acusación de mentira de la Biblia de Vuestra Sagrada Católica Majestad y de enmendarla, prometía que restituiría la fama de Lindano en un libro suyo enmendado y que iba a reimprimirse, cosa que hasta ahora no ha hecho Arias para duplicar su calumnia tras habérsele reprendido aquel discurso.<sup>47</sup> Pues escribió que Lindano no escribió aquello en el libro citado por él antes<sup>48</sup>, sino en otra parte, dice, no alegando ningún lugar o libro, para hacer su calumnia más evidente al mundo, mirando el infeliz más por su nombre que por la verdad, cuando se atrevía a violarla de forma reprochable, reclamándose su conciencia, y a infamar tan vergonzosamente a un obispo de buen nombre y hacerlo odioso a todo el orbe. Importa así también a Vuestra Sagrada Majestad que se haga rápidamente justicia por esa causa, porque es ofensivo que Vuestra Sagrada Católica Majestad tenga como ministro o al mentiroso obispo Lindano o al falsario y calumniador embustero Arias Montano. A esto se añade que la mancha ignominiosa causada de forma mendaz y, aun más, calumniosa a esta Obra Real

<sup>46</sup> *De optimo scripturas interpretandi genere libri III siue undena solida Scripturarum sacrarum ueritas, sensusque, germanus et uerus nunc temporis [...] an uulgata potius editione latina quaerendus, uti in Concilio Tridentino dudum definiebatur, auctore reueren[do] D[omino] Wilhelmo Lindano Dordraceno* (Coloniae: apud Maternum Cholinum, 1558).

<sup>47</sup> Aunque desconocemos en qué libro tenía proyectado Arias Montano retractarse públicamente de su infamia a Lindano, en cualquier caso esta retractación nunca vio la luz. Los datos que ofrece Lindano en esta carta sobre esa futura obra montaniana, reimprimida y enmendada, pueden hacer pensar en la reedición de los *Commentaria in duodecim Prophetas* (Amberes, 1583).

<sup>48</sup> *De optimo scripturas interpretandi genere libri III* (Colonia, 1558).

- inter caeteras non leues deformat. Vnde non inconsultum fuerit ut S[acra] V[estra] Ma[ies]tas opus tam praeclarum a tam infamatrice in
- 55 uirum innocentem ac de catholica Chr[ist]i Ecclesia bene semper meritum calumnia iubeat repurgari. Nam de aliis grauioribus naevis idem Opus Regium contaminantibus non est | hic dicendi locus quae ex haereticorum libris mutuatae atque ab Aria Montano non pie in illud depromptae Catholicae officiunt Religioni. Et non solum Lutheranos
- 60 iuuant, qui ea contra Catholicam Chr[ist]i Eccl[es]iam diserte sub nomine Ariae Montani ex opere isto S[acrae] C[atholicae] V[estrae] Regiae Ma[iestatis] editis libris recitant, sed Iudaeos etiam non parum in sua confirmant contra Ch[rist]um perfidia ut et Machumetanos siue Pelagianos dictus Arias Petri Ximeni suis expressis contra Euangelicam
- 65 Chr[ist]i gratiam uerbis defendere atque tueri doctis uidetur in suis in Prophetas Commentariis tam luculenter et impie (si D[iuo] Hieronimo fides habenda est) toties Iudaizantibus, de quibus alii uiderint iam pridem satis a uariis admoniti. Caeterum quia melius est nomen bonum quam diuitiae multae, atque crudelis censetur, qui famam negligit, sup-
- 70 plicans S[acram] V[estram] C[atholicam] Ma[iestatem] per Chr[is]tum obsecrat, ut Regii sui officii memor sibi auxilio esse dignetur ad bonam sui n[omin]is famam innocenti ablatam cito recuperandam. Nam si ep[iscop]us tale designauit flagitium, quod falsi crimen continet, idque in Diuina Scriptura falso alleganda, dignus est procul dubio Canonica
- 75 depositione, quam non deprecatur, si potest conuinci. Si non designauit, S[acrae] C[atholicae] Ma[iestatis] est iustum innocenti patrocinium praebere, ut a tam manifesta scelerataque calumnia, quae cum intoleranda episcopalis nominis contumelia et Eccl[es]iae adeo Chr[ist]i turpi nota est coniuncta, cito uindicetur.
- 80 S[acrae] V[estrae] Ma[iestatis] Cath[olicae] Sacellanus et peculiariter ad omnia in Chr[ist]o Iesu obsequia deditissimus seruator, indignus Eccl[es]iae Ruraemundensis Ep[iscop]us et Chr[ist]i exsul.

53 non leues [deformat. Nam de aliis idem opus Regium contaminantibus] b 53-57 deformat...est: *scriptum alia manu, fortasse Lindani* 71 Regii *suprascriptit* b 74 falso alleganda *suprascriptit* b 77 intoleranda b

deforma, entre las demás no sin importancia, la Obra Real de la Biblia. Por lo cual no sería desatinado que Vuestra Sagrada Católica Majestad ordene que se expurgue una Obra tan ilustre de una calumnia tan infamante contra un señor inocente y siempre benemérito de la Iglesia Católica de Christo. Pues de otras manchas más serias que contaminan esa misma Obra Real no es éste el lugar para hablar; estas ideas, prestadas de los libros de los herejes y tomadas por Arias Montano de forma impía para aquella obra, ofenden a la religión católica y no solo ayudan a los luteranos, quienes las recitan expresamente contra la Iglesia Católica de Cristo bajo el nombre de Arias Montano en libros editados a partir de esa obra de Vuestra Sagrada Católica Majestad, sino también confirman no poco a los Judíos en su perfidia contra Cristo<sup>49</sup>, como también parece a los doctos que dicho Arias defiende y protege a los Mahometanos o a los Pelagianos al pronunciar palabras contra la gracia evangélica de Cristo en sus comentarios sobre los profetas tan elocuente e impíamente (si se ha de conceder fe a San Jerónimo) judaizantes en tantos lugares<sup>50</sup> sobre los cuales otros, bastante prevenidas por varios, ya han juzgado tiempo ha. Por lo demás, puesto que es mejor un buen nombre que muchas riquezas,<sup>51</sup> y puede considerarse cruel al que su fama descuida, el suplicante ruega por Cristo a Vuestra Sagrada Católica Majestad, que en aras de su oficio real se digne ofrecerle auxilio para recuperar rápidamente la buena fama de su nombre sustraída a un inocente. Pues si el obispo escribió tal infamia, que contiene la acusación de falsedad, y ésto alegando en falso la Divina Escritura, es digno sin duda de cese canónico, cese que no trata de evitar, si se puede demostrar de forma palmaria. Si no lo escribió, es de justicia que la Sagrada Católica Majestad ofrezca su patrocinio a un inocente, para que se le vengue rápidamente de tan manifiesta y criminal calumnia, que ha sido unida a un ultraje del nombre episcopal y a una vergonzosa mancha para la Iglesia de Cristo.

Capellán de Vuestra Sagrada Católica Majestad y peculiarmente servidor entregadísimo a todos los obsequios en Jesucristo, indigno obispo de la Iglesia de Roermond y exiliado de Cristo.

<sup>49</sup> En su comentario a Malaquías 1, 11 (*‘ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco sacrificatur et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Deus exercituum’*) Arias Montano se refiere a los sacrificios de los judíos, que eran más puros por la selección de las víctimas, mientras desde San Justino se entendía como un anuncio del sacrificio de la Eucaristía.

<sup>50</sup> Se refiere al comentario montaniano a Habacuc 1, 3 (*‘utile etiam est ut qui illa omnino praediti fuerint, aeternas in morte poenas non subeant’*), de donde se induce que es posible la salvación sin fe y sin la gracia de Dios.

<sup>51</sup> Vulg., prov., 22, 1.



[2] – [79] 06 16

**León de Castro** (Valladolid) a **Guillermo Dámaso Lindano** [Madrid]  
**16 de junio de 1579**

o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/10

Se trata de la primera carta conservada entre estos dos teólogos émulos de Montano, aunque las referencias internas hacen suponer que habían mantenido correspondencia previa. En la carta anterior de Lindano aludida aquí, el obispo de Roermond insufló ánimos al ya agotado teólogo salmantino citando una serie de nombres de ilustres teólogos que respaldaban sus planteamientos antimontanianos. Este apoyo vino muy bien a León de Castro para hacer frente a los defensores de Montano en la Corte.

La fecha de la carta hace suponer, como *terminus post quem non*, que Lindano ya había recalado en España a mediados de junio de 1579, tras su estancia en Roma. Desconocemos el lugar exacto donde se alojaba Lindano, aunque residió la mayor parte de su tiempo en Madrid, viajando en alguna ocasión a Toledo.

Wichelo Damaso Lindano episcopo ecclesiae Ruraemunden[sis] admodum illustri Chr[ist]i D[omi]ni exuli Salus et pax a Ch[rist]o Iesu.

Morbus Ophthalmiae, qui me iam duos menses afflictat cum quodam capitis dolore, ita tantum, ut ab studio auocet, mihi grauis usque adhuc  
5 erat, hoc solo nomine, quod ab studio auocaret, et ab opere quod in manibus erat, cui imponebam iam supremam manum, profecturus Madridium, ut illustrissimo Cardinali Toletano et Regio Senatui uisendum offerrem, copiamque impetrarem excudendi typis ad publicos usus, si forte e Christiana R[e] P[ublic]a esse uideretur. Nunc mihi et hoc  
10 nomine est grauior morbus, quod me retardat quo minus tuam pietatem, tuum hunc animi candorem, tuam religionem, aliaque quae in tuis litteris praeuolunt uirtutum ornamenta adire, alloqui, uenerari tam cito possim, ut coram praesens gratias agerem, quod me tuis suauissimis litteris tanta uoluptate affeceris. Quidni affeceris? Cuius pectus, uel hoc solo nomine  
15 quod ob Christum exulas, Spiritum Sanctum eius Donis credibile est reddidisse delibutum, ut undique fluat eius donis et gratia quod Deus faciat ut sit perpetuum.

Lis illa de qua litteras Hispanas scripseram, aut potius quaterniones plures Hispana lingua conscriptos ad Clarissimum et Seuerissimum  
20 Inquisitorum Regium Senatum supremum miseram, nescio quomodo nec consopita silet, nec decisa tacet. Ego, si non esset lis de re tanta, toties repulsus nec dignus habitus qui audire, mihi indixissem silentium,

A Guillermo Dámaso Lindano, obispo de la iglesia de Roermond, muy ilustre exiliado de Jesucristo nuestro Señor<sup>52</sup>, salud y paz de Jesucristo.

Una enfermedad ocular que ya me azota durante dos meses, junto con cierto dolor de cabeza tan grande que me aparta del estudio, me había agobiado hasta ahora por esta única razón, porque me apartaba del estudio y de la obra que tenía entre manos<sup>53</sup>, a la que ya le daba los últimos retoques preparado para marchar a Madrid para ofrecérsela a revisión al ilustrísimo Cardenal de Toledo<sup>54</sup> y al Consejo Real, y conseguir el permiso para imprimirla para interés público, si es que parece venir de la República Cristiana. Ahora esta enfermedad también me agobia más por esta razón, porque me retrasa que pueda de forma tan rápida presentarme, hablar y venerar tu piedad, ese candor de espíritu tuyo, tu religiosidad y las otras virtudes que relucen en tus cartas, para darte las gracias personalmente porque me hayas impresionado con tanta satisfacción en tu suavisimas cartas. ¿Por qué no impresionado? Tú cuyo pecho, incluso por esta sola razón, porque te exilias a causa de Cristo, es creíble que el Espíritu Santo lo haya recompensado impregnándolo de sus dones, para que por doquier fluya con sus dones y gracia, cosa que Dios haga que sea para siempre.

Aquella polémica sobre la que escribía cartas españolas, o mejor dicho había enviado muchos Cuadernos redactados en español al supremo ilustrísimo y severísimo Consejo Real de los inquisidores, no sé cómo ni si adormecida, guarda silencio, ni si decidida, calla.<sup>55</sup> Yo, si no se tratase de una polémica sobre un asunto tan importante, me habría impuesto silencio tras ser tantas veces rechazado y ni siquiera considerado digno

<sup>52</sup> Desde 1578 Guillermo Lindano ocupaba el cargo de asistente al trono pontifical.

<sup>53</sup> *Apologeticus pro lectione apostolica et euangelica, pro Vulgata Diui Hieronymi, pro translatione LXX uirorum, proque omni ecclesiastica lectione contra earum obtretractores, auctore Leone Castro* (Salmanticae: excudebat haeredes Mathiae Gastii, 1585), en folio. Para una completa descripción bibliográfica de esta obra cf. L. Ruiz Fidalgo, *La imprenta en Salamanca (1501-1600)*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1994), III, 1145 A y B, pp. 981-983.

<sup>54</sup> Gaspar de Quiroga y Vela, Cardenal-Arzobispo de Toledo desde 1577 a 1594.

<sup>55</sup> Creo que, con este secretismo, León de Castro se refiere, muy en su estilo y en el estilo de las acusaciones inquisitoriales de la época, a la polémica sobre la Biblia Políglota, abierta por él mismo en España desde 1574 con el principal argumento de que Arias pretendía ‘destruir la Vulgata y que no sigue la interpretación de ningún santo ni le alega sino la de los rabinos’ (carta de Francisco Salinas a Arias Montano, 13 de julio de 1574, en Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, pp. 328-329). La primera acusación oficial de Castro fue presentada hacia final de 1574, aunque fue atajada por mano de Zayas. Tras fracasar en la corte, donde proliferaban los protectores de Montano, Castro se decidió a llevar el asunto a la Inquisición en varias ocasiones: sobre la requisitoria del 9 de noviembre de 1576 cf. P.J. Conde, ‘Montano y la cuestión bíblica de su tiempo’, en *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* (1928), p. 437. El padre Juan de Mariana anunció sus conclusiones salomónicas sobre la causa de la Políglota en agosto de 1577 (cf. Rekers, *Arias Montano* [Madrid, 1973], pp. 89-99). Pero la polémica volvió a surgir a flote en 1579 y persiguió a Montano toda su vida.

- etsi in eo magna mea res ageretur. Agitur res Ecclesiae sanctae quam impia Synagoga quorumdam ex nostris ope adiuta oppugnat indignissime  
 25 contra omne ius et aequum. Ei rei uitam impendere et super impendere necesse est, si Christianus esse et dici uolo. De ea re propediem, si Deus coeptis faueat, pluribus Madridii confabulabimur. Cum enim eo peruenero, si Deus id dederit, nihil prius apud me erit quam tuam dominationem adire, et tuae amplitudini rerum mearum rationem reddere.
- 30 Illud uero, uir perquam illustris et reuerendissime, in tuis litteris fecit, ut paene exilirem gaudio, quod intellexi uiros clarissimos et maxime illustres Ecclesiae sanctae causam suscepisse et eam tueri, sub quorum signis ego strenuus miles, usque ad ultimum spiritum libens decertabo. Angebar animi et moerore conficiebar, quod uidebam me omni praesidio  
 35 destitutum, tot aduersariis undique cinctum, ut eorum numerus non posset iniri, et mihi haec maxima cura nunc ituro Madridium, quod solus, sine ullo praesidio certamen subirem aduersum homines, qui omnium principum gratia et fauore nituntur, ut nisi mihi adderet animum quod pro Deo et eius | sancta ecclesia dimicandum est, pro qua mille pestes  
 40 oppetere permagnificum est et peramplum, haec una res faceret ut referrem pedem et conscriptas de hac causa chartas concerperem. Nunc tu, uir insignis, magnos addidisti animos, cum mihi nominasti uiros clarissimos, quos habeo duces, sub quorum signis, Deo bene iuuante, pugnabo foelicissime.
- 45 Commentaria mea in Esaiam tibi probari mirum in modum delector. Non cudo Commentaria in Hieremiam, sed in duodecim P[rophe]tas, quos, iuxta antiquorum interpretationem, de Christo Domino explano. Et in manibus nunc est Apologeticus in quinque libros distributus, pro lectione apostolica et euang[elic]a, proque omni ecclesiastica lectione, cui excu-  
 50 dendo utinam sumptus suppetat. Hunc exire in lucem uellem, et certum

de que se me oyera, aunque en este asunto se tratara un gran asunto de mi interés. Se trata de un asunto de la Santa Iglesia que la impía sinagoga con la ayuda de algunos de los nuestros ataca de forma indigna contra todo derecho y equidad. Y es necesario consagrar la vida a este asunto y más que consagrarla, si quiero ser y ser llamado cristiano. Sobre este asunto, en pocos días, si Dios favorece mis planes, hablaremos más prolijamente en Madrid. Pues cuando haya llegado allí, si Dios me lo permite, nada será más importante para mí que visitar a tu señoría y dar cuenta de mis asuntos a tu ilustre señoría.

Pero lo que hizo en tu carta que casi rebosara de gozo, señor ilustrísimo y reverendísimo, fue saber que conocidísimos señores y muy ilustres han asumido la causa de la Santa Iglesia y la defienden, bajo cuyas insignias lucharé gustosamente como un valiente soldado hasta el último hálito de mi vida. Me angustiaba y entristecía verme destituido de toda defensa y rodeado por doquier de tantos adversarios que ni siquiera podía calcularse su número, y esta grandísima preocupación me asaltó a punto de marchar hacia Madrid, la de emprender solo sin ninguna defensa la lucha contra hombres que se resplandecen con la gracia y el favor de todos los principales, de modo que a menos que aumentase mi valor el hecho de que hay que luchar por Dios y su santa iglesia, por la que es más que estupendo e importante ir al encuentro de mil pestes, esto único haría que retrocediera y rompiera las cartas escritas sobre esta causa. Ahora tú, señor insigne, me insuflaste un gran ánimo, cuando me nombraste a señores ilustrísimos a los que tengo como jefes, bajo cuyas insignias, si Dios me ayuda bien, lucharé con gran felicidad.<sup>56</sup>

Me alegro muchísimo de que hayas aprobado mis comentarios sobre Isaías.<sup>57</sup> No imprimo los comentarios sobre Jeremías, sino sobre los doce Profetas, que, según la interpretación de los antiguos, explico sobre Cristo nuestro Señor.<sup>58</sup> Y ahora tengo entre manos el Apologético distribuido en cinco libros, según la lectura apostólica y evangélica y según toda lectura eclesiástica, para imprimir el cual i ojalá tenga dinero suficiente. Quisiera que éste viera la luz, y está resuelto pedir mucho dinero prestado para que

<sup>56</sup> En el bando neerlandés, estos nombres aludidos son Juan Molano, Enrique de Grave y Jacobo Jansonio.

<sup>57</sup> *Commentaria in Esaiam prophetam, ex sacris scriptoribus graecis et latinis confecta, aduersus aliquot commentaria et interpretationes quasdam ex Rabinorum Scriniis compilatas, auctore Leone Castro* (Salmanticae: excudebat Mathias Gasthius, 1570). Para una descripción bibliográfica completa de la obra cf. Ruiz Fidalgo, *La imprenta en Salamanca*, II, n° 732, pp. 669-671.

<sup>58</sup> Los próximos comentarios bíblicos de Castro se reducen al profeta Oseas: *Commentaria in Oseam prophetam* (Salmanticae, Excudebant haeredes Matthiae Gastii, 1586). Cf. Ruiz Fidalgo, *La imprenta en Salamanca*, III, n°. 1181, pp. 1008-1009.

est multum facere aeris alieni ut prodeat in publicum. Caetera, quando Deus dederit unde excudi typis possint, edenda curabo, si uita suppetet.

Stellam Messiae, et Nicolaum Liranum non habeo, utinam mihi eorum esset copia, ad tuam dominationem transmitterem libentissime. Neque

- 55 mihi notum est quid Liranus scribat in locum Hieremiae 33<sup>m</sup>. Si sententia intra pauca uerba conclusa ad me posset transmitti, gratissimum mihi esset et magni muneris loco.

Si Coloniensis ille, qui sese argumenta in Iudaizantes mea dissoluere posse gloriatur, id faceret, rem faceret mihi pergratam. Peterem ego

- 60 Madridium, ut publice in omnium conspectu ad genua acciderem his, quibus aduersor, et humili obtestatione ueniam peterem, nec enim mihi est in animo iram Dei aduersum me contrahere neque hominum offensionem incurrere, qui homo sum senex, aetate affecta. Sed nemo diluet argumenta nostra, nisi impiam Iudaeorum causam se putat posse ostendere  
65 esse piam, quod apud Chr[isti]anos homines numquam faciet, neque unus ille locus est Psalmi 44<sup>i</sup>. Sunt quamplurimi eiusdem notae loci apostolici et euangelici et ecclesiastici, quibus refertus est Apologeticus, quem ego si ius fecerit mihi Regius Senatus excudendi, excudere paro.

Dulcedo quaedam loquendi cum tua amplitudine, uir clarissime, me  
70 longius euexit quam par erat. Vt pro una epistola unum uolumen tibi rescribam, ueniam dabis, quando me tuis litteris sanctissimis et eruditissimis tui amore ita inflammasti, ut modum epistolae tenere non potuerim.

Illud exciderat mihi iamdiu notum fuisse Cardinalem Reuerendiss[imum]  
75 Sirletum, studiosorum patronum esse humanissimum. Nam de Hispaniarum rege Philippo inuictissimo notum omnibus est, solum Catholicorum omnium esse perfugium. Vale, uir amplissime et magis insignis, quod Christi nomine exulas, quam si Cardinalitio Galero et splendidissimis opibus undique fulgeres. Iterum Vale. Vallisoleti. 15 Calendas Iulias.

- 80 [*Obsignatum*] Tui nominis obseruantissimus, Leo Castrus.

se publique. Los demás escritos, cuando Dios haya concedido de donde puedan imprimirse, me encargaré de que vean la luz, si estoy vivo.

La Estrella del Mesías y a Nicolás De Lira no los tengo, ojalá tuviera copia de éstos, con mucho gusto lo enviaría a tu señoría.<sup>59</sup> Y no conozco qué escribe de Lira en el lugar de Jeremías 33. Si se me puede enviar la opinión resumida en unas pocas palabras, se lo agradecería muchísimo como un gran regalo.

Si aquel coloniense que se ufana de poder disolver mis argumentos contra los judaizantes lo hiciera, me haría un gran favor, yo marcharía a Madrid para públicamente en presencia de todos postrarme ante las rodillas de éstos con los que polemizo y pedirles perdón con humilde súplica, pues no tengo intención de contraer la ira de Dios contra mí ni de incurrir en ofensa de los hombres, yo que soy un hombre anciano de edad debilitada. Pero nadie diluirá mis argumentos, a menos que piense que la impía causa de los judíos puede demostrar que es pía, cosa que nunca hará entre los hombres cristianos, ni aquél lugar del salmo 44 es el único.<sup>60</sup> Son muchísimos los lugares apostólicos y evangélicos y eclesiásticos de la misma marca, de los que está colmado el Apologético, que si aquel Consejo Real me diera el derecho de imprimir, me dispongo a imprimir.

Cierto placer de hablar con tu nobleza, muy ilustre señor, me llevó más lejos de lo que era oportuno. Me perdonarás que a cambio de una carta te escriba un libro, puesto que me inflamaste tanto con tus cartas santísimas y eruditísimas con el amor hacia ti que no he podido mantener la medida de una carta.

Se me había pasado aquello, que ya hace tiempo fue sabido que el reverendísimo cardenal Sirleto es patrón humanísimo de los estudiosos. Pues del rey invictísimo de las Españas Felipe es de todos conocido que es el único asilo de todos los católicos. Adiós, señor nobilísimo, y más insigne, puesto que te exilias en nombre de Cristo, que si brillaras con el galero cardenalicio y con esplendidos recursos. Adiós otra vez. Valladolid. El día 15 antes de las calendas de julio.

[Firmado] Muy servidor de tu nombre, León de Castro.

<sup>59</sup> La obra cabalística *Stella Messiae*, del dominico Pedro Schwarz (Nigri) (1434-1483), vio la luz en Colonia en 1475; cf. K.A. Kottman, *Law and Apocalypse: The Moral Thought of Luis de León (1527?-1591)* (La Haya, 1972), p. 30; Nicolás de Lira, escriturista franciscano de los siglos XIII y XIV cuya obra clásica son los siete tomos intitulados *Postillae siue commentarium in uniuersa Biblia* (Roma, 1471-1472). Cf. H. Labrosse, ‘Biographie et oeuvres de Nicolas de Lyre’, *Études franciscaines*, 16-17 (1906-1907), 19 (1908); 35 (1923).

<sup>60</sup> Para comprender este párrafo sobre el defensor coloniense de Montano (Pedro Ximénez) y la polémica del salmo 44 remito a la carta 9 de este artículo, líneas 33-38.

[3] – [79] 08 28

**León de Castro** (Valladolid) a **Guillermo Dámaso Lindano** [Madrid]  
**28 de agosto de [1579]**

o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/11

Esta carta no contiene el año en que fue escrita, aunque conjeturamos 1579 porque León avanza el próximo encuentro con Lindano en Madrid y habla de la finalización del *Apologeticus*, hechos que también son referidos en la carta anterior de junio de 1579.

Destacables en este documento son las nuevas referencias a una frecuente correspondencia entre León de Castro y Lindano, de la que hemos localizado sólo los tres documentos que publicamos en este artículo. La carta se escribe pocos días antes de que Castro partiera a Madrid a entrevistarse con Lindano, dos meses después de la llegada de éste a España. El encuentro pudo tener lugar a principios de septiembre, poco días antes de que Lindano se viera cara a cara con el mismo Montano.

Salus et pax a Chr[ist]o Iesu.

Redditae sunt mihi litterae tuae, uir perquam illustris et reuerendissime, et acceperam priores a tua amplitudine litteras, quibus non rescripsi, quod isthuc iam adproperabam. Habebam amanuenses duos, qui

5 Apologeticum meum pro lectione ecclesiastica contra Iudaizantes describerent, commentarios in prophetas, aliquot non curabam describendos quod excudendis sumptus non suppetebat. Apologeticus si typis mandandus est, multum faciat aeris alieni necesse est. Dum haec mecum tracto et Apologeticum typis excudere destino, etiam si quam diu uixero

10 in aere alieno sum futurus, amanuensis alter qui Apologeticum describebat mihi se ad suos contulit. Causatus se necessitate cogi. Alter paucos post dies in morbum incidit, et ego senex per aliquot dies non belle habebam prae animi aegritudine, opinor, quod in fine operis illa me calamitas excoeperat. Alioqui iam pridem ad tuam dominationem conuolassem pro epistola. Reualuit amanuensis et ego ualeo, est Deo gratia. Et

15 adproperamus uterque, utinam ne quid accidat quod nostram operam inturbet. Si uolet Deus tuam dominationem propediem uidebo, si modo non accidat mihi sors iniqua, ut ad tuos aduoles tuas oues curaturus, priusquam isthuc eo. Quod si accidat feram perdolenter, quod iudicium tuum, amplissime praesul, de hoc opere quod paro excudere audissime expectabam, non quod credam uulgo fore plausibile, sed quod ut parentes solent liberos in senectute sibi natos ardentem amare, ita ego hoc opus unice charum habeo, expectabam tuae dominationis de eo iudicium.

20 Vtinam me non fallat spes. Ego contendam quam potero breui isthuc ire.

Salud y paz de Cristo Jesús.

Me han entregado tu carta, señor ilustrísimo y reverendísimo, y había recibido la carta anterior de tu nobleza, a las que no respondí, puesto que ya marchaba hacia ahí. Tenía dos amanuenses para copiar mi Apologético en favor de la lectura eclesiástica contra los judaizantes.<sup>61</sup> Los comentarios sobre algunos profetas no me preocupaba de copiarlos porque no había dinero para imprimirlos.<sup>62</sup> El Apologético, si se ha de mandar a la imprenta, es necesario que me haga de muchas deudas. Mientras me encargo de estos asuntos y destino el Apologético a la imprenta, aunque el tiempo que viva voy a deber dinero, uno de los amanuenses que copiaba el Apologético se me fue con los suyos, alegando que se vio obligado por necesidad. El segundo pocos días después cayó enfermo, y yo, anciano, por algunos días no me encontraba bien debido, según creo, a una enfermedad anímica, puesto que aquella calamidad me había sucedido al fin de la obra. De lo contrario ya hace tiempo habría volado hacia tu señoría en vez de una carta. Se recuperó el amanuense y yo estoy bien, es gracias a Dios. Y ambos nos damos prisa, no sea que suceda algo que interrumpa nuestra obra. Si Dios quiere veré a tu señoría dentro de poco, si no me sucede la mala suerte de que vuelas a los tuyos para preocuparte de tus ovejas antes de que yo vaya ahí. Cosa que si sucede soportaré con gran dolor, puesto que esperaba con avidez tu juicio, nobilísimo obispo, sobre esta obra que me dispongo a imprimir, no porque crea que fuera plausible para el vulgo, sino porque como los padres suelen amar con ardor a sus hijos nacidos ya en la senectud, así yo tengo cariño por esta obra, esperaba el juicio de tu señoría sobre ella, ojalá no me engañe mi esperanza. Yo intentaré con todas mis fuerzas ir ahí en breve.

<sup>61</sup> *Apologeticus pro lectione apostolica et euangelica, pro Vulgata Diui Hieronymi, pro translatione LXX uirorum, proque omni ecclesiastica lectione contra earum obtrectatores, authore Leone Castro* (Salmanticae: excudebat haeredes Mathiae Gastii, 1585).

<sup>62</sup> Finalmente, sólo verán la luz los comentarios al profeta Oseas en 1586. Cf. carta nº 2, nota 58.



25 Tu, uir amplissime, inter tuas oues apud Deum me fac tuis precibus commendatum, et quod propediem te uisurum spero, finem scribendi faciam. Datum Valisoleti Quinto Calendas septembris.

[*Leonis Castri manu:*] Vale, praesul, Christi exul grauissime. Cliens tibi deditissimus.

30 [*Obsignatum:*] Leo Castrus.

Tú, señor nobilísimo, entre tus ovejas encomiéndame a Dios con tus oraciones y puesto que espero verte en pocos días, pondré fin a mi escrito. Dado en Valladolid, el día quinto ante de las calendas de septiembre.

Adiós, eminente obispo y exiliado de Cristo.

[*Firmado*] Cliente muy obligado a ti,

[*De mano de León de Castro*] León de Castro.

[4] – [79 09 00]

**León de Castro** [Madrid] a **Guillermo Dámaso Lindano** [Madrid]  
[Septiembre de 1579]

o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/12

Breve billete entregado en mano a Lindano por un criado de León de Castro, cuya frágil salud sigue impidiéndole llevar una vida normal. Conjeturamos que la fecha de esta comunicación es septiembre de 1579, pues a finales de agosto Castro anunciaba que en unos días viajaría a Madrid para visitar a Lindano.

Iesus – Maria

Ego his diebus aliquot, praesul clarissime, grauedine laboraui, nec  
pedem domo extuli aliquot diebus. Tum die dominica perquisiui num  
Toleto remeasses nec redieras. Nunc hunc puerum ad tuam dominatio-  
5 nem mitto ut sciam ego ex te num ociosus sis et operam mihi possis  
dare. Alioqui tibi molestus esse nolo. Tantum te uolo uisere et salutare.  
Vale, praesul amplissime.

Tibi deuotissimus.

[*Obsignatum:*] Leo Castrus.

Jesús – María.

Yo estuve enfermo algunos de estos días, ilustrísimo obispo, y ni siquiera puse el pie fuera de casa por unos días. El domingo pregunté si habías ido de nuevo a Toledo y no habías regresado. Ahora envío a este niño a tu señoría para saber por ti mismo si estás libre y puedes atenderme. De lo contrario no quiero suponer para ti ninguna molestia. Sólo quiero visitarte y saludarte.<sup>63</sup> Adiós, nobilísimo obispo.

Devotísimo tuyo.

[*Firmado*] León de Castro.

<sup>63</sup> Desconocemos si la visita que se concierta con este billete es la primera o ya se habían visto antes ambos teólogos en los días precedentes. Me inclino a pensar más en esta segunda posibilidad por el tono general de la nota.

[5] – 79 09 21

**Arias Montano [El Escorial] a Guillermo Dámaso Lindano [Madrid]  
21 de septiembre de 1579**

o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/3

Este documento fue publicado por vez primera en mi artículo ‘La polémica Arias Montano-Wilhelmus Lindanus’, pp. 157-158. Lo reeditamos a continuación por dos razones: primero para su estudio en el contexto de la nueva documentación inédita localizada en torno a la polémica entre los dos teólogos; en segundo lugar, porque al final de la carta se incluye la retractación de Montano de la que se habla en el billete, hasta hoy inédita. En concreto lo que se nos ha conservado es una copia del prefacio escrito por Arias Montano más las adiciones de Lindano, que se han escrito al margen. El original montaniano debió de escribirse entre el 8 de septiembre de 1579, fecha de la llegada de Montano a El Escorial, y el 21 de septiembre del mismo año, día en que Montano envía su carta junto con la retractación. Suponemos que el obispo de Roermond enviaría posteriormente a Montano este escrito para que tuviera en consideración sus correcciones y sugerencias. Un notario certifica al final del escrito que la copia del prefacio concuerda con el original de Montano.

[*Lindani manu:*] Recepta 26 septem[bris].

[*Montani manu:*] D[omino] Lindano Ruremundensi episcopo Arias Montanus s[alutem] p[lurimam].

Qua die iussus a dignitate tua sum apud Ill[ustrissi]mum Cardinalem  
 5 una esse, ex reginae nostrae imperio domo prodire non potui, apud  
 quam officium faciendum mihi fuit. Pridie uero, eadem nocte qua digni-  
 tatem tuam gaudens consalutaueram, praefationis nostrae in primum  
 edendum graue opus caput ad meum de te iudicium atque officium erga  
 te pertinens exaravi, quod ita, ut ex incude prodierat, nunc mitto atque  
 10 iudicio correctionique isti permitto mihi quamprimum remittendum  
 cum tua censura. Vnum uero a dignitate tua obnixè postulo, ne cuique  
 Hispanorum ante uel ostendas uel de hac re uerbum facias quam a me  
 editum euulgatumque fuerit, quod quoniam e re tua esse scio ut qui  
 nostrorum ingenia nouerim, ideo admonendum duxi. Vale, uir praesul-  
 15 que pientiss[ime], et si qua in re nobis officioque nostro uti posse intel-  
 lexeris, id gratissimum nobis fore tibi persuade. Ex hoc Regio Coenobio  
 D[iui] Laurentii, 21 settembr[is] 1579.

8 caput: capud o    10 isti mut. o pro tuae    13 scio corr. o pro sciam    17 in ima  
 pagina Lindanus annotauit: a α utpote in quo ille numquam scripserit se illud hemisti-  
 chion ‘Regnauit a ligno Deus’ legisse b B immo abstulisse euulsisse [ἀφῆκαν] c γ integre  
 conseruatum esse quod nos scripsisse unquam uti memoria lapsi putabam. δ in ullis  
 hebraicis, non

[*De mano de Lindano:*] Recibida el 26 de septiembre.

[*De mano de Montano:*]: Arias Montano saluda cordialmente al obispo de Roermond Guillermo Lindano.

El día en que me ordenó tu dignidad que nos reuniéramos en casa del ilustrísimo cardenal<sup>64</sup>, por orden de nuestra reina<sup>65</sup> no pude salir de casa, en la que tuve que realizar un servicio. Pero el día antes, la misma noche en que había saludado con gozo a tu dignidad, escribí un capítulo de nuestro prefacio a la primera obra seria que vamos a publicar, capítulo que trata de mi opinión sobre ti y de mi servicio hacia ti, el cual, tal y como había salido del yunque, ahora te lo envío y lo dejo a tu opinión y corrección para que me lo devuelvas con tu censura.<sup>66</sup> Mas sólo pido encarecidamente a tu dignidad una cosa, que ni se lo muestres a ningún español ni que digas una palabra de este asunto antes de que lo haya editado y publicado, cosa que, pues sé que es de tu estilo, pensé que había que advertírtelo, como quien conozco la forma de ser de mis paisanos. Adiós, señor y prelado piadosísimo, y si sabes que puedes usar de nosotros y nuestro servicio en algún asunto, convéncete de que lo haremos con sumo gusto. Desde este Monasterio Real de San Lorenzo, 21 de septiembre de 1579.

<sup>64</sup> Sobre la entrevista que Montano mantuvo con Lindano en 1579, escribe el sabio español a Esteban de Salazar, monje cartujo, el día 4 de febrero de 1594: ‘Y estando yo una tarde en mi celda en San Lorenzo, entró el buen obispo, que el Cardenal de Granvela le dijo que me hablase, y hallaría que yo no le era enemigo, como él andaba publicando’ (en Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, p. 192). El cardenal aludido en esta carta puede identificarse, por tanto, con Antonio Perrenot, cardenal de Granvela (Ormans, 20 de agosto 1517-Madrid, 21 de septiembre, 1586), obispo de Arras en 1543, canceller de Carlos V, arzobispo de Malinas en 1560, virrey de Nápoles en 1571 y primer ministro de Felipe II en los últimos años de su vida. Cf. H. De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, III, 350-355; *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* (Bruselas, 1886-), VIII, cols. 197-237; *Biografische Index van de Benelux*, 4 vols (Múnich, 1997), II, 552.

<sup>65</sup> Ana de Austria († 26 octubre 1580), cuarta esposa de Felipe II. Fue hija de Maximiliano II, primo del rey de España, y de María de Austria, su hermana.

<sup>66</sup> Escrito montaniano y censura de Lindano que podemos leer en documento que se edita a continuación.

[*Lindani manu*]

Sed qualia huiusmodi de studiis laboribusque nostris iudicia fuerint, cum ea Ecclesiae Sanctae atque Catholicae arbitrio relinquamus, parum admodum laboramus. Illud nos tamen multis nominibus male habet, quod nonnulli sinistra scriptorum meorum interpretatione optimorum  
 5 piissimorumque uirorum quos charos habeo, quibusque me charum esse noui, gratiam et beneuolentiam abalienare studuerint, ut qui ea quae aliquando de Psalterii Anglicani corrupta scriptura cum de exemplarium quorundam ratione atque iudicio scriberemus, indicabamus, eo prauitatis inflexerint, ut optimum doctissimum magnae autoritatis uirum, nobis  
 10 cum praecipuis aetatis nostrae pastoribus suscipiendum et perpetuo alias officio cultum, atque etiam colendum, mendatii insimulatum uel notatum intellexerint. His nos christianae pietatis plenam sanamque mentem optamus et persuasum uolumus nihil minus eo loco a nobis fuisse curatum, quam ut optimi praesulis dignitati autoritatieque detrahe-  
 15 retur, sed ut minima illi exemplari | fides deinceps haberetur. Quem cum aliter de exemplari illo sentire postea intellexissemus, utpote in quo ille numquam scripserit se illud hemistychion 'regnauit a ligno Deus' legisse, admonitionem illam mutantem, locum quem non ab eodem exemplari illo defensum, non satis recte dixeramus, non in illo exemplari sed alibi lec-  
 20 tum fuisse retulimus. Hoc est apud Iustinum Martyrem, qui ex antiquis graecis scriptoribus illius sententiae praecipuus autor est, non qui hebraeos in hebraicis exemplaribus, sed in graecis codicibus locum illum 'regnauit a ligno Deus' mutasse immo abstulisse dicat. Huiusmodi namque nostra fuit mens cum in illa admonitionis nostrae correctione scribe-  
 25 remus illum non in Anglicano codice sed alibi locum mutatum legisse atque in eodem Anglicano non dixisse integre conseruatum extare. Nam neque illum apud alios autores ex antiquis reperisse, neque non de

3 tamen [nos] c    4 interpretatione [non] c    9 etiam †.† c    14 utpote... legisse: *post intellexissemus addidit c in sinistro margine*    15 exemplari [scrip.] c  
 18 immo abstulisse: *post mutasse addidit c in sinistro margine*    20 *post legisse addidit c in sinistro margine*: †atque† in eodem Anglicano non dixisse integre conseruatum extare.

[*De mano de Lindano:*]

Pero de qué opiniones de este tipo ha habido sobre nuestros estudios y esfuerzos, puesto que los dejamos al juicio de la santa y católica iglesia, muy poco nos preocupamos. No obstante aquello nos tiene mal por muchas razones, que algunos se afanaron con una mala interpretación de mis escritos por quitarme la gracia y la benevolencia de los mejores y más piadosos señores, a los que quiero y por los que sé que yo era querido, de modo que aquéllos, lo que declarábamos en su día sobre la escritura corrupta del Salterio inglés al escribir acerca de la valoración y juicio de algunos ejemplares, lo modificaron con tal grado de maldad que entendieron que se marcaba y acusaba falsamente de mentiroso a un óptimo, doctísimo señor de máxima autoridad, que yo considero entre los principales pastores de nuestra época y, por lo demás, reverencio con perpetuo oficio e incluso admiro.<sup>67</sup> Con estas palabras nosotros deseamos una mente sana y llena de piedad cristiana, y queremos que quede persuadido de que ni mucho menos pretendimos en ese lugar restar autoridad a la dignidad del óptimo obispo, sino que se prestara en adelante la menor confianza al ejemplar. Habiendo sabido después que aquél tenía otro parecer de ese ejemplar<sup>68</sup>, puesto que en ese ejemplar él nunca había escrito que él hubiera leído el hemistiquio ‘Reinó Dios desde la cruz’, cambiando aquella admonición, referimos que el lugar que habíamos dicho de forma poco correcta que él había defendido en aquel mismo ejemplar, no había sido leído en aquel ejemplar, sino en otro sitio.<sup>69</sup> Esto es, en el Mártir Justino, que entre los escritores griegos antiguos de esa opinión es el principal autor no que diga que los hebreos han cambiado y hasta suprimido aquel lugar ‘reinó desde la cruz Dios’ en los ejemplares hebreos, sino en los códices griegos. De tal clase fue, pues, nuestra intención al escribir en la corrección de nuestra admonición que aquél no había leído el lugar cambiado en el código anglicano, sino en otro lugar, y que no había dicho que en ese mismo código anglicano estuviera conservado de forma completa. Pues no había sido adecuado ni que él lo

<sup>67</sup> Se alude aquí, pero no se cita, a Guillermo Dámaso Lindano, de la misma forma que en su ‘Animaduersio’ también alude Montano al obispo, sin citarlo de forma expresa.

<sup>68</sup> En una primera retractación, Montano sólo admitió que Lindano había visto con sus propios ojos el ejemplar, cosa de la que dudaba en su ‘Animaduersio’.

<sup>69</sup> Esta segunda retractación habría que situarla hacia la primavera de 1573, pues en carta de Lindano a Montano del 10 de abril de 1573 se hace referencia a una carta de retractación de Montano con fecha del 13 de febrero del mismo año. Cf. Macías, *La Biblia Políglota*, p. 301.



illo aliter sensisse, neque alios scripta nostra aliter interpretatos esse par fuerat.

[*Post scriptum, alia manu:*]

- 30 Post diligentem collationem inuenta est haec copia concordare cum suo originali quod D[ominus] D[ominus] Arias Montanus sua manu propria scriptum una cum suis I[te]ris ad R[eu]erendissim]um D[omin]um Lindanum ex Regio Coenobio D[iui] Laurentii XXI septembris anno 1579 miserat. Quod idem autographum D[omini] D[omini] Ariae
- 35 Montani R[eu]erendissim]us D[ominus] Lindanus postea aliquot locis in margine per I[te]ras  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  insertas castigauit in hunc modum:  $\alpha$  utpote in quo ille numquam scripserit se illud hemistichion ‘regnauit a ligno Deus’ legisse;  $\beta$  immo abstulisse;  $\gamma$  atque in eodem Anglicano non dixisse integre conseruatum extare. Per me Eugenium Gherinx
- 40 V[triusque] I[uris] L[icenciatum] et sacris ap[osto]lica et im[peria]li auct[oritatu]s Notarium.

haya encontrado entre otros autores de los antiguos, ni que nosotros hayamos tenido otra opinión sobre él, ni que otros hayan interpretado nuestros escritos de otra manera.

[*Posdata, de otra mano:*]

Después de un cuidadoso cotejo se encuentra que esta copia concuerda con su original, que el señor Arias Montano escrito de su propia mano había enviado al reverendísimo obispo Lindano con su carta desde el Monasterio de San Lorenzo el 21 de septiembre de 1579. Que el mismo autógrafo del señor Arias Montano el reverendísimo señor Lindano después corrigió en algunos lugares por medio de la inserción de las letras  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  de la siguiente manera:  $\alpha$  puesto que en ese ejemplar él nunca había escrito haber leído el hemistiquio ‘Reinó Dios desde la cruz’;  $\beta$  y hasta suprimido;  $\gamma$  y que no había dicho que en ese mismo códice anglicano estuviera conservado de forma completa. Por mí, Eugenio Gherinx, Licenciado en Ambos Derechos y Notario por las autoridades apostólica e imperial.

[6] – 84 06 19

**Juan Molano** [Lovaina] a **Guillermo Dámaso Lindano** [Roermond]  
**19 de junio de 1584**

o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/4

Esta breve nota de Molano venía acompañada de varios documentos, entre los que interesa especialmente una censura a una obra de Arias Montano y la respuesta de éste. Estos dos documentos se han conservado en la misma carpeta 3714 de los Archivos Generales de la Biblioteca Real, y están referidos a las *Elucidationes in quatuor euangelia* (Amberes, 1575).

S[alutem] P[lurimam].

R[euerendissi]me in Christo D[omi]ne. Mitto tandem thesim de ecclesia et censuram quandam in Ariam cum eius responsione. Quod in primum Abacuc scripsit et in 2<sup>a</sup> editione non emendauit, omni uenia, meo  
 5 iudicio, caret, post seriam multorum admonitionem.

Praedinium et Wesselum Guicciardinus commendauit sibi obtrusos, scripta eorum, ut arbitror, ignorans.

D[ominus] Grauius iuit ad aquas Spadanas et de historia sua Africana parum cogitat. Ad diem 29 augusti erit aula magistralis pastoris  
 10 S. Iacobi Ethiri praesidis ad Leidam et patris Standonicorum. Bene uale, R[euerendissi]me D[omi]ne. Louanii 1584. 9 Iunii.

R[euerendissi]mae P[aternitatis] V[estrae] seruus, Ioh[annes] Molanus.

Un cordial saludo:

Señor Reverendísimo en Cristo. Te envío finalmente la tesis sobre la Iglesia y cierta censura sobre Arias con su respuesta.<sup>70</sup> Lo que escribí primeramente de Habacuc y no enmendó en la segunda edición<sup>71</sup>, carece, a mi juicio, de todo perdón, después de la seria advertencia de muchos.

Guicciardino<sup>72</sup> recomendó a Praedinio<sup>73</sup> y Wessel<sup>74</sup>, autores impuestos por él mismo, ignorando, según creo, sus escritos.

El señor Gravio<sup>75</sup> se marchó a Spa y poco piensa de su historia africana. El día 29 de agosto habrá una clase magistral del pastor de Santiago Ethiro presidente en Leiden y padre de los Standonicos. Adiós, reverendísimo señor. Lovaina 1584. 9 de junio.

Al servicio de vuestra reverendísima paternidad, Juan Molano.

<sup>70</sup> Documentos conservados en la misma carpeta 3714 de los Archivos Generales de la Biblioteca Real. Se refieren a las *Elucidationes in quatuor euangelia, Mathaei, Marci, Lucae et Ioannis* (Antuerpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, M.D.LXXV, en 4°).

<sup>71</sup> Se refiere a los *Commentaria in duodecim Prophetas* (Antuerpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, M.D.LXXI, en 4°, reeditados en 1583).

<sup>72</sup> Luis Guicciardini (Florencia, 19 agosto 1521-Amberes, marzo 1589). Sale de Italia en 1538 hacia Lyon, si bien residió la mayor parte de su vida en Bélgica, a la que dedicó su obra más importante, la *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* (1567), una profunda investigación física, social y política de aquella región que fue reeditada y traducida en muchas lenguas. Desde 1542 reside en Amberes como agente de los principales negociantes florentinos. Su última obra, los *Préceptes et sentences les plus remarquables en matière politique* aparece en 1585 en los talleres de Plantino. Cf. *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, VIII (1884-1885), cols. 420-428; R. H. Touwaide, ‘Les éditions belges de la Description des Pays-Bas par Lodouico Guicciardini. Analyse iconographique et typographique’, *De Gulden Passer*, 43 (1965), 135-148, *De Gulden Passer*, 48 (1970), 40-57, *De Gulden Passer*, 48 (1970), 58-83, *De Gulden Passer*, 49 (1971), 29-48, *De Gulden Passer*, 49 (1971), 49-62.

<sup>73</sup> Renier Praedinius (1509-18 abril 1559), nacido en Winsum, cerca de Groningen, lo que le sugirió el nombre de Praedinius, ‘natus in praediis’. Sus *Opera* fueron editadas de forma póstuma en 1563. Cf. De Vocht, *History*, III, 252-257.

<sup>74</sup> Sobre el teólogo neerlandés Wessel Gansfoort (Groninga c. 1420-4 oct. 1489) cf. De Vocht, *History*, I, 139-148.

<sup>75</sup> Enriqué de Grave (Lovaina, 1536 - Roma, 2 abril 1591). Cf. nota 32.

[7] – 86 04 02

**Enrique de Grave [Lovaina] a Guillermo Dámaso Lindano [Roermond]  
2 de abril de 1586**

o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/7

Dos meses antes de esta carta, Lindano había pedido a de Grave su parecer sobre los dos pasajes conflictivos de los *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas montanianos*, Habacuc y Malaquías. Con fecha de 10 de marzo de 1586 devuelve de Grave una carta en la que expresa su parecer negativo con estos pasajes. En la correspondencia de Cristóbal Plantino hallamos referencias a este comercio epistolar entre Lindano y Gravius: el ejemplar de los *Prophetas* que de Grave dice haber esperado desde Amberes en su carta de marzo de 1586 era de la primera edición. Plantino envía el 12 de abril de 1586 un ejemplar corregido por la mano de Montano, demostrando que la segunda edición era bien distinta a la primera (cf. A. Dávila, *Benito Arias Montano. Correspondencia*, n° 83 09 22, líneas 55-56).

[Lindani manu:] R[ecep]ta 21 aprilis 86.

[Grauii manu:] S[alutem] P[lurimam], R[euerendissi]me in Chr[ist]o Pater. Quod serius aliquanto quam ipse uelim ad P[aternalit]is V[est]rae litteras respondeam, fecit quod D[omini] Ariae commentarius expectan-  
5 dus ab Antuerpia nobis fuit, quem uidisse me aliquando memineram, sed legisse in eo prope nihil. Quare eorum a R[euerenda] P[aternalitate] V[est]ra notatum diligenter excussimus, qui sane non potuit non uehementer displicere. Et si quidem diceretur, philosophicam illam iustitiam hactenus utilem esse, ut qui ea praediti sint poenas non subeant respondentis legis  
10 praeuaricationi debitas, atque ita ut mitior damnatio sit, tolerabilis, imo uera sententia ea foret. At quando absolute pronuntiatur eo ualere, ut ab aeternis poenis liberet, nimis hoc absurdum est ac intolerabile. Nam et originale p[ro]p[ri]et[at]u[m] tacite hic negatur, et uitandi peccatum omne mortale etiam in gentili homine possibilitas agnoscitur. Sed et medius  
15 locus inter caelum ac gehennam cum Pelagio necessario statuitur. Quare miramur non fuisse hunc locum, praesertim cum tam grauiter admonitus sit, ab authore in altera editione correctum: nisi fortasse mendax recognitionis inscriptio est, qua de re ad Plantinum scripsi, sed responsum necdum accepi. Plura ne sint in hoc commentario quae censura et animad-  
20 uersione digna sint, quoniam non multa in eo legi, nescio. Vnum tamen locum inueni quem dissimulare non possum. Exponens enim locum illum Malachiae I de sacrificio et oblatione munda quae ab ortu solis usque ad occasum diuino inter gentes nomini offeratur, absurdissime de Idololatri-  
cis sacrificiis et oblationibus interpretatur. Damnari enim ibi Iudaeorum

[Recibida el 21 de abril del 86]

Un cordial saludo:

Reverendísimo padre en Cristo. El que responda un poco más tarde de lo que quisiera a la carta de vuestra paternidad, lo provocó el hecho de que tuvimos que esperar desde Amberes el comentario del señor Arias Montano, que yo recordaba haber visto alguna vez pero no haber leído casi nada en él.<sup>76</sup> Por lo cual hemos examinado con diligencia el lugar anotado por su reverenda paternidad, lugar que no pudo menos que disgustarnos bastante.<sup>77</sup> Y si en verdad se dijera que aquella justicia filosófica es útil hasta tal punto que quienes están provistos de ella no harán frente al castigo que se debe a la acusación por prevaricación de ley, y así que el castigo sea más suave, esa sentencia sería tolerable y, es más, verdadera. Pero cuando se pronuncia de forma absoluta que sirve hasta el punto de que libera del castigo eterno, esto es bastante absurdo e intolerable. Pues de forma tácita aquí se niega también el pecado original y se reconoce incluso en un hombre gentil la posibilidad de evitar todo pecado mortal. Pero también se considera necesariamente junto con Pelagio un lugar intermedio entre el cielo y el infierno. Por lo cual nos extrañamos de que este lugar no haya sido corregido por el autor en la segunda edición, sobre todo cuando advertido tan seriamente. A menos que por un casual el título que indica que se ha revisado sea falso, de lo que escribí a Plantino, pero aún no recibí respuesta. No sé si hay más lugares en este comentario que sean dignos de censura y animadversión, puesto que no leí mucho en él. No obstante encontré un lugar que no puedo disimular, pues exponiendo aquel lugar de Malaquías I sobre el sacrificio y la limpia oblación que desde el nacimiento del sol hasta el ocaso se ofrece al nombre divino entre los pueblos, de forma absurdísima se interpreta de las oblaciones y sacrificios idólatras.<sup>78</sup> Pues se dice que se condena ahí los sacrificios de los gentiles en comparación con los judíos, quienes no ofrecían en sacrificio animales ciegos, mutilados ni

<sup>76</sup> *Commentaria in duodecim Prophetas* (Antuerpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, M.D.LXXI, en 4°, reeditados en 1583).

<sup>77</sup> Habacuc 1, 3 ('utile etiam est ut qui illa omnino praediti fuerint aeternas in morte poenas non subeant'). La exégesis montaniana de este pasaje puede leerse en los *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (Amberes, 1571), pp. 635-636.

<sup>78</sup> Malaquías 1, 11 ('ab ortu enim solis usque ad occassum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco sacrificatur et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Deus exercitum'). La exégesis montaniana de este pasaje puede leerse en los *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (Amberes, 1571), pp. 935-936.

- 25 sacrificia gentilium comparatione, qui non caeca, manca, uilia, sed lectis-  
sima quaeque animalia in sacrificium offerrent, et quidem glorioso ac  
terribili nomini dei, quia illi, quem omnium crederent authorem ac guber-  
natorem, quorumque tandem illum nomine appellandum censerent. At  
quanto aliter Apostolus, qui quae gentes inmolant, daemoniis non deo  
30 inmolari ait, et pollutam eorum pronunciat mentem et conscientiam.  
O quanto uero magis sacrificia, quae abominationum nomine detestari  
scriptura solet! Magna uero audacia, contra totius uetustatis auctoritatem  
interpretari scripturam uelle et haereticorum potius quam Ecclesiae iuuare  
partes. Sed Ariae ingenium suspectum mihi esse ex eo cepit, quod Sixti 3  
35 nomine editos in Italia libellos recudi a Plantino iusserit, et exposito cal-  
culo suo magnifice commendauit | quos tamen ad Pelagianorum dogma-  
tum defensionem ex professo susceptos esse constet, et quantum ego  
arbitror ab authore Pelagio conscriptos. Quare minime mirum si in genti-  
litiae iustitiae laudi Arias iisdem propensior est. Sed de his hactenus.
- 40 Quem nobis ad Regium Seminarium commendasti Pastorem,  
R[euenda] P[aternitate] V[estra] respectum, quamquam in summa rei  
nummariae hic penuria et solutionis malignitate lubenter suscepimus.  
Sed quanto hic studiorum fructu uersaturus sit, nescio quando et magna  
hominis ruditas est et aetas prouector. Operam tamen dabimus quam  
45 hic poterimus. Quamquam non satis recte ualeat, morbo ex frigore in iti-  
nere contracto. R[euendissi]mus D[omi]n[u]s Middelburgensis liberari  
a malo suo non potest, ut metuam fore perpetuum. Sed tempus est finem  
ut faciam. Quare Deum Opt[imum] Maximum precor ut R[euendam]  
P[aternitatem] V[estram] Ecclesiae suae quam diutissime florentem  
50 conseruet. Sed paene exciderat de Hieronymo Vbelleo aliquid addere,  
qui ueteris cuiusdam debiti memorem te per nos fieri plurimum petiit.  
Louanii e Collegio Theol[ogorum]. Aprilis II anno 86.
- Eidem R[euendisim]ae P[aternitati] V[estrae] deditissimus, Henri-  
cus Grauius.
- 55 [Post data:] Quaeso ut adiunctam hic sarcinulam cui inscripta est  
tradendam per puerum curare digneris. Negotium continet testamenti  
D[omin]i Gerardi Archidiaconi Vestri piae memoriae, cuius absolui exe-  
quutionem optamus. Qua in re ut R[euendae] P[aternitatis] V[estrae]  
suffragetur nobis autoritas quaeso. Nostri, ut par est, stipendium ferent  
60 exequutores.

baratos, sino los más elegidos, y en verdad los ofrecían al glorioso y terrible nombre de Dios, pues ellos pensaban que aquél a quien creían autor y gobernador de todas las cosas, había de ser llamado con el nombre de cada una. Pero cuán diferente es el parecer del apóstol, que dice que las víctimas que los gentiles inmolan no son para Dios sino para los demonios, y proclama la mente y conciencia manchada de ellos.<sup>79</sup> ¡Oh cuánto más los sacrificios, que la escritura suele detestar con el nombre de abominaciones! Pero es gran audacia querer interpretar la escritura contra la autoridad de toda Antigüedad y favorecer más los intereses de los herejes que los de la Iglesia. Pero el carácter de Arias ya empezó a parecerme sospechoso desde que ordenó que se reimprimiera por Plantino unos libelos editados en Italia con el nombre de Sixto 3, y tras exponer su sentencia recomendó de forma magnífica a quienes finalmente consta que han sido aceptados a propósito para defender los dogmas de Pelagio y en la medida que yo pienso han sido marcados por el autor Pelagio. Por lo que muy poco me admiro si en la alabanza de la justicia de los gentiles Arias está más cerca de estos. Pero ya basta sobre esto.

El pastor que nos encomendaste para el Seminario Real, pastor respetado por vuestra reverenda paternidad, aunque aquí nos hallamos en una profunda penuria de dineros y gran mezquindad de pagos, de buen grado lo acogimos. Pero no sé hasta qué punto va a pasar por aquí con provecho de sus estudios, ya que la impericia del hombre es grande y la edad demasiado avanzada. Con todo, haremos lo que podamos aquí, aunque no está muy bien de salud, por un resfriado que ha contraído en el viaje. El reverendísimo señor de Middelburg no puede liberarse de su mal, de modo que temo que va a ser perpetuo. Pero es hora de que ponga fin. Por lo cual a Dios Óptimo Máximo ruego que conserve con fuerzas por el mayor tiempo posible a vuestra reverenda paternidad para su iglesia. Pero casi se me iba añadir algo de Jerónimo Ubeleo, que me pidió encarescidamente que te recordara un préstamo antiguo. Lovaina, del Colegio de Teólogos. Abril 2 del año 86.

Obligadísimo a vuestra misma reverenda paternidad, Henricus Gravius.

[*Posdata*:] Ruego que te dignes entregar por medio de un chico este paquete a la dirección que aparece. Contiene el negocio del testamento del señor Gerardo, arcediano vuestro de piadoso recurso, cuya ejecución deseamos que se lleve a cabo. En este asunto ruego que nos apoye la autoridad de vuestra reverenda paternidad. Nuestros ejecutores, como es justo, llevarán el pago.

<sup>79</sup> *I Cor.* 10, 20.



## [8] – 86 04 10

**Jacobo Jansonio** (Lovaina) a **Guillermo Dámaso Lindano** [Roermond]  
**10 de abril de 1586**

o: Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/6

Pocos días después de la carta de de Grave le llega a Lindano una nueva batería de argumentos lovanienses contra Montano. El parecer de Jansonio sobre los dos pasajes conflictivos montanianos está mucho más argumentado que el de de Grave. La conexión de Jansonio y Lindano se realiza precisamente por mediación de de Grave, que pide a Jansonio que envíe su parecer al obispo de Roermond. Jansonio aprovecha la ocasión para aludir a unas diferencias de interpretación del Canon Sagrado entre él mismo y una reciente obra de Lindano.

[*Lindani manu:*] Recepta 21 Aprilis 86.

R[euerendissi]me D[omine] Praesul. Intelligo ex litteris D[ignationis]  
V[estrae] quaedam loca Sacri Canonis aliter a pietate u[est]ra intelligi,  
quam a mediocritate nostra exposita sunt. Quem V[est]rae P[at]ernitatis  
5 intellectum etsi nondum cognouerim, eo quod librum uestrum *Christo-*  
*machiae Caluinisticae* necdum nactus sim, spero tamen quod in diuersi-

tate expositionum nostrarum nulla sit aduersitas. Credo enim nostram  
illorum locorum expositionem et catholici sensus ueritatem continere et  
a proposito Sacri Canonis non omnino alienam esse, quamuis merito  
10 existimare debeam u[est]rae pietatis religiosum sensum, et maiorem rei  
sublimitatem et loci proprietatem complecti. De iteranda nostrae exposi-

tionis editione, nihil adhuc cognoui, sed est mihi missus teutonicus qui-

dam liber cuiusdam Stangii, quondam ministri Bruxellensis in parte  
Augustanae confessionis, impugnationem Sacri Canonis ex professo et  
15 solummodo paene continens. Hunc ego confutare ac retundere a fel[icis]  
rec[ordationis] D[omino] M[agistro] N[ostro] Molano monitus sum, quod  
et facere coepi, sed perficere distuli, hac maxime de causa, ut prius intel-

ligerem ex euentu eius qui editus est libri mei, num calamus meus lecto-

ribus utilitatis quid afferre idoneus esset, ne forte alioqui ex huius rei  
20 uana spe, ego eius libri conscriptioni operam meam frustra impenderem,  
et eius editione typographos ac lectores sumptu inutili onerarem. In hoc  
autem opere ueritas ac pietas illarum orationum canonis in quarum  
sensu ac intelligentia nos non conuenimus mihi defendenda ac astruenda  
est, ad quod si mihi D[ignatio] V[est]rae sensus suos suppeditare dignata  
25 fuerit, beneficio me sibi in domino deuinxerit. Sic enim uestrae fidei

[Recibida el 21 de abril del 86]

Reverendísimo señor obispo:

Sé por la carta de vuestra dignidad que algunos lugares del Canon Sagrado han sido entendidos por vuestra piedad de forma distinta a la que han sido expuestos por nuestra mediocridad.<sup>80</sup> Aunque todavía no he conocido este parecer de vuestra paternidad, puesto que no he hallado vuestro libro de la *Cristomaquia Calvinista*<sup>81</sup>, espero con todo que en la diversidad de nuestras exposiciones no haya ninguna hostilidad, pues creo que nuestra exposición de aquellos lugares contiene la verdad del sentido católico y no se aparta en absoluto del propósito del Canon Sagrado, aunque deba considerar que el sentido religioso de vuestra piedad implica una mayor sublimidad del asunto y propiedad del lugar. En cuanto a la necesidad de repetir la edición de nuestra exposición<sup>82</sup>, de nada me he enterado aún, pero se me ha enviado cierto libro en neerlandés de un tal Stangius, otrora ministro en Bruselas en la parte de confesión Augustiniana, que contiene a propósito y casi exclusivamente una impugnación del Canon Sagrado. Yo fui exhortado por el señor Maestro Molano que lo refutara y lo rechazara, cosa que empecé a hacer, pero aplacé terminarlo, sobre todo por esta causa, hasta saber antes, por el resultado del libro mío que se ha editado, si mi pluma sería idónea para aportar algo de utilidad a los lectores, no sea que, en caso contrario, a partir de la vana esperanza de esto, yo empleara inutilmente mi esfuerzo en la redacción de este libro y cargara con un gasto inútil a los tipógrafos y a los lectores de esta edición. Y en esta obra debo defender y construir la verdad y piedad de aquellas oraciones del Canon en cuyo sentido e inteligencia nosotros no estamos de acuerdo, para lo que si su dignidad quisiera proporcionarme sus opiniones, me tendría obligado con este beneficio en el Señor. Pues así armado con la loriga

<sup>80</sup> Jacobus Janssonius, *In Sacrum Missae Canonem [...] expositio* (Lovanii: J. Masius, 1586); cf. E. Cockx-Indestege – G. Glorieux – B. Op de Beeck, *Belgica Typographica, 1541-1600*, 5 vols (Nieuwkoop, 1968-1980), I, n° 4962.

<sup>81</sup> *Christomachia Caluinistica et sacramentarium omnium uere Sathanica: qua inuidus diabolus nunc Antichristo suo indies aduenturienti certum praeparat iter. Hic est insertus Anti-Sadelius, siue uiginti sophismatum A. Sadellii contra propitiatorium Christi D. Sua in Ecclesia Catholica sacrificium, refutatio Christiana, etc.* (Coloniae, 1584, en 8°).

<sup>82</sup> A Jacobo Janson le debemos, además de la referida *In Sacrum Missae Canonem expositio*, *Instructio Catholicae Ecclesiae*, *Enarratio dominicae Passionis*, y comentarios al Cantar de los Cantares, el libro de Job y el Evangelio de San Juan.

lorica armatus potero aduersarii tela tamquam paruulorum iacula, impenetrabilis obtundere.

Dixit mihi quoque M[agister] N[oster] Grauius dignationem v[estram] meae mediocritatis de commentario Ariae Montani super 1<sup>m</sup> caput Abacuc scire uelle iudicium. Hunc commentarium ego ante annos aliquot a quodam studioso admonitus legi, et improbaui. Visum enim mihi et tunc est, et adhuc uidetur, non recte ibidem dici 'Iustitiam philosophicam utilem esse iis qui ea ommino praediti fuerint, ad hoc, ut poenas in morte aeternas non subeant'. Si enim poenas in morte non subeunt aeternas, igitur aut peccatum originis non habuerunt, aut ab eo sine fide Christi absoluti sunt, aut saltem aeternas ob id poenas non incurrunt, ex quibus nullum trium sine graui errore, scripturis sacris contrario, asseri potest. Sed praeter hoc, non est credibile aliquem Philosophorum etiam laudatissimorum sine ullo peccato mortali ab aetatis exordio usque ab eius consumationem, uitam traduxisse, maxime cum eorum iustitia exercitio comparetur, cuius initia non parem cum progressibus uigorem habent, sed tenuem ac multis lapsibus interruptum. Sed etsi quarundam uirtutum tam strenui cultores fuerint, ut ab earum praescripto nunquam uel in ullo opere exorbitauerint, numquid credibile est eos omnes uirtutes morales pari integritate exercere potuisse, et non potius existimandum est alia ex parte eos uitiiis, superbiae maxime succubuisse? Horum ergo propriae actionis peccatorum remissionem unde acceperunt? An Christi merito? Sed eum constituit Deus propitiatorem per fidem in sanguine eius, et illi in Christum non crediderunt. An suae gratia iustitiae quam exercuerunt? Sed non est aliud nouum sub caelo datum hominibus in quo oporteat nos saluos fieri, quam nomen Christi, et ne forte aliud eodem dicat quis saluari, aliud remissionem accipere peccati, recordetur is scriptum, quod in solo Christo annuncietur nobis remissio ab omnibus a quibus nec lex eidem Moysi ualuit iustificare. Si non lex, quomodo natura? | Cum itaque dictum commentarium haec absurda necessaria illatione sequantur, spero sensum authoris alium fuisse quam uerba prae se ferunt, et iudico huius loci offensionem tolli facile posse unius uerbi permutatione, si uidelicet pro 'Non sentiant' ponatur 'Mitius sentiant'. Ad hoc enim D[iui] Augusti[ni] cap[ut] 27 de spiritu et littera suspicatur

de vuestra fe, podré destruir, impenetrable, las lanzas del adversarios o las pullas de los mezquinos.

Me dijo también el Maestro Gravius que vuestra dignidad quería saber el juicio de mi mediocridad sobre el comentario de Arias Montano sobre el primer capítulo de Habacuc. Yo leí este comentario hace algunos años, aconsejado por cierto estudioso, y lo desaprobé. Pues me pareció también entonces y todavía me lo parece que no está bien dicho en ese lugar que ‘la justicia filosófica es útil para quienes hayan sido dotados por completo de ella para esto, para que no soporten el castigo eterno en la muerte’. Pues si no soportan el castigo eterno en la muerte, por tanto, o no tuvieron pecado original o han sido absueltos de él sin la fe de Cristo, o al menos no caen en la pena eterna por causa de él, ninguna de las cuales tres premisas puede aseverarse sin un grave error contrario a las sagradas escrituras. Pero además de esto, no es creíble que nadie, incluso de los filósofos más alabados, haya pasado su vida sin ningún pecado mortal desde el comienzo de su edad hasta la consumación de la misma, máxime cuando la justicia de éstos se prepara con la práctica, cuyos fundamentos no tienen un vigor parejo en su desarrollo, sino tenue e interrumpido por muchos deslices. Pero aunque los cultivadores de estas virtudes fueran tan esforzados que por orden de éstas nunca se desviarán en ninguna obra, ¿acaso es creíble que han podido ejercer todas estas virtudes morales con igual integridad, y no se ha considerar mejor por otra parte que éstos han sucumbido a los vicios, sobre todo a la soberbia? ¿Y de dónde recibieron, pues, la remisión de los pecados de su propia acción? ¿Acaso por los méritos de Cristo? Pero Dios lo constituyó como intercesor por medio de la fe en su sangre, y los filósofos no creyeron en Cristo. ¿Acaso practicaron alguna fe por su justicia? Pero no se ha dado otro nombre a los hombres bajo el cielo por el que podamos salvarnos que el nombre de Cristo.<sup>83</sup> Y para que nadie diga que o bien se ha salvado con la misma, o bien ha recibido la remisión de su pecado, que recuerde el escrito que dice que en solo Cristo se nos anuncia la remisión de todos los pecados, de los cuales ni la ley pudo justificar al mismo Moisés. Si no lo pudo la ley, ¿cómo va a poder la naturaleza? Así pues, dado que estas absurdices se siguen de dicho comentario por una consecuencia necesaria, espero que la opinión del autor haya sido otra a la que las palabras fueron por sí mismas, y juzgo que el error de este lugar podría quitarse fácilmente con el cambio de una sola palabra, si,

<sup>83</sup> Vulg., act., IV, 12.

60 iustitiam gentilium utilem eis fuisse, ut mitius puniantur. Sed nec placet mihi quod idem author eodem loco iustitiam philosophorum genere distinguit a iustitia Christianorum. Quomodo enim distinguitur genere quae nec distinguitur origine (est enim et philosophorum iustitia etiam a quotidiana (init Beda cap. 6 *Contr[a] Iulia[num]*) Dei gratia nec naturali  
 65 qualitate, cum utraque uirtutis diuinae constet participatione; sicut enim cognitio philosophorum participatio fuit diuini luminis, ita et uirtus eorum robur ac uigor quidam est diuinae uirtutis; distinguitur itaque meo iudicio iustitia Christianorum a iustitia philosophorum potius plenitudine quam genere. Sed nec placet quod iustitiam philosophorum simpliciter  
 70 uocet iustitiam, si enim simpliciter iustitia dici postest, ergo qui ea praediti fuerunt, simpliciter iusti fuerunt, quod absurdum est. Quis enim hominum iustus est nisi iustificatus? Quos autem iustificat deus nisi eos qui sunt ex fide Christi? Et qui sunt qui dicuntur iusti, nisi qui dicunt Christo 'dominus iustus noster'? Malim ego iustitiam philosophorum  
 75 uocari iustitiam secundum quid, sicut D[iuus] Thom[a] uirtutes eorum uocat uirtutes secundum quid.

Displicet quoque eiusdem authoris commentarius in primum caput Malachiae, non ob hoc solum quod a celeberrimo omnium ueterum ac totius ecclesiae in eum locum commentario dissentiat, sed et ob hoc quod  
 80 uerba scripturae illius loci non legitime ac prout ecclesiasticum commentatorem oportet, exponat. In hoc enim quod nomen domini ab ipso domino distinguit dicens 'Gentes nomini Domini non ipsi Domino sacrificasse', contrariatur eius expositio expositioni Sacrae Scripturae, quae nomen Domini et ipsum Dominum pro iisdem habet, dicens Deuter. 28 'Nisi

por ejemplo, en vez de ‘No soporten’ se ponga ‘soporten con más suavidad’. Pues en este sentido San Agustín, capítulo 27 *Sobre el espíritu y la letra*, sospecha que la justicia de los gentiles fue útil para ellos para que fueran castigados de forma más suave.<sup>84</sup> Pero no me gusta que el mismo autor en ese mismo lugar distingue en cuanto al género la justicia de los filósofos de la justicia de los cristianos.<sup>85</sup> ¿Pues cómo se distingue en su género lo que no se distingue ni en origen (pues la justicia de los filósofos también viene de la gracia cotidiana de Dios (Beda en el capítulo 6 *Contra Juliano*)<sup>86</sup> ni por su cualidad natural, pues una y otra está constituida de la participación de la virtud divina, pues igual que el conocimiento de los filósofos fue participación de la luz divina, así también la virtud de ellos, su fuerza y cierto vigor es parte de la virtud divina. De modo que, según mi juicio, la justicia de los cristianos se distingue de la justicia de los filósofos más por la plenitud que por el género. Pero ni me gusta que llame simplemente justicia a la justicia de los filósofos, pues si puede llamarse simplemente justicia, los que estuvieron provistos de ella simplemente fueron justos, cosa que es absurda. Pues ¿qué hombre es justo si no está justificado? ¿Y a quiénes justifica Dios sino a los que son de la fe de Cristo? ¿Y quiénes son los que se llaman justos, sino los que dicen en Cristo nuestro justo señor? Preferiría yo que la justicia de los filósofos se llamara justicia *secundum quid*, como Santo Tomás llama a sus virtudes virtudes *secundum quid*.<sup>87</sup>

No me gusta tampoco el comentario del mismo autor sobre el primer capítulo de Malaquías, no por esto solo, porque disiente del más célebre comentario de todos los antiguos y de toda la iglesia sobre este lugar, sino también por esto, porque expone las palabras de ese lugar de la Escritura de forma no legítima y ajena a lo que conviene a un comentarista eclesiástico. Pues en esto, que distingue el nombre del Señor del mismo Señor, diciendo ‘que los gentiles hicieron un sacrificio para el nombre del señor, no para el mismo Señor’, su exposición es contraria a la exposición de

<sup>84</sup> Aug., *spir. et litt.*, 27-28.

<sup>85</sup> Montano, *Commentaria in duodecim Prophetas*, p. 635.

<sup>86</sup> Entendemos que la obra referida se trata de los *Contra Iulianum haeresis Pelagianae defensorem libri sex* de San Agustín.

<sup>87</sup> *Summa Theologica* II-II, Quaestio 161, art. 1, *utrum humilitas sit uirtus*: ‘Ad quantum dicendum quod perfectum dicitur aliquid dupliciter. Vno modo, simpliciter, in quo scilicet nullus defectus invenitur, nec secundum suam naturam, nec per respectum ad aliquid aliud. Et sic solus Deus est perfectus, cui secundum naturam diuinam non competit humilitas, sed solum naturam assumptam. Alio modo potest dici aliquid perfectum secundum quid, puta secundum suam naturam, uel secundum statum aut tempus. Et hoc modo homo uirtuosus est perfectus’.

85 timueris nomen eius gloriosum et terribile, hoc est, Dominum Deum  
 tuum'. Si itaque gentes Christum ignorantes secundum authoris ipsius  
 confessionem Domino non sacrificant, ergo ipsi non sunt de quibus  
 Malachias dicit, quod in omni loco nomini Domini offeratur oblatio munda,  
 quia qui Domino non sacrificat nec nomini eius sacrificat; haec enim  
 90 duo, nimirum, nomen Domini et ipse Dominus idem supponunt; praete-  
 rea, etsi aliqui in Gentibus fuerint qui Deum summum ex solis ortu ac  
 occassu 1. ut ipse interpretatur caeli motu agnouerint, numquid illi in  
 omni loco fuerint, et non potius rari admodum in quibusdam orbis parti-  
 bus? Et tamen dicit dominus in omni loco nomini suo sacrificari; ergo  
 95 hoc de alterius fidei gentibus intelligi debet. Imo et illi qui deum uerum  
 ex solis ortu et occasu ante Christi illuminationem cognouerunt, num-  
 quid illi huic deo per sacrificium seruierunt, aut animi pietate coluerunt,  
 et non potius uulgi timore aut superbi animi sui errore ad idolorum  
 cultum conuersi sunt ut docet Apostolus et de ciuit[ate] Dei declarat  
 100 D[iuus] August[inus]? Igitur gentes quae Domino in omni loco sacrifi-  
 cant non sunt nisi Christiani.

Sed et 'oblationem mundam' non recte interpretatur, siue enim obla-  
 tionem mundam quis dixerit quia a mundis offertur, sicut Ireneus, siue  
 eam mundam uocauerit ab hostiae quae offertur sanc<ti>tate, non potest  
 105 oblatio munda Gentilibus competere. Quomodo enim munda est eorum  
 oblatio quibus nihil est mundum, quorum coinquinata est et mens et  
 conscientia? Aut quomodo eorum munda est hostia, quae nulla pietate  
 aut sanctitate ut hostia Christianorum nec ulla pietatis aut sanctae hostiae  
 praefiguratione, sicut hostiae Iudaeorum, est praedita? Propter haec ita-  
 110 que et plura quae allegari possent, iudico huius loci commentarium ad  
 sensum catholicum corrigendum esse.

la sagrada escritura, que considera el nombre del señor y al mismo Señor como lo mismo, diciendo, Deuteronomio 28, ‘si no has temido el nombre glorioso y terrible de él, esto es, tu Dios el Señor. Así que si los gentiles ignorantes de Cristo, según la confesión del mismo autor, no hacen un sacrificio para el Señor, se deduce que ellos mismos no son de los que Malaquías dice que en todo lugar se ofrezca un sacrificio puro al nombre del Señor, puesto que quien no hace un sacrificio para el Señor no hace un sacrificio a su nombre, pues estos dos, evidentemente, el nombre de Dios y el mismo Señor, suponen lo mismo. Además, aunque se cuenten algunos entre los gentiles que hayan reconocido a Dios como lo máximo desde el nacimiento y el ocaso del sol, como él mismo explica, con el movimiento del cielo, ¿acaso ellos estuvieron en todo lugar, y no mejor son extremadamente raros en cualquier parte del orbe? Y no obstante dice el Señor que en todo lugar se hace sacrificios a su nombre, de lo que se deduce que esto debe ser entendido de los pueblos de otra fe. Y es más, incluso los que han conocido a Dios verdadero ‘desde el nacimiento y el ocaso del sol’ antes del alumbramiento de Cristo, ¿acaso ellos sirvieron a este Dios por medio del sacrificio o lo reverenciaron con piedad de espíritu, y no más por temor del pueblo y por el error de su espíritu soberbio se volvieron al culto de los ídolos? Como enseña el apóstol y en *De Ciuit. Dei* declara San Agustín.<sup>88</sup> Así que los pueblos que hacen sacrificios al señor en todo lugar no son sino los cristianos. Pero tampoco se interpreta de forma correcta ‘sacrificio puro’, pues ya sea que alguien haya dicho sacrificio puro porque se ofrece por puros, como Ireneo<sup>89</sup>, ya sea que lo haya llamado puro por la santidad de la víctima que se ofrece, un sacrificio puro no puede ser propio de los gentiles. Pues ¿cómo es puro el sacrificio de éstos que nada tienen puro, cuya mente y conciencia está manchada? ¿O cómo es pura su víctima que no está dotada de ninguna piedad o santidad, como las víctimas de los cristianos, ni de ninguna prefiguración de piedad o de víctima santa, como las víctimas de los judíos? Así que por estas razones y más que podrían alegarse, considero que el comentario de este lugar debe corregirse hacia un sentido católico.

<sup>88</sup> Aug., *civ.*, 8, 24: ‘Vnde dicit apostolus: Scimus quia nihil est idolum; sed quae inmolant gentes, daemoniis inmolant, et non Deo’. Cita del apóstol San Pablo, 1 *Cor.* 10, 20.

<sup>89</sup> Iren., 4, 2, 9-10. En este pasaje diserta Ireneo sobre la figura de los sacrificios y el sacrificio del Nuevo Testamento. Sobre el pasaje de Malaquías 1, 10-11, Ireneo glosa que el profeta indicó claramente que el pueblo antiguo dejaría de ofrecer a Dios; y que en todo lugar se le habría de ofrecer el sacrificio puro.



- Postremo. Annus iam est ex quo R[euerendissi]mus D[ominus] Archiepiscopus noster, curam ac commissionem dedit M[agistro] N[ostro] Quiichio vicario suo, et mihi, ut ex selectissimis quibusque huius prouinciae
- 115 ecclesiarum ac ordinum breuiariis optima quaeque deligeremus, ac per ea Romanum Pii Quinti breuiarium partim suppleremus, parti usui ac consuetudini nostrae prouinciae accomodaremus, quod iam facere coepimus, Euangeliiis dominicarum post Pentecosten ad ordinem ac seriem nostrae consuetudinis reuocatis, nonnullisque hymnis Antyphonis ac responsoriis
- 120 adiectis. Quia autem meminimus nos obseruasse pietatem uestram quaedam quae ad id quod commissum nobis est perficiendum erunt commoda ac opportuna aliquando annotasse et nescio an dicere ausim scripto collegisse rogamus in Domino, ut ad ornamentum ac incrementum cultus diuini eadem nobis suppeditare dignetur, nos ubi opus per Dei gratiam
- 125 absoluerimus, quam primum eius copiam u[est]rae p[at]ernitati examinandam, corrigendam ac approbandam transmitters. Praecor Deum ut eandem u[est]ram pietatem ac religionem in omnibus prospere agentem diu nobis ac ecclesiae suae incolumem conseruare dignetur. Louanii, e nostro collegio, 10 Aprilis anno 1586.
- 130 V[est]rae pietati addictissimus, Iacobus Janssonius.

Para terminar, ya hace un año desde que nuestro reverendísimo arzobispo<sup>90</sup> encargó la tarea y comisión al Maestro Quicio, vicario suyo, y a mí, de que de algunos selectísimos breviarios de las iglesias y órdenes de esta provincia eligiéramos también los mejores, y por medio de ellos supliéramos en parte el breviario romano de Pío Quinto, en parte los adaptáramos al uso y costumbre de nuestra provincia, lo que ya empezamos a hacer, llevando los evangelios de los domingos después de Pentecostés al orden y serie de nuestra costumbre, y añadiendo algunos himnos, antífonas y responsos. Puesto que antes recuerdo que nosotros habíamos observado que vuestra piedad había realizado en alguna ocasión ciertas anotaciones que serán oportunas y adecuadas para concluir esta tarea que se nos ha encomendado, y no sé si me atreva a decir que las he reunido por escrito, te rogamos en el Señor que para ornamento e incremento del culto divino se digne proporcionárnoslas. Nosotros, cuando terminemos la obra por la gracia de Dios, cuanto antes le enviaremos una copia a vuestra paternidad para que la examine, la corrija y la apruebe. Ruego a Dios que se digne conservarnos para nosotros y para su iglesia por mucho tiempo sana y salva a vuestra misma piedad y religión viviendo en todas las cosas prósperamente. Lovaina, desde nuestro colegio, 10 de abril año 1586.

Obligadísimo a vuestra piedad, Jacobus Jansonius.

<sup>90</sup> Si se refiere al arzobispo de Malinas, de 1583 a 1589 ocupó dicha sede Ioannes Hauchin.

[9] – [86 00 00]

**Guillermo Dámaso Lindano [Roermond] a Arias Montano [El Escorial]  
[1586]**

**b:** Algemeen Rijkarchief, n. I 115, 3714/8

Conjeturo para la fecha de esta carta el año de 1586 a raíz del tema de los Pelagianismos de Arias Montano, sobre el que Lindano consulta a Enrique de Grave y Jansonio en abril de 1586: esta polémica se encendió especialmente a partir de la reedición de los *Commentaria in XII Prophetas* de Montano (Amberes, 1583), donde el teólogo español no había rectificado un pasaje que ya años atrás había sido censurado en España como cercano a la herejía de Pelagio. Lindano recopiló estas y otras críticas en su viaje a España de 1579 y, hacia 1587 tenía preparado un tratado *De pelagianismis B.A.M.*, que no llegaría a publicarse. En esta misiva, Lindano confronta a Montano las ideas de sus obras más alejadas de la ortodoxia católica.

Salus et pax a Christo Iesu.

- In animum meum subinde tua, mi D[omine] D[omine] frater in Christo chariss[i]me, cum recurrunt summo cordis dolore dogmata, illud D[iui] Pauli adhibendum remedii loco putavi: ‘Si quis frater praeoccupatus fuerit, uos spirituales huiusmodi instruite in spiritu lenitatis’. Certe iamdudum tecum hac de re coram conferre desideravi, sed longissima obstitit locorum intercapedo, quae nos his de rebus colloqui non sinebat. Quare ad hanc quasi secundam nauigationem fuit descendendum sperans me non frustra tibi his de rebus scripturum. Doloris ergo nostra causa est quod non solum nostro, sed plurimorum etiam dostiss[imorum] theologorum, quos nominatim consului, iudicio uidearis locis non paucis sacrilego Iudaismo, plusquam ferat Christiana pietas, fauere, adeoque disertis uerbis impium illum Pelagianismum renouare, atque <ha>c ratione execrandae Mahumetanae impietati uiam in Hispaniam praeparare.
- 15 An Iudaismo faueat tua Bibliorum uersio, uiderint quorum interest. Siquidem piorum Theologorum iudicio uideris prophetias de Christo non modo indigne obscurare, sed sacrilege adulterare etiam, atque adeo cum Iudaeis in Christi odium deprauare. Haec uera esse, si D[iuum] Hieronymum admittis huius controuersiae arbitrum, nullo negotio meridia
- 20 nana luce clarius demonstrabitur, ut Esa[ia] 2. Quoniam excelsus est ipse ‘Tu cum Symacho et caeteris Christomacis in Christi’, ait D[iuus] Hieronymus, ‘uituperationem’ reddis ‘In quo reputatus est ipse’. Rursus Zach. 9. ‘Tu quoque in sanguine Testamenti reduxisti uinctos’, reddis ‘Tu quoque (o, synagoga liberaberis) educam uinctos’. Cum ueteres
- 25 Rab. cum 70 et D[iuo] Hieronymo legerint ‘Eduxisti’ ad Messiam hoc

Salud y paz de Cristo Jesús:

Siempre que tus doctrinas con sumo dolor del corazón vuelven de vez en cuanto a mi ánimo, mi señor, hermano en queridísimo Cristo, pienso que debo tomar como remedio aquello de San Pablo: ‘si algún hermano estuviera preocupado, vosotros que sois espirituales restauradlo en un espíritu de mansedumbre’.<sup>91</sup> En verdad ya hace tiempo eché de menos hablar cara a cara contigo de este asunto, pero se opuso una larguísima separación de los lugares, que no nos permitía hablar de estos asuntos. Por lo cual hubo que aguardar casi a esta segunda navegación esperando no escribirte en vano sobre este asunto. Así pues, nuestra causa de dolor es que no sólo según nuestro juicio, sino también según el de muchísimos teólogos doctísimos, que consulté personalmente, pareces en no pocos lugares favorecer al sacrílego judaísmo más de lo que soporta la piedad cristiana, y hasta con claras palabras renovar aquel impío Pelagianismo, y de esta forma preparar el camino hacia España de la execrable impiedad mahometana.

Si tu versión de la Biblia defiende el judaísmo, que lo vean aquellos a quienes interese. Y si según el juicio de piadosos teólogos pareces no sólo obscurecer de forma indigna las profecías sobre Cristo, sino incluso adulterarlas de forma sacrílega y, es más, corromperlas con los judíos para odiar a Cristo. Que esto es verdad, si admites a San Jerónimo como árbitro de esta controversia, se demostrará con luz meridiana de forma más clara que en ningún asunto. ¿Cómo en Isaías 2, ‘Quoniam excelsus est ipse’, tú siguiendo a Símaco y a los luchadores de Cristo para vituperio de Cristo, según San Jerónimo, traduces ‘In quo reputatus est ipse’?<sup>92</sup> De nuevo en Zacarías 9.<sup>93</sup> ‘Tu quoque in sanguine Testamenti reduxisti uinctos’, traduces ‘Tu quoque (o, synagoga liberaberis) educam uinctos’. Cuando los antiguos rabinos junto con los 70 y San Jerónimo leyeron ‘Eduxisti’ haciendo referir este oráculo al Mesías. Así que por dos veces corrompes el texto hebraico contra la antigua y genuina verdad hebraica que los proféticos 70 y San Jerónimo y los más antiguos rabinos, con el testimonio de San Jerónimo’ ya antes nos expresaron traduciendo ‘Tu Christe eduxisti’. Así también en Zacarías 13 ‘O mors ero morsus tuus Inferne!’ Tú contra la interpretación de San Pablo sobre la victoria de Cristo sobre el diablo, a quien los arrebató, una vez vencidos, te atreves a interpretar junto con los judíos sobre la liberación de los Judíos de la esclavitud egipcia y

<sup>91</sup> Vulg., *Gal.*, 6-1: ‘Fratres, et si praeoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, uos, qui spirituales estis, huiusmodi instruite in spiritu lenitatis’.

<sup>92</sup> Vulg., *Is.*, 2-22: ‘Quia excelsus reputatus est ipse’.

<sup>93</sup> Vulg., *Zach.*, 9-11: ‘Tu quoque in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti uinctos tuos de lacu in quo non est aqua’.

oraculum referentes. Itaque bis corrumpis textum haebraicum contra antiquam et germanam haebraicam ueritatem quam Prophetici illi 70 et D[iuus] Hieronymus, et uetustiores Rab., teste D[iuo] Hieronymo iam pridem nobis expresserunt reddentes ‘Tu Christe eduxisti’. Sic et < >  
 30 Zac. 13 ‘O mors ero morsus tuus Inferne!’ Tu contra D[iui] Pauli interpretationem de Christi uictoria de Diabolo, cui uinctos illos eripuit, audes cum Iudaeis interpretari de liberatione Iudaeorum ex captiuitate Aegyptiaca et Romana, cum D[iuus] Hiero[nymus] tibi uoce disertissima occlamet ‘Nec audemus, inquit, nec possumus aliter | quam de  
 35 Christo istud oraculum intelligere’. Iam illud cuius est fidei, quod D< >. Ego tanquam agnus mansuetus, siue ἀκὰκὸς innocens, innocuus, ductus sum ad uictimam. Tu reddere immo obscurare audes. Ego tanquam agnus b[onus] ductus sum. Caeterum illud omnem superat admiratio-  
 40 Diuinitatem, quod illud Psal. 44 quo D[iuus] Paulus eum contra Iudaeos probat Deum, tu pro ‘Vnxit te Deus Christe Deus tuus’, cum Iudaeis Christi osoribus et Arrhianis Christo Deo inimicis, uertis ‘Vnxit te Dominus Deus tuus’, ex duabus Deitatis personis unam nobis represen-  
 45 tans. Vnde Caluinistae non parum gloriantur, et Iudaei sibi plaudunt quod talem nacti sunt Christianum, Sacerdotem et <ta>ndem S[anctae] Th[eologiae] doctorem. Quod adeo uerum est ut cum anno superiori Coloniae incidisset mihi disputatio cum illo tuo Petro Ximeno, qui istam tuam tuebatur uersionem, mihi urgenti responderit ‘Ego hanc uersionem  
 50 Psal. 44 defendere non possum. Viderit interpretes Arias Montanus’. Plura ne addam, epistolaris impedit breuitas; caetera si uideatur, coram quando uoles.

Porro quod ad Pelagianismum tuum attinet, res notior est quam ut proluxa sit exponenda oratione. Audes enim cum Pelagio quibusdam sine Christo salutem, siue aeternarum Inferni poenarum euasionem polliceri.  
 55 Scribis enim Com[mentarium] in Abac[uc] I ‘Iustitiam Philosophicam sine notitia Dei, et sine Christi fide eam habere uim, ut quosdam faciat in morte non subire aeternas gehennae poenas’. Quod si uerum est frustra ergo Christus mortuus est, cum sine ipso euadere queamus aeternas gehennae poenas; neque ipso a Diaboli potestate liberatore habemus  
 60 opus. Quorsum igitur nobis opus est lege Christi Euangelica? Cur non

romana<sup>94</sup>, cuando San Jerónimo te proclama con voz clarísima ‘No nos atrevamos, dice, ni podamos entender este oráculo de otra forma que sobre Cristo’. Ya aquello que es propio de la fe, que San ◇<sup>95</sup> ‘Ego tamquam agnus mansuetus, siue ἀκακὸς innocens, innocuus, ductus sum ad uictimam’. Tú te atreves a traducir, más bien a oscurecer. ‘Ego tamquam agnus b[onus] ductus sum’. Por lo demás lo que supera toda admiración es que incluso te atrevías a rebajar sacrílegamente su divinidad a Cristo nuestro Señor, puesto que aquel salmo 44 en el que San Pablo prueba contra los judíos que Cristo es Dios, tú, en vez de ‘Vnxit te Deus Christe Deus tuus’, junto con los judíos, aborrecedores de Cristo, y los arrianos enemigos de Cristo Dios, traduces ‘Vnxit te Dominus Deus tuus’<sup>96</sup>, poniendo ante nuestros ojos una sola a partir de las dos personas de la divinidad. De donde los calvinistas no poco se glorían y los judíos se aplauden que han encontrado tal cristiano, sacerdote y finalmente doctor en Santa Teología. Cosa que hasta tal punto es verdad que cuando el año pasado en Colonia se me presentó una discusión con aquel tu querido Pedro Jiménez<sup>97</sup>, que defendía esa traducción tuya, me respondió a mí que le apremiaba ‘Yo no puedo defender esa traducción del salmo 44. Ya lo verá el traductor Arias Montano’. No voy a añadir más, me lo impide la brevedad epistolar, lo demás, si te parece bien, cuando quieras en persona.

Por lo demás, en lo que atañe a tu pelagianismo, el asunto es suficientemente conocido como para que deba exponerse en un discurso prolijo. Te atreves, en efecto, con Pelagio a prometer a algunos la salvación, o la evasión de las penas eternas del infierno sin Cristo. Pues escribes en abacuc I ‘la justicia filosófica sin noticia de Dios y sin la fe de Cristo tiene tal fuerza que hace que algunos no sufran al morir las penas eternas del infierno’. Y si esto es verdad, en vano murió Cristo, puesto que podemos sin él mismo evitar el castigo eterno del infierno; y no tenemos necesidad de él mismo como liberador del poder del Diablo. ¿Por qué motivo, por tanto,

<sup>94</sup> Errata al citar a Zacharías en vez de al profeta Oseas. Cf. Vulg. *Os.*, 13-14: ‘O mors, morsus tuus ero, inferne’.

<sup>95</sup> Vulg., *Ier.*, 11-19: ‘Et ego quasi agnus mansuetus qui portatur ad uictimam’.

<sup>96</sup> Vulg., *psalm.*, 44-8: ‘Propterea unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo laetitiae’.

<sup>97</sup> Pedro Ximénez (Middelburg, 1514 – Colonia, 1595), de origen portugués, fue canónigo de San Lambert en Lieja. Emmanuel-Philibert, duque de Saboya, intenta en 1557 que lo nombren profesor en las facultades de Derecho de Lovaina, propuesta que fue rechazada por no contar Ximénez con el grado de DVI. Poco después Roberto de Berghes lo lleva a su casa y Torrencio le confió la educación de sus sobrinos. Llegó a vivir en casa del impresor Cristóbal Plantino entre 1563 y 1564, fechas durante las que preparó una nueva edición de su Gramática Hebrea y revisó el *Thesaurus linguae sanctae* de Sanctes Pagnino. Hacia 1570 marcha a la Universidad de Colonia como profesor de Filosofía, que enseña hasta 1574; mucho más tarde ayudó allí a traer al ilustre Justo Lipsio al catolicismo. Cf. A. Bernus, *Un laïque du 16<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lausanne, 1895), pp. 40-42.

cum Mauris Machumetum sequimur, cum sine Christi lege infernum liceat euadere?

Ex his pauculis, spero, tam abominandis, tam execrandis, mi frater  
Aria, te tuo pro ingenio quo te Deus ornauit eximie, ac pro doctrina, qua  
65 excellis non mediocriter, facile ad rectum Euangelicae ueritatis tramitem  
rediturum | modo istas nouas tuas Doctrinas ad Canonem Christianae fidei  
iuxta liquidas et illibatas Orthodoxorum P[atrorum] sententias abiicere  
ac reuocare non dedignaberis. Nosti enim auream illam uocem in Conci-  
lio Niceno P[atribus] usurpatam ‘μὴ νεοτερίζειν’. Itaque satius est in  
70 medio itineris pedem ab errore tuto referre, quam caeco admodum cursu  
in aeternum gehennae barathrum cum Iudaeis Christomachis et Pelagianis  
Christianae gratiae hostibus te dare praecipitem. Proinde, mi frater in  
Domino Iesu, te supplex rogo atque tuam per salutem obtestor ut tui et  
nominis et loci apud Christianos memor haec grauissima scriptorum tuo-  
75 rum offendicula cito enitaris de medio tollere, ac scripto publico teneris  
quorundam fratrum animis consulere, ut tibi laeti ad resipiscentiam redi-  
tum gratulentur. Maximum enim in primis ex ista Palinodia pollicentur  
non modo sibi gaudium sed publicum etiam Catholicae Christi Ecclesiae  
usum, certamque edificationem non poenitendam. Inmane quo animi  
80 dolore corpiuntur, quando uident infestissimos Catholicae Christi Eccle-  
siae hostes tuis Scriptis et dogmatibus sub tuo etiam nomine allegatis  
ipsam oppugnare.

Vale et resipisce, quod ut facias Deum precamur supplices. Alioquin  
non deerunt qui Zelo inflammati solidam Domini Christi Iesu singularis  
85 liberatoris et unici Saluatoris gloriam asserere contra infelicia tua scripta  
aggredientur.

necesitamos de la ley evangélica de Cristo? ¿Por qué no seguimos con los moros a Mahoma, ya que se puede evitar el infierno sin la ley de Cristo?

A partir de estas pocas cuestiones tan abominables, tan execrables, mi querido hermano Arias, espero que tú, en virtud de ese talento tuyo con el que Dios te adornó de forma tan magnífica, y en virtud de tu doctrina, en la que sobresales de forma no mediocre, regresarás fácilmente a la recta senda de la verdad evangélica, si es que no rehúas derribar y revocar estas nuevas doctrinas tuyas al canon de la fe cristiana según las claras e íntegras sentencias de los padres ortodoxos. Pues conoces aquella áurea expresión empleada por los padres en el Concilio de Nicea, ‘no innoves’.<sup>98</sup> Así que es preferible echar el paso atrás en medio del camino de un error seguro, que lanzarte de cabeza por un camino tan ciego hacia el bátrito eterno del infierno junto con los judíos que combaten a Cristo y los pelagianos enemigos de la gracia de Cristo. Por todo ello, mi querido hermano en Jesús nuestro Señor, te ruego encarecidamente y lo suplico por tu salvación que acordándote de ti y de tu nombre y de tu lugar entre los cristianos te esfuerces por retirar rápidamente de en medio esta gravísima ofensa de tus escritos, y tratar de conseguir un escrito público de los tiernos espíritus de algunos hermanos para que te feliciten alegres por el regreso al arrepentimiento. Pues de esta retractación no sólo se esperan un gran gozo entre las primeras cosas, sino un beneficio público para la Iglesia Católica de Cristo y cierta edificación que no va ser digna de lamentarse. Es desmesurado con qué dolor de ánimo son acusados, cuando ven que los enemigos más dañinos de la Iglesia Católica de Cristo luchan contra la misma alegando tus escritos y dogmas incluso bajo tu nombre.

Adiós y arrepíentete, cosa que suplicamos a Dios que haga. De lo contrario no faltarán quienes encendidos por el celo intenten reivindicar la sólida gloria de Jesucristo nuestro Señor, singular liberador y único salvador en contra de tus desafortunados escritos.

Departamento de Filología Clásica  
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras  
Universidad de Cádiz  
Av. Gomez Ulla s/n  
11003 Cádiz  
antonio.davila@uca.es

<sup>98</sup> Primer concilio ecuménico de la Iglesia Católica, celebrado en el 325 con ocasión de la herejía de Arrio o Arrianismo. La fórmula prohibitiva ‘μη νεωτερίζειν’ es usada con profusión en textos griegos de todas las épocas con el valor de ‘no hacer innovaciones, no romper con la tradición’.



Marta VACULÍNOVÁ

PAULUS A GISBICE (1581-1607).  
EIN BÖHMISCHER DICHTER  
UND SEINE STUDIENREISE NACH LEIDEN

Die vorliegende Studie entstand als Zwischenergebnis unseres Projektes einer Gesamtausgabe des dichterischen Werkes von Paulus a Gisbice (weiter auch Gisbicius) aufgrund der in den Niederlanden gefundenen und mit Material aus tschechischen Bibliotheken ergänzten Texte und Quellen.<sup>1</sup> Die Gesamtausgabe sollte nebst der gesammelten Dichtung auch Kommentare zu Gisbicius' Leben, seinen Studienreisen nach Deutschland und in die Niederlande sowie zur Kultur seiner Zeit unter speziellem Hinblick auf das literarische Leben der Humanisten und die gesellschaftliche Funktion der Gelegenheitsdichtung liefern.

Da dieser begabte Dichter der manieristischen Epoche zwar der tschechischen Literaturwissenschaft wohl bekannt ist, weniger aber der ausländischen Neulatinistik<sup>2</sup>, möchten wir am Anfang eine kurze Information über Gisbicius' Leben und Werk vorausschicken.

<sup>1</sup> Für die finanzielle Unterstützung sei an dieser Stelle dem Kulturministerium der Tschechischen Republik gedankt. Das Projekt ist ein Teil des breiten wissenschaftlichen Projekts des Nationalmuseums Prag *Die Persönlichkeiten der tschechischen Wissenschaft und Kultur*.

<sup>2</sup> Das Wichtigste in der Literatur über Gisbicius wurde auf Tschechisch verfasst. Es ist vor allem die Grundstudie von Karel Hrdina, 'Humanistický básník Pavel z Jizbice', *Listy filologické. Folia philologica*, 50 (1923), 204-216 und 295-312. Gesamtübersicht der Schriften von und über Gisbicius bietet *Enchiridion renatae poesis in Bohemia et Moravia cultae* (weiter ERP). *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě*, hrsg. von Antonín Truhlář e.a., 5 Bände (Praha: Academia, 1966-1982), II (1966), 456-479 (Verfasser des Artikels: Josef Hejnic). Neuerlich befasste sich mit Gisbicius Jana Kolářová in Aufsätzen, auf die wir noch später verweisen, mit seinen späteren Jahren und Werken; Marta Vaculínová, 'Odráz doby v básnickém díle Pavla z Jizbice', *Muzejní a vlastivědná práce* 43. *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 113, 3 (2005), 9-14. In der ausländischen Literatur kennt man Gisbicius als Freund von Konrad Rittershausen: Heinrich Kunstmann, *Die Nürnberger Universität Altdorf und Böhmen. Beiträge zur Erforschung der Ostbeziehungen deutscher Universitäten* (Köln – Graz: Böhlau, 1963), SS. 75-77 und passim. Sonst ist er bekannt als Empfänger und Herausgeber der *Odae tres ad Paullum a*

Paulus Gisbicius wuchs in der Familie seines Stiefvaters Matthäus a Gisbice auf. Die Familie des wohlhabenden Bürgers und Ratsherrn der Prager Neustadt war konservativ utraquistisch orientiert. Der junge Paulus studierte erst in Annaberg bei Melchior Leaenus, später in Altdorf bei Michael Piccartus, Scipio Gentilis und Konrad Rittershausen (bei dem er wahrscheinlich wohnte). Mit 19 wurde er am Hof des Kaisers Rudolf II. zum 'poeta laureatus' gekrönt. Er suchte einflussreiche Gönner am kaiserlichen Hof zu gewinnen und beleidigte zugleich in seinen Epigrammen mit ausgewählter Schärfe die Magister der Karlsuniversität und die Universität selbst. Seine Studien setzte er in Wittenberg fort, um dort 1602 seine erste Gedichtssammlung *Periculorum poeticorum partes tres* herauszugeben. Danach bereiste er zahlreiche deutsche Städte und Universitäten (Leipzig, Halle, Zerbst, Magdeburg, Helmstedt, Lüneburg, Rostock), gelangte über Hamburg, Westfalen und Amsterdam nach Leiden (worüber wir weiter ausführlicher schreiben), wo er sich immatrikulierte und noch im Jahre 1602 seine zweite und letzte größere Gedichtssammlung *Schediasmatum farrago nova* herausgegeben hat. Von seiner Studienreise zurückgekehrt, wurde er in Prag sogleich von den Magistern der Universität wegen seiner ehrenrührigen Gedichte angeschuldigt, die er in beiden Gedichtssammlungen im Ausland veröffentlicht hatte. Der Streit kam nach vielen Peripetien schließlich nicht vor Gericht und wurde gütlich beigelegt. Nach dem Tod seiner Mutter, die ihn regelmäßig finanziell unterstützt hatte, wollte Gisbicius eine Stelle im Hofdienst finden, jedoch vergeblich: trotz vieler an einflussreiche Adelige gerichteter Gedichte blieb er erfolglos. Im Herbst 1607 endete sein Leben im Alter von erst 26 Jahren auf tragische Weise — er wurde angeblich bei seiner Geliebten von seinem Rivalen erstochen.

Es ist ein Paradox, dass sein kurzes Leben und der dementsprechende Umfang seines literarischen Nachlasses Gisbicius zu einem idealen Objekt für eine Gesamtausgabe macht. Zu seiner Zeit wirkten in Böhmen mehrere hochbegabte und anerkannte Dichter wie z. B. Johannes Campanus oder Georgius Carolides (die Gisbicius in seinen Epigrammen häufig verspottet). Da allen ein viel längeres Leben als Gisbicius

*Gisbice* von Janus Dousa: Chris L. Heesakkers, *Praecidanea Dousana, Materials for a Biography of Janus Dousa Pater (1545-1604)* (Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1976), S. 184; *Alba amicorum. Het album amicorum en het poëziealbum in de Nederlanden*, hrsg. von Kees Thomassen (Den Haag: Rijksmuseum Meermano-Westreenianum – Maarssen, 1990), SS. 120-121.

vergönnt war, haben sie dermaßen umfangreiche dichterische Werke hinterlassen, dass es heutzutage kaum möglich ist, derart voluminöse 'corpora carminum' herauszugeben. Um die Bedeutung von Gisbicius durch diese Anmerkung nicht zu schmälern, sei noch zugegeben, dass Paulus a Gisbice ein geborener Lyriker war, dessen Liebesgedichte und Epigramme sich sehr wohl mit der Dichtung der zeitgenössischen europäischen Humanisten messen konnten.

Der weniger wertvolle Teil seiner Dichtung — die Gelegenheitsgedichte — verdient jedoch auch seinen Platz in der Gesamtausgabe. Diese können nämlich als Informationsquellen über seine Reisen und Kontakte dienen und mit ihrer Hilfe lässt sich auch das Stammbuch von Gisbicius rekonstruieren, das leider nicht bis auf unsere Tage erhalten blieb. Während die Rekonstruktion seines Stammbuches Auskunft über Kontakte und Reiseziele gibt, läßt sich sein literarisches und wissenschaftliches Interesse mittels Rekonstruktion seiner Bibliothek erschließen. In tschechischen Bibliotheken sind einzelne Bände aus seinem Besitz erhalten, einer sogar mit seinem *Supralibros*.<sup>3</sup> Trotz der noch nicht abgeschlossenen Analyse der erhaltenen Gisbicius-Bücher kann man generell sagen, dass er sich eindeutig auf das Sammeln dichterischer Werke verlegt hatte, was den aus seinem Lebenslauf und Verhalten gewonnenen Eindruck bestätigt, dass er sich (obwohl er eigentlich Jura studierte) in erster Linie immer als Dichter gesehen hat, was zu jener Zeit eher eine Ausnahme war.

Paulus a Gisbice kann als gutes Beispiel eines Literaten gelten, der ausländische Einflüsse in seine Dichtung integriert und auf seine Weise in einem persönlichen Stil verarbeitet hat. Ungeachtet seiner literarischen Ausfälle gegen die Prager Universität fühlte er sich stets stark als *Bohemus*. Sein Nationalbewusstsein und utraquistischer Glaube hinderten ihn jedoch nicht daran, sich selbst zugleich als Teil der europäischen *respublica litteraria* zu betrachten.

Wie oben angedeutet, war die Zeit zwischen 1602 und 1603 für Gisbicius als Dichter formend und fruchtbar. In diesem relativ kurzen Zeitraum bereiste er viele Städte Deutschlands und der Niederlande, schloss literarische Freundschaften mit bedeutenden Gelehrten und Dichtern und gab seine zwei großen Gedichtssammlungen heraus. Gewiss waren auch

<sup>3</sup> Bohumír Lifka, *Exlibris a supralibros v českých korunních zemích v letech 1000 – 1900* (Praha: Spolek sběratelů a přátel exlibris, 1980), S. 92.

seine vorherigen Studienjahre nicht ohne Bedeutung (vor allem in Altdorf, woher die seine Dichtung bis zuletzt prägende Vorliebe für Archaismen stammte). Die Krönung zum *Poeta Caesareus* bestärkte gewiss (man möchte sagen, viel zu viel) sein Ego; doch all das war nur ein Vorspiel zu dem Besten, was je aus seiner Feder kommen sollte und von ihm 1602 in Wittenberg und in Leiden veröffentlicht wurde.

Im September 1602 immatrikuliert sich Gisbicius also an der Leidener Universität. Die sogenannten *Athenae Batavae* wurden damals dank Janus Dousa zur Wirkstätte hervorragender Gelehrter wie Josephus Justus Scaliger nebst anderen und zum Ziel vieler Studierenden, vor allem aus den nicht-katholischen Ländern Europas. Gisbicius war einer der ersten in Leiden studierenden Böhmen. Vor ihm waren in Leiden laut dem *Album academiae Lugdunensis* lediglich drei Studenten aus Böhmen immatrikuliert (im Jahre 1598 Joannes Kecchel aus Prag mit seinem Präzeptor Joannes Opsimates aus Mähren<sup>4</sup>, im Jahre 1600 Adamus Blanchus Bohemus); erst später wurden die niederländischen Universitäten häufiger zum Ziel von Studenten aus Böhmen.<sup>5</sup> Gisbicius hatte dieses Reiseziel mit Bedacht gewählt. Am Kaiserhof zu Prag wirkten damals mehrere Niederländer, vor allem bildende Künstler und Musiker; zu den literarischen Kreisen gehörte z. B. der Hofkaplan und Musiker Jacobus Chimarraeus<sup>6</sup>, der den jungen Gisbicius im Jahre 1599 mit

<sup>4</sup> Sein Stammbuch von den Reisen befindet sich in den Sammlungen der London British Library und wurde beschrieben von Jaroslav G. Hrubant, 'Památník Jana Opsimata z let 1598-1620', *Časopis Matice moravské*, 40 (1916), 123-130. Der Beschreibungsautor beschränkt sich leider ausschließlich auf die bohemikalen Einträge mit der Bemerkung, dass Opsimates in seinem Stammbuch Einträge bedeutender Persönlichkeiten aus Leiden hatte.

<sup>5</sup> Karel Hrdina, 'Studenti z českých zemí na vysokých školách v cizině', *Věstník České akademie věd a umění*, 28 (1919-1920), 32-66. Über die tschechischen Studierenden in Franeker im Vergleich zu anderen niederländischen Universitäten siehe Wilken Engelbrecht, 'Die Bedeutung der friesischen Universität zu Franeker für die tschechischen Exulanten nach der Schlacht am Weißen Berg', in *Philologia Frisica anno 1999. Lêzingen fan it fyftjinde Frysk filologekongres 8, 9 en 10 desimber 1999*, hrsg. von P. Boersma e.a. (Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy 2000), SS. 57-87; Id., 'Význam Fríské akademie ve Franekeru pro pobělohorský exil', in *Studia Moravica III. Sborník historiografických, filologických a uměnovědných příspěvků přednesených na vědecké konferenci Mars Moravicus*, hrsg. von Erik Gilk (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2005), SS. 23-54 und Id., 'De betekenis van de Friese Hogeschool te Franeker als toevluchtsoord voor protestantse studenten uit Centraal-Europa', in *Het belang van kleine talen in een nieuw Europa. Verzameling van internationale bijdragen tot de neerlandistiek ter gelegenheid van het tienjarig bestaan van de Vakgroep*, hrsg. von Cecilia Bálint – Réka Eszenyi – Orsolya Varga (Budapest: Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem, 2005), SS. 222-244.

<sup>6</sup> Mehr über seine dichterische Tätigkeit in Prag: ERP, II, 384-385.

dem Lorbeerkranz gekrönt hatte.<sup>7</sup> Erwähnung verdient an dieser Stelle auch der aus Utrecht stammende Mäzen vieler Dichter in Prag, der Kanonikersohn Johann Barvitijs, Geheimrat und Sekretär des Kaisers Rudolf II.

In Deutschland, wo sich Paulus Anfang des Jahres 1602 aufhielt, war der Ruhm der Leidener Akademie selbstverständlich wohl verbreitet. Von Wittenberg machte sich Gisbicius mit Briefen von Laurentius Rhodomanus und Friedrich Taubmann an Scaliger und Gruterus ausgestattet auf die Reise. Ein Empfehlungsgedicht an Foppe van Aitzema hatte er auch vom beliebten Zerbster Gymnasial-Prorektor Albertus Voitus bekommen.<sup>8</sup> Wir haben leider keinen Beleg dafür, dass Gisbicius Kontakt mit dem jungen Dichter und zukünftigen Diplomaten aufgenommen hat.

Für das literarische und gesellschaftliche Leben von Gisbicius in Leiden liegen drei Quellentypen vor: erstens Gedichte, die er selbst veröffentlichen ließ, zweitens handschriftlich überlieferte Gedichte und Stammbucheinträge, die sich zurzeit in den niederländischen Bibliotheken befinden; als dritte Quelle seien die ebenfalls in den Niederlanden erhaltenen handschriftlichen Widmungen seines Buches *Schediasmatum farrago*<sup>9</sup> genannt.

Bei Betrachtung dieser Quellen kann man die Personen, mit denen Gisbicius in den Niederlanden Kontakt aufnahm, in zwei Gruppen einteilen. In der ersten Reihe stehen die großen Humanisten der älteren Generation, Professoren und Hochschullehrer. Es war fast eine Pflicht für den jungen Dichter, Janus Dousa und Joseph Scaliger mit seinen Gedichten anzusprechen. Zu den wichtigen Personen der älteren Generation kann auch Bonaventura Vulcanius, der damalige Universitätskanzler gezählt werden. In der zweiten Reihe stehen die Altersgenossen des jungen Gisbicius wie Daniel Heinsius, Hugo Grotius oder Petrus Scriverius. Während er mit fast übertriebener Ehrfurcht Dousa und Scaliger

<sup>7</sup> Hrdina, 'Studenti z českých zemí' und später in dem ungedruckten Aufsatz Jana Kolářová – Jana Engelbrechtová, 'Between the Heart of Europe and the Leo Belgicus. Contacts between Czech and Dutch Humanists'. Im Allgemeinen bearbeitet die Beziehungen zwischen Böhmen und den Niederlanden Josef Polišenský, *Nizozemská politika a Bílá hora* (Praha: Nakl. ČSAV, 1958); Id., *Tragic Triangle. The Netherlands, Spain and Bohemia 1617-1622* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1991) und Nicolette Mout, *Bohemen en de Nederlanden in de zestiende eeuw* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1975).

<sup>8</sup> Anhang 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Paulli a Gisbice Bohemi Schediasmatum farrago nova. Nuper in itinere Belgico ple-raque sub manu nata, ita foras quasi gustu data* (Leiden: Christophorus Guyotius, 1602). Weiter zitiert als *Schediasmatum farrago*.

anzusprechen wagt, behandelt er die Humanisten der zweiten Reihe als Freunde und seine literarischen Vorlieben teilende Tischgenossen. Sie sind nicht dazu bestimmt, Widmungsempfänger seines Buches zu sein, werden aber ersucht, die neu erscheinende Sammlung mit ihren Gedichten zu begleiten. Zweifellos werden auch alle um Stammbucheinträge gebeten, worüber in der Folge noch gesprochen wird. In den nachstehenden Absätzen möchten wir einen Überblick der Gelehrten und Dichter geben, die Gisbicius in Leiden getroffen hatte.

Über Gisbicius und seine Kontakte mit Janus Dousa und Joseph Scaliger wurde schon Vieles geschrieben. Es sei nur kurz gesagt, dass er beiden 'Lichtern der Gelehrsamkeit' seine *Schediasmatum farrago* widmete. Gleichzeitig bat er sie um Stammbucheinträge; bei Scaliger tat er dies mit Hilfe schmeichelhafter Hendekasyllaben:

**AD IOSEPHUM SCALIGERUM,  
I[ulii] Caes[aris] F[ilium] Naturae miraculum!**

Divi progenies, Iosephe, Iuli,  
 Censor maxime, Principumque Princeps,  
 Ac omnis Pater eruditionis,  
 En tramitto meum tibi libellum  
 Plenum nominibus sacris Bonorum,  
 Quos Apollo mihi et Sais patrima<sup>10</sup>  
 Globo cordis in intimo locarunt.  
 Tu dignare tua (precor) sacrata  
 Verba pauca manu mihi exarare:  
 Ut quondam patriis agens in oris  
 Tam magno viduus viro, potissim  
 Usque et usque piam manum osculari,  
 Quae caris mihi carior lapillis...<sup>11</sup>

Für das dichterische Geschenk wurde er entsprechend belohnt — von Dousa bekam er drei Oden und von Scaliger ein längeres Gedicht, das dieser 'e lectulo surgens' am 29. Dezember 1603 verfasst hatte. Beides gab Gisbicius nach seiner Rückkehr in Prag heraus.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Mit 'Sais patrima' wird die Göttin Athena gemeint. Nach Plato in seinem Dialog *Timaios* wurde in Sais, der ehemaligen Hauptstadt von Unterägypten, eine Göttin Namens Neith, auf Griechisch Athena, verehrt.

<sup>11</sup> *Schediasmatum farrago*, S. 59, VV. 1-13.

<sup>12</sup> *Iani Dousae Nordovicis domini, archivorum praefecti, supremae curiae Hollandiae adsectoris et academiae Lugduno-Batavae curatoris primarii, Odae tres ad Paullum a Gisbice Bohemum. Addita sunt carmina I. Scaligeri etc.* (Pragae: Othmar, s. a. [1603]). Wie uns Dousas' Brief am Anfang des Druckes *Odae tres* (s. nächste Notiz) berichtet, schrieb Janus Dousa die erste Ode mit eigener Hand, seine anderen zwei Oden ließ er seinen Sohn Dirck (Didericus) ins Album schreiben. Nach dem Abdruck der Gedichte folgt noch die Abschrift Dousa's Widmung, datiert zu Weihnachten 1602 in Den Haag.

Wenden wir jetzt unsere Aufmerksamkeit einer anderen berühmten Person der Leidener Universität zu — dem damaligen Universitätskanzler Bonaventura Vulcanius. Von diesem stammt das im Anhang der *Schediasmatum farrago* gedruckte und überaus positive Zeugnis über Gisbicius' Studium an der Leidener Akademie. Außerdem finden wir in *Schediasmatum farrago* seinen Namen an zwei Stellen: (1) im Abdruck des Briefes Taubmanns an Gisbicius, aus dem wir Folgendes zitieren möchten: '(...) Iter in Belgium gratulor. O Te felicem non cerebri modo, sed quid dicam nescio. Utinam tecum! Salveant a me magnae illae ANIMAE, Scaliger, Pleias Dousica, heu iam non Pleias! Vulcanius, Merula, Meursius meus, et qui sunt huius animae, immo et magnus ille Iunius Theologus, qui mihi vel ob nostra illa studia magnus. Alibi LIPSIUS, et quicumque Lipsii aliquid habent a Probitate et Doctrina.'<sup>13</sup>; (2) und in einem Gedicht *In Codrum*, das offensichtlich an den Brief Taubmanns anknüpft:

(...)  
 Maturare igitur Lugduni ad maenia juvit,  
 Quo locus in mundo mundior esse nequit.  
 Qua Schola florescit studiis, contermina caelo,  
 Pierio semper grata Sarepta Deo.  
 Qua modo Iuliades sublimi vertice fulget,  
 Qua Pleias, non jam Dousica Pleias, habet.  
 Et Genius Iunl, et Merula, et Vulcanius ille,  
 Clusius, Heinsiades, Bertius, atque alii  
 Quos omnes ego non homines, sed Numina quaedam,  
 Immo aut Semideos, aut reor esse Deos (...) <sup>14</sup>

In der Universitätsbibliothek Leiden wird ein handschriftliches Blatt in der Sammlung *Codices Vulcaniani*<sup>15</sup> aufbewahrt, das uns noch mehr über Gisbicius und Vulcanius verraten kann.<sup>16</sup> Es ist ein Autograph

<sup>13</sup> *Schediasmatum farrago*, S. 103.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 97-98.

<sup>15</sup> Leiden, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. Vulc. 103, Umschlag Nr. 9. Katalogeintrag: *Bibliotheca universitatis Leidensis. Codices Manuscripti I. Codices Vulcaniani* (Leiden: Brill, 1910), S. 44; *Iter Italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries*, comp. by Paul Oskar Kristeller, 10 vols. (London: University of London. Warburg Institute, 1963-1997), IV: *Great Britain to Spain* (1989), 373b.

<sup>16</sup> In der bisherigen gedruckten Literatur über Gisbicius wird dieser Autograph nicht erwähnt, trotzdem muss an dieser Stelle gesagt werden, dass der Autograph dem ersten Biographen von Gisbicius, Karel Hrdina, bekannt sein musste — laut einer kleinen Notiz auf dem Umschlag, in dem es in der Universitätsbibliothek Leiden aufbewahrt wird, bestellte er im Jahre 1942 eine Kopie davon. Wir überprüften dies im Nachlass von Karel Hrdina im Archiv der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik und

zweier von Gisbicius an Vulcanius gerichteter Gedichte. Im ersten bittet Gisbicius den Universitätskanzler um einen Stammbucheintrag:

**Excellentiss[imo] et Clarissimo Viro D[omi]n[o]  
BONAVENTURAE VULCANIO BRUG[ENSI]  
D[omi]n[o] et Amico plur[imum] obser[vando]**

Cui bona venturae consecras<sup>17</sup> nomina FAMAE,  
VULCANI, VENERI<sup>18</sup> grate Poeta tuae.  
Da mihi (quaeso) manum, da fidae pignora dextrae,  
Mnemosynonque ALBO pone perenne meo.  
Te junxere mihi Vulcania vincula Amicum,  
Quae nullus, nisi mors improba<sup>19</sup> dissoluet.

Seine Bitte blieb nicht unerhört, wie ein Gedicht von Vulcanius in *Carminum variorum libellus*<sup>20</sup> beweist:

Caesarea Lauro Gisbici, et stemmate clare,  
Flos juvenum quotquot terra Bohema tulit;  
Mene tuum, cupis, ut veniam novus hospes in Album,  
Et caris addam nominibus numerum?  
Quis tibi, ni sit homo, hoc mi Paule negaverit, excors,  
Quem Musae et Charites ut sua lumina amant?  
Ergo adsum, et fidum dextrae hoc tibi divido pignus:  
Di facerent, ipsum didere possem animum!  
*Bonaventura Vulcanius Brugensis, 12 Ianuar[ii] 1603. Aetatis suae 65.*

Im zweiten Gedicht auf dem oben zitierten Blatt aus Codices Vulcaniani wiederholt Gisbicius (laut eigenen Worten) das Widmungsgedicht, mit dem er vorher sein Buch *Schediasmatum farrago* Bonaventura Vulcanius schenkte, sich mit gespielter Bescheidenheit als schlechter Dichter bezeichnend:

**Ad EUNDEM, iam olim scriptum quum ipsi nugas meas offerrem**  
En tibi Boiemae jejuna Poemata venae<sup>21</sup>  
Quae dedit ingenii prima Palaestra mei;

fanden nicht nur die bestellte Fotokopie, sondern auch einen Abdruck des oben zitierten Aufsatzes Hrdinas' über Gisbicius mit seinen handschriftlichen, nie erschienenen Ergänzungen im Bezug auf die Leidener Handschrift.

<sup>17</sup> Mit Überschrift *committis*.

<sup>18</sup> K. Hrdina bemerkt in seinen handschriftlichen Notizen, dass dies vielleicht eine Anspielung sei an die Geschichte in Köln am Rhein, wo Vulcanius einen Mann aus Eifersucht geschlagen haben sollte. Wir sind eher der Meinung, dass Gisbicius auf dieser Stelle allgemein die Gunst der Göttin Venus gegenüber Vulcanius preisen wollte.

<sup>19</sup> Mit Überschrift *unica*.

<sup>20</sup> *Carminum variorum libellus singularis ad Paullum Gisbice etc. — In arma gentilitia Gisbiciorum [...] Laurent. Rhodomanus, p. Caes., profess. Vittebergae p. (Pragae: Othmar, 1604), II, 2.*

<sup>21</sup> Mit Überschrift *Musae*.



Haec tu non Veneri, Veneris sed trade marito,  
 Ut merito mihi VUL — CANIUS<sup>22</sup> esse queas.  
*Paullus Gisbicius malus Poeta*

Die Leidener Universitätsbibliothek liefert uns noch ein Zeugnis der Kontakte von Gisbicius in den Niederlanden. Das dortige Exemplar des Drucks *Schediasmatum*<sup>23</sup> wurde auf dem Titelblatt mit eigenhändiger Widmung des Autors versehen. Sie lautet: 'Lamberti van der burchii dono authoris'. Der Name Lambertus van der Burch kommt hier im Zusammenhang mit Gisbicius das erste Mal vor. Es ist zugleich ein Beweis für die Toleranz des utraquistischen Böhmen — die aus Utrecht stammenden Gebrüder van der Burch, Lambertus und Adrianus, waren nämlich überzeugte Katholiken, die in Zeiten herrschender antikatholischen Stimmung Zuflucht im toleranten Milieu der Universitätsstadt Leiden suchten. Außer dem Geschichtsschreiber Lambertus, der u. a. mit Vulcanius in Briefwechsel stand, kannte Gisbicius auch dessen älteren Bruder Adriaen, Dichter und Verfasser von Anthologien. Er widmete ihm zwei Epigramme, deren Abschrift zurzeit in der Universitätsbibliothek Utrecht aufbewahrt wird.<sup>24</sup> Im ersten lobt er den Empfänger und vergleicht ihn mit Horaz, im zweiten äußert er sich positiv über dessen Gedichte zu religiösen Themen.<sup>25</sup>

**Ad ampliss[imum] et clariss[imum] virum D[omi]n[um] Adrianum  
 VANDERBURCHIUM I[uris] C[onsultum] et Poetam doctiss[imum]  
 amicum**

Omne tulit punctum, qui tractat idonea vitae,  
 Utile qui dulci miscet, et ille sapit.  
 Tu quia versiculis iucunda et idonea misces:  
 Quid nisi Laus vati vult comes ire tibi?  
 Fallor, an arguto tam ducis carmina plectro,  
 ut te umbris stupeat Flaccus in Elysiis!

#### **Aliud**

Detineant alios alii, oblectentque, licebit,  
 Praelia magnanima qui cecinere tuba.

<sup>22</sup> Anspielung an den Namen Canius, eines Freundes von Dichter Martialis, wie schon Hrdina im Nachlass notierte.

<sup>23</sup> Utrecht, Universitätsbibliothek, HS 837, Fol. 54v-55r.

<sup>24</sup> Auf dieser Stelle möchten wir Herrn Prof. C. L. Heesakkers, der uns auf dieses Gedicht aufmerksam gemacht hatte, unseren herzlichen Dank aussprechen.

<sup>25</sup> Er meint wahrscheinlich seine Gedichtssammlung *Piorum hexastichon centuriae quattuor* (Leiden: Plantin und Raphelengius, 1603): 'Me Vander BURCHI delectant carmina vatis, | carmina de sacris pleraque sumpta libris'.

Me Vander BURCHI delectant carmina vatis,  
 Carmina de sacris pleraque<sup>26</sup> sumpta libris:  
 Cedite qui vetitos vates describitis ignes:  
 Non facit ad vitam pagina vestra piam.  
 Gloria te BURCHI maior post fata manebit,  
 Qui emollis mores carminis arte feros.  
*Paullus a Gisbice Eq[ues] Bo[hemus] et P[oeta] C[aesareus] ex  
 tempore*

Hier kommt auch ein negativer Zug von Gisbicius ans Licht: er unterschreibt sich als 'Eq[ues] Bo[hemus] et P[oeta] C[aesareus]' — nicht zum ersten Mal gibt er sich als Ritter aus, obwohl er in der Wirklichkeit nur nobilitierter Bürger war.<sup>27</sup> Beide Gedichte wurden von Arnoldus Buchelius abgeschrieben.<sup>28</sup> Buchelius, der sein Leben überwiegend in Utrecht verbrachte, kannte Gisbicius wahrscheinlich nicht. Wir suchten nach Gisbicius in seinem handschriftlichen Nachlass in der Utrechter Handschriftensammlung, leider ohne Ergebnis. In die Handschrift Nr. 837 hat Buchelius nebst anderen auch eigene Gedichte eingetragen und zwei davon nehmen Bezug auf Böhmen — *In obitum ducis Fridlandiae* auf 136r ohne Autorengabe<sup>29</sup> und *De morte regis Bohemiae Frid[erici]* auf 175r mit eigenen Initialen AB unterschrieben.<sup>30</sup> Das ist kein Beweis für ein außerordentliches Interesse Buchelius' an Böhmen — der böhmische Krieg 1618-1620, seine Folgen, der Tod des in den Niederlanden lebenden Winterkönigs 1632 und die Ermordung Wallensteins zwei Jahre später waren damals politische Aktualitäten eigener Art, von denen man im ganzen Europa berichtete.<sup>31</sup>

Von den Gelehrten der älteren Generation kommen wir nun zu den Altersgenossen von Gisbicius. Als erster muss Daniel Heinsius angeführt werden, der damals nur ein Jahr älter als Gisbicius schon seit Mai 1602 Vorlesungen über Poetik halten durfte.<sup>32</sup> Bei ihm wohnte laut Hrdina

<sup>26</sup> Recte pleraque.

<sup>27</sup> Dies tat er auch vorher an den deutschen Universitäten. Als ihn die Prager Universitätsmagister der Schädigung des guten Rufes ihrer Alma mater verklagten, war der Vorwurf, dass er sich als *eques* ausgab, Teil der Anklage. Über Nobilitationen in bürgerlichen Kreisen s. Jan Županič, *Nová šlechta rakouského císařství (Der neue Adel des Österreichischen Kaisertums, tsch.)* (Praha: Agentura Pankrác, 2006).

<sup>28</sup> Utrecht, UB, HS 837 (Var. 366), Fol. 54v-55r. In der Handbibliothek der Handschriftensammlung Utrecht befindet sich ein Verzeichnis der Sammlung Buchelius mit genauer Beschreibung der einzelnen Bände unter Signatur Addenda HS 837.

<sup>29</sup> Utrecht, UB, Addenda, S. 28.

<sup>30</sup> Utrecht, UB, Addenda, S. 38.

<sup>31</sup> Über damalige Publizistik siehe Poliženský, *Nizozemská politika*, SS. 246-250.

<sup>32</sup> *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (weiter NNBW), ed. Philippus C. Molhuysen – Petrus J. Blok – Karl H. Kossmann, 10 vols. (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911-1937), II, 554.

Paulus in Leiden.<sup>33</sup> An dieser Stelle kam das Stammbuch von Gisbicius zur Geltung — soweit wir wissen, bat er mit Erfolg Heinsius um einen Eintrag und schrieb auch selber ein Gedicht in dessen Album amicorum.<sup>34</sup> Heinsius begleitete die erscheinende Sammlung *Schediasmatum farrago* mit dem Gedicht *In Nobilissimi Praestantissimique juvenis D[OMI]N[I] PAULLI a GISBICE, etc. POEMATATA NOVA*. Gisbicius lobte in zahlreichen Gedichten seinen Freund Heinsius und dessen Werke: in *Decas lusuum ad Danielelem Heinsium*<sup>35</sup> schreibt er über seine Ausgaben von Hesiodos, Theokritos usw. Zusammen mit Heinsius schwärmte er für die in England geborene Prager Poetin Elisabeth Jane Weston — diese Gefühle fanden ihren Ausdruck im Heinsius-Gedicht *Ad Bohemum quendam amicum*.<sup>36</sup> In der relativ langen Elegie bittet Heinsius einen in seine Heimat zurückkehrenden böhmischen Freund, in Prag ein Mädchen aufzusuchen:

Nescio quae vestris, si fas est dicere, terris  
 eminent ingenii dote puella sui.  
 Ingenio cunctas supereminet illa puellas  
 atque aliquid sexu nomine maius habet.

Weder der Name des talentierten Mädchens noch der Name des unbekannten Böhmen sind in der Elegie zu finden. Dass es sich um die berühmte Westonia handelt, ist den Forschern schon lange klar, das bezeugt auch der Titel der Elegie in der späteren Ausgabe aus dem Jahre 1610<sup>37</sup>, den Heinsius zu *Ad Bohemum quendam amicum, de poetria celeberrima* ergänzte. Laut Vermutung von Antonín Kolář und später

<sup>33</sup> Hrdina, 'Humanistický básník', S. 214. Wahrscheinlich führt ihn dazu folgende Stelle aus dem Gedicht an Heinsius in *Schediasmatum farrago*: 'Gratulor, o Heinsi, me tecum vivere posse | et mensis isdem colloquiisque frui'. Später ergänzte diese Information Bohumil Ryba, 'Pražská básnířka v milostné elegii Heinsiově', in *Sborník prací věnovaný J. B. Novákovi* (Praha: ČSAS, 1932), S. 389. In diesem Beitrag zitierte er die Notizen über Gisbicius aus den Briefen von Heinsius an Janus Dousa aus dem Cod. Burney 371 in der Sammlung der British Library. Neuerlich wurden diese Briefe zitiert von Brenda Hosington – Donald Cheney, *Elizabeth Jane Weston: Collected Writings* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), S. 450.

<sup>34</sup> *AD DANIELEM HEINSIUM Gandensem, Profess. Leydensem, Graecae et L.L. peritissimum. I. IN ALBUM*. Das Album von Daniel Heinsius ist nicht bekannt, Verzeichnis seiner Stammbucheinträge veröffentlichte Barbara Becker-Cantarino, 'Die Stammbuch-eintragungen des Daniel Heinsius', in *Stammbücher als kulturhistorische Quellen*, hrsg. von Jorg-Ulrich Fechner, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 11 (München: Kraus International Publications, 1981), SS. 137-164.

<sup>35</sup> *Schediasmatum farrago*, SS. 52-58.

<sup>36</sup> Eleg. III., 9, in *Danielis Heinsii Gandensis Elegiarum lib. III., Monobiblos, Sylvae* etc. (Leiden: M. Maire, 1603), SS. 100-103.

<sup>37</sup> *Danielis Heinsii Poematum editio tertia; ita aucta et emendata, ut videri nova possit* (Leiden: M. Maire, 1610), SS. 417-419.

Karel Hrdina sollte der unbekannte *amicus Bohemus* der schlesische Dichter Georgius Martinius Baldhofen gewesen sein, der gleichzeitig mit Gisbicius Leiden besuchte und den Ruhm von Westonia eifrig verbreitete in der Absicht, ihre Gedichtsammlung in Leiden drucken zu lassen. Erst später nannte Bohumil Ryba in seiner oben erwähnten Studie Paulus a Gisbice als wahren Adressat der Elegie. Dies bezeugt auch indirekt die zweite Ode von Dousa an Gisbicius, in der Westonia an mehreren Stellen begeistert gelobt wird. Dem Umstand, dass Gisbicius und Baldhofen zur gleichen Zeit Leiden besucht haben, wurde bisher keine Bedeutung zugemessen, obwohl Gisbicius in seinen beiden Gedichtssammlungen Baldhofen, der zu seinen Prager *sodales* gehörte, ansprach und ihm in *Schediasmatum farrago* sogar zwei Lobgedichte auf Leiden widmete.

Durch Heinsius' Vermittlung hat Gisbicius wahrscheinlich Hugo Grotius kennengelernt und von ihm sein Gedicht *Myrtillus* und später auch Verse in sein Stammbuch bekommen.<sup>38</sup> Die Erlangung des Stammbucheintrags von Janus Dousa ist auch der Vermittlung von Heinsius beizumessen.<sup>39</sup>

Neben Heinsius stand Gisbicius auch sein Freund, der Philologe und Historiker Petrus Scriverius nahe. In *Schediasmatum farrago* veröffentlichte Paulus einige Epigramme an Scriverius und daneben dessen dichterische Antwort.<sup>40</sup> In *Carminum variorum libellus* druckte er den Stammbucheintrag von Scriverius ab<sup>41</sup> (zwei längere Gedichte an Paulus; das zweite ist am 31. Dezember in Leiden datiert). Seit Kurzem wissen wir auch, dass Scriverius zwei Stammbucheinträge von Gisbicius in sein Album bekommen hatte.<sup>42</sup> Der erste, datiert im November 1602 in Leiden,

<sup>38</sup> Mehr über Gisbicius, Grotius und seine Beziehungen zu Böhmen bei Kolářová – Engelbrechtová, 'Between the *Heart of Europe* and the *Leo Belgicus*'. Grotius schrieb am 7. Februar 1603 einen Brief an Heinsius, dass er ihm sein Gedicht *Myrtillus* für Gisbicius schickt. Die Stammbucheintragung von Grotius in *Schediasmatum farrago*, S. 58; Anhang 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Iani Dousae Odae tres ad Paulum a Gisbice*, s. oben.

<sup>40</sup> *Schediasmatum farrago*, SS. 61-64. Nach einem längeren Gedicht mit dem Titel *AD PETRUM SCRIVERIUM, Philologum insignem. V.C.* folgen kurze Epigramme wie z.B. dieser *lusus* mit den Apostelnamen.

Quod Paulo Petrus fuit olim claviger ille,  
Scriveri, hoc Paulo sis, Petre, Gisbicio.  
Inter eos qualis mansit coniunctio mentiū  
talis et inter nos sit maneatque duos.

<sup>41</sup> *Carminum variorum libellus*, Fol. A3a. Anhang 4.

<sup>42</sup> Königliche Bibliothek Den Haag, Hs. 133 M 5 A.A. Petrus Scriverius, fol. 123rv. Für die Information über die Eintragungen von Gisbicius im Stammbuch von Scriverius sind wir Dr. Kees Thomassen aus der Königlichen Bibliothek in Den Haag sehr dankbar.

enthält zwei Zitate (aus Lucilius und Cassiodorus) und im späteren<sup>43</sup>, am 26. Januar 1603 verfassten, wird der Empfänger mit einem langen Lobgedicht beglückt. Es ist, soweit wir wissen, der einzige erhaltene Stammbucheintrag von Gisbicius. In den tschechischen Bibliotheken und in den uns bekannten Stammbucheintrag-Verzeichnissen<sup>44</sup> findet sich kein Eintrag von ihm, obwohl er zweifellos viele geschrieben haben muss — seine Gedichtssammlungen sind voll von Dichtungen dieser Art.

Die Stammbucheinträge bei Scriverius haben gemeinsame Züge mit einigen Gedichten, die Gisbicius seinen Freunden in Böhmen und im Ausland widmete. Schon eins der benutzten Zitate spricht eindeutig davon, dass man sich die Weisheit außerhalb der Heimat suchen muss: 'Expediit interdum patriam negligere, ut sapientiam quis possit acquirere'. Im zweiten Eintrag äußert sich Gisbicius schon viel konkreter mit den Worten:

Qui dulcore litum os mellis, sed acore cor intus  
Fellis habent, verae pestis Amicitiae;  
Hos odio assiduo Vodnano prosequor omnes,  
Et procul a nostris arceo amicitiiis.

Es wird hier über *odium Vodnanum* gesprochen; in diese Worte legt Gisbicius seinen Hass auf den späteren Prager Universitätsprofessor Iohannes Campanus Vodnianus<sup>45</sup>, hier stellvertretend für alle konservativen Gelehrten der Prager Universität. Die durchaus negative Stellung Gisbicius' gegenüber der Prager Hochschule lieferte Stoff zu vielen seiner ironischen Epigramme in seinen im Ausland herausgegebenen Gedichtssammlungen. Kein Wunder, dass ihn die Universitätsprofessoren die Verunglimpfung der Universität vorwarfen.

<sup>43</sup> Siehe Anhang 5.

<sup>44</sup> Ein Projekt von Zdeněk Hojda und Marie Ryantová realisiert bei der Tschechischen Grant Agentur. Das geplante Verzeichnis der Stammbucheinträge wurde noch nicht publiziert, allgemeine Ergebnisse des Projektes nutzte M. Ryantová in ihrer umfassenden Studie *Památníky, to jest štambuchy aneb alba amicorum* (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita, 2007).

<sup>45</sup> Die Beziehungen zwischen Gisbicius und Campanus können in Wirklichkeit nicht so einfach interpretiert werden. In der Sekundärliteratur wird allgemein behauptet, dass Gisbicius als Jüngling ein Bewunderer von Campanus war, später zu seinem Gegner wurde und am Ende seines Lebens gezwungen war, sich mit ihm zu versöhnen. Wie die Erforschung einiger aus dem Besitz von den beiden Humanisten stammenden Sammelbände und darin enthaltenen Widmungen zeigt, hat Paulus seine Kontakte mit der Ausnahme seiner Auslandsreisen nicht unterbrochen. Wir nehmen an, dass Campanus eher im literarischen Sinne sein Widersacher war — und für die Rolle des 'literarischen Feindes' musste der ehrgeizige Gisbicius einen exzellenten Dichter, der Campanus zweifellos war, wählen, einen Dichter, der seine dichterischen Ausfälle erwidern konnte.

Trotz dieser Angriffe präsentiert sich Paulus im Ausland stets als *Bohemus*, weniger Gewicht legt er auf seinen protestantischen Glauben, da besonders in der Leidener Gelehrtenwelt die Konfessionsfrage nicht sonderlich betont wurde. Noch weniger Raum findet die Konfessionsfrage in seinen Gedichtssammlungen — aus rein praktischen Gründen. Er machte sie Kaiser Rudolf II. und Höflingen aus dessen engster Umgebung wie Barvitijs, Coraducius und Trautson zum Geschenk, als er um ein kaiserliches Empfehlungsschreiben für seine geplanten Studienreisen vorstellig wurde. Sein vorzeitiger Tod verhinderte ihn zudem, sich in dieser Frage klar auszusprechen — nach dem böhmischen Krieg und folgenden Ereignissen wäre er bestimmt gezwungen gewesen, eine klare Entscheidung zu treffen. Wie stark utraquistisch seine Familie war und in den Zeitläufen vor dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg auch blieb, zeigen die Schicksale seiner Brüder und Verwandten (Der Bruder Wenceslaus Gisbicius wurde 1621 auf dem Altstädter Ring hingerichtet, der Bruder Matthaeus Gisbicius wurde später zum Obristen der schwedischen Armee; sein Schwager Jan Sixt von Ottersdorf lebte im Exil im sächsischen Pirna usw.).

Kommen wir noch kurz auf die sorglose Zeit zurück, die Gisbicius in Leiden erlebte. Nachdem wir seine Autographe in den niederländischen Bibliotheken behandelt haben, möchten wir noch die beiden verbleibenden Informationsquellen auswerten. Aus *Carminum variorum libellus*<sup>46</sup> kennen wir noch andere niederländische Gelehrte, die Paulus ihre Eintragungen ins Stammbuch hinterließen. Außer den oben genannten Bonaventura Vulcanius, Daniel Heinsius und Petrus Scriverius sind es noch Janus Gruterus, Petrus Bertius, Albertus Eufrenius und Ioannes Meursius.

Ioannes Meursius, der nur zwei Jahre ältere Professor für Geschichte und Griechisch, schrieb genauso wie Gisbicius ein Geleitgedicht in Gruterus' Ausgabe der römischen Inschriften.<sup>47</sup> Uns ist aus *Carminum variorum libellus* sein am 20. 12. 1602 in Haag datierter Brief an Gisbicius bekannt.

<sup>46</sup> Gedichte niederländischer Gelehrten im Anhang 6.

<sup>47</sup> *Inscriptionum Romanarum Corpus Absolutissimum / Ingenio & cura Iani Gruteri, auspicijs Ios. Scaligeri ac M. Velsi. Item Notae Tyronis ac Senecae: nunquam antehac excusae* (Heidelberg: Hieronymus Commelinus (Erben), 1616).

Genauso alt wie Gisbicius war Albertus Eufrenius Amstelrodamensis (Albert Joriszoon Goedhart), ein Medizinstudent und Dichter. Kurz vor Paulus' Ankunft in Leiden hatte er dort seine an Janus Secundus inspirierte Gedichtsammlung *Poemata*<sup>48</sup> herausgegeben. Gisbicius besaß dieses Buch, es ist ebenfalls in den oben genannten Sammelband der Prager Nationalbibliothek eingebunden.<sup>49</sup> Über das Stammbuch von Eufrenius wissen wir nichts, er hat jedenfalls seine Verse in Gisbicius' Stammbuch geschrieben.

Petrus Bertius (Pieter de Bert), der letzte in unserem Verzeichnis, ist u. a. als Verfasser des ersten Kataloges der Universitätsbibliothek Leiden bekannt. Von allen in dieser Studie genannten niederländischen Humanisten hat er als Einziger Böhmen besucht, wahrscheinlich im Jahre 1591 auf der Deutschlandreise mit seinem Lehrer Lipsius.<sup>50</sup> Über seine Beziehungen zu Böhmen ist bisher nichts bekannt, es mag aber interessant scheinen, dass sein Sohn, geboren im 1612, den sonst in den Niederlanden kaum gebräuchlichen Namen des Schutzpatrons von Böhmen *Wenceslaus* trug.<sup>51</sup>

Janus Gruterus hat Gisbicius in Deutschland in seiner Wirkstätte Heidelberg auf dem Rückweg aus den Niederlanden kennengelernt. Schon in seiner Sammlung *Periculorum poeticorum partes tres* steht ein kurzes Lobgedicht an ihn. Es ist anzunehmen, dass der ähnliche Titel der Gedichtssammlung von Gruterus, *Iani Gruteri Pericula*, Gisbicius bei der Titelwahl für sein eigenes Buch inspiriert hat. In der Nationalbibliothek in Prag befindet sich ein Konvolut aus Gisbicius' Besitz, dessen erstes Adligat gerade Gruters *Pericula* mit eigenhändiger Widmung des Autors auf dem Titelblatt enthält.<sup>52</sup> Weitere Beweise der literarischen Kontakte zwischen beiden sind die von Gruterus in seinen Buchausgaben veröffentlichten Gedichte von Gisbicius — zur Zeit weiß man von einem Einleitungsgedicht in seine *Inscriptionum Romanarum Corpus* (siehe oben Nr. 47; 22 Gedichte aus *Schediasmatum farrago* nahm Gruterus in seine Anthologie *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum* auf.<sup>53</sup> Es ist ungewiss, ob

<sup>48</sup> *Poemata Alberti Eufreni Georgiadis, Amstelo-Batavi, Poeseos et Medicinae Studiosi. Erotica. Basia. Coma. Sylva* (Leiden: Christophorus Guyotius, 1601).

<sup>49</sup> Prag, Nationalbibliothek, 9 J 231, Adl. 3.

<sup>50</sup> *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme*, 6 vols (Kampen: Kok, 1978-2006), 2 (1983), 63-64; NNBW, I (1964), 314.

<sup>51</sup> Wenceslaus Bertius (1612-1643), NNBW, I (1964), 315.

<sup>52</sup> Prag, Nationalbibliothek, 9 J 231.

<sup>53</sup> *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum huius superiorisque aevi illustrium / Collectore A. F. G. G.* (Frankfurt am Main: Jacob Fischer, 1612), SS. 408-410.

Gruterus von Gisbicius einen Stammbucheintrag bekommen hat — sein Stammbuch in den Sammlungen der Collectie Six in Amsterdam enthält lediglich Einträge aus den Jahren 1580-1600.<sup>54</sup>

## ANHANG

Bemerkung: Die Texte im Anhang wurden den Drucken und Handschriften entnommen ohne in die Schreibweise (vor allem Groß- und Kleinschreibung, Interpunktion) einzugreifen. Die eventuellen Druck- und Schreibfehler werden in den Anmerkungen korrigiert. Das gleiche gilt auch für die oben im Aufsatz zitierten Texte.

### *Anhang 1*

*Nobilitate generis, Eruditione ac*

*Virtute praestanti, D[omi]n[o]*

PAULLO A GISBICE, EQV[ITI] BOIEMO,

et P[oetae] Caesario, Domino et amico

colendo. S[alutem] D[ico]

Literas ad I[osephum] Scaligerum, I[anum] Gruterum, et Claudium Marnium, tibi Nobilissime et doctissime GISBICI transmittito, pro amicitia nostra studiose rogans, ut quod in te recepisti, singulas curare non grave-  
ris. De quo nihil in dubium mihi venire patior. Ad Marnium de Quinto Calabro et Troicis meis scripsi<sup>55</sup>, si forsitan ipse his praelum suum commodare velit. Quod si detrectaverit, ad RAPHELENGIOS me convertam. Tu igitur responsum eius cum prima occasione significabis; et si tergiversantem animadverteris, Excellentissimo SCALIGERO lucubrationes meas commendabis: quarum tamen in literis ad ipsum facio mentionem. Possem has forte cum Eilhardo LUBINO<sup>56</sup>, Sextili Mense Lugdunum profecturo transmittere, si de voluntate Typographi aliquid certi prius mihi

<sup>54</sup> Chris L. Heesakkers – Kees Thomassen, *Voorlopige lijst van alba amicorum uit de Nederlanden voor 1800* (Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1986), Nr. 144.

<sup>55</sup> Die Ausgabe wurde tatsächlich von Claudius Marnius in 1604 in Hanau gedruckt und Rhodomanus brauchte sich nicht mehr an die Leidener Drucker Raphelengius zu wenden.

<sup>56</sup> Mit dem Rostocker Professor Eilhard Lubin reiste Gisbicius aus Rostock nach Leiden. Hrdina, 'Humanistický básník', S. 214.



constaret. Interea PALAESTINAM<sup>57</sup> spero, non excludent: ubi tuum quoque studium non parum nobis commodabit. Id quod pluribus a te non contendam, ne de fide ac diligentia tua subdubitare, quod in amicum non cadit, videar. Mea tibi vicissim, ut sunt, ita semper quam paratissima erunt. Vale atque salve, ac totum iter, quam felicissimum, σὺν θεῷ καὶ μοῦσαις absolve. Wittembergae IV. Non[as] Maii.

Anno M. D. C. II.

Tuus

*Laurentius Rhodomanus, P[oeta] Caes[areus]  
et Professor p[ublicus]*

### *Anhang 2*

FOPPIO ab AETZEMA FRISIO,  
amico suo. S[alutem].

Foppi! qui sobolem colis Monetae,  
Commendo tibi Gisbicen Bohemum,  
Virum Nobilem, et optimum Poetam;  
Almae cui Veneresque Gratiaequae  
Arrident placidis suis ocellis,  
Et cuius niveo sinu atque corde  
Camaenae genialiter quiescunt.  
Vale. quodque facis, me amare perge,  
Qui te amore colo et colam perenni  
Donec tu sobolem colis Monetae.

ALB[ERTUS] VOITUS Borussus

### *Anhang 3*

In Album PAULLI A GISBICE.

Nominibusne igitur tantis adscribere nomen  
Me Gisbice jubes, et nihil esse negas?  
Accipe quod poscis, Iuvenis Peneide sarta  
Nobilis, et priscae laus rediviva domus.

<sup>57</sup> Laurentius Rhodomanus, *Poesis Christiana. Palaestinae, seu historiae sacrae libri novem* (Frankfurt/M.: Wechel, Marnius, Aubrius, 1589).

Invenies alios qui sint hoc munere digni:  
 Sed tibi qui tantum debeat, unus erit.  
 HUGO GROTIUS Batavus.

#### *Anhang 4*

Petri Scriverii Harlemensis, Elegidion Ad Nobiliss[imum] Paullum a Gisbice, Poetam et congerronem suum suaviss[imum]

Tune iterum versus, iterum GISBICE Phalaecos,  
 Ditiaque Ingenii das monumenta tui?  
 Tune iterum versus, nec erat satis ante dedisse,  
 Scripta verecundis undique plena jocis?  
 Illa, inquam, aeternae concredita carmina Famae,  
 Ceu quondam Musae prima PERICLA tuae;  
 Quae tu (qui tuus est candor) SCHEDIASMATA dicis,  
 Ut quae sub doctam sint modo nata manum.  
 Qualiacunque tamen: his se debere fatetur  
 Summus Hyanteae DOUSA sititor aquae.  
 Illustrisque Heros, non uno nomine Magnus  
 SCALIGER, atque HEINSI vis generosa mei.  
 Debet et his multum CASAUBONUS, ipseque Iustus  
 LIPSIUS, et Sacro carmine BEZA potens.  
 Me quoque in hoc Albo post nomina tanta recenseres,  
 Dispeream, ni sit res ea grata mihi.  
 Sed vereor, ne me ludas laedasve; quid horres?  
 Delicias certe deliciose facis.  
 Quid (malum) enim tanti visa est tibi rustica Musa  
 Gingritus tanti, PAULLE, fuere mei?  
 Ut me etiam Cynnis istis componere velles,  
 Ad quorum dios mens stupet icta modos?  
 Di melius. neque enim tanto me dignor honore:  
 Ah quid delicias me cupis esse tuas?  
 Quid juvat ah claris nebulam interspargere stellis?  
 SCRIVERIUMQUE ipsis accumulare Deis?  
 Desine. non is sum, nec nostra Poemata tanti;  
 Dignaque neu tecum quae super astra vehas.  
 Non ego sum domi eques, non me Daphneia vincunt  
 Serta, nec epoto frons mihi fumat Equo.

Desine, non audis, nec quidquam Paulle movere  
Rursus et o vates ad tua Sacra volas?  
Meque tibi comitem trahis ad coenacula Divum!  
O quoties nostros sistere cogar equos!  
Nam tu animo invicto Lada perniciosior ibis,  
Atque ego prae fractis cruribus impos ero.  
Non equidem tecum cursu contendere possem,  
Non, quamvis fidam des mihi, Paulle, manum.  
Quaere alios, proprieque tuos, quos Caesar amavit,  
Et sacra jam quorum tempora Laurus habet.  
Quaere Palatinos Comites, age, quaere Poetas,  
Carminibus nomen qui meruere suis.  
Non ego vel Gemma, vel Lauru insignis opaca,  
Non ego, quod dixi, Caesareanus Eques.  
Quid? quod vix talis, quem vatibus adderet Olus:  
Ignoscas. Laurum nil moror, Ole, tuam.  
Sis Comes, ut fama est, sis sacri cura Palati,  
Sis quodcunque velis, nec male notus Eques.  
Nil moror. Ast olim si quid meruisse videbor,  
Detur ab Augusta nexa corona manu.  
Nunc quid vis potius malim, quam Vatis haberi  
Nomine; quare aufer res tibi Barde tuas.  
Ad terram ad terram, quid in altum surgis agyrtas;  
Quin analecta tuo cum cane BILO legis?  
Praestiterit certe, quam sacram vendere Laurum,  
Aonidasque isto conscelerare modo.  
Dic RITTERSHUSI, cui mittere Vappa coronam  
Institit, o nostri flos et ocelle chori;  
Dic TAUBMANNE, tuis sic semper amere columbis,  
Sic Veneri, Venerum sic et amere Patri:  
Tu quoque vix alio mihi nomine gratior hospes,  
Quam quod in hunc Fungum tela parata geras,  
Dic GISBICE mihi, dic o cultissime Vates,  
Quid tanto fieri cum Lucumone velis?  
Non erat obliquo spartum qui torqueat Ocnos  
Dignior, et ventrem pascat Aselle tuum?  
Non Aganippeo procul aspellendus ab amne  
Barbarus, et Pindo disiciendus erat?  
PORRO Romulidae date tela, avertite vestrum

Dedecus, et contra vos simul ite viri.  
Ite citi, ne mox totam sibi vendicet Ascrum  
Maevius, et nullo vos sinat esse loco.  
Ite, ite: ipse una vellem quoque tollere contra  
Cornua, sed parvo parvus in ore sonus.  
Tuque vides Hospes, quam sit mihi curta supellex,  
Et mihi quam nullo verba lepore fluant.  
Quare, age, me excludo. doctos nec Amice Poetas  
Quaere foris, quorum copia tanta domi.  
Tu poteris tecum RHODOMANNUM ferre per auras,  
BERSMANNI poteris pectus amare tui.  
CLINGERIUM poteris, tecumque auferre SIBERUM  
Quotquot et exulto carmine nomen habent.  
Quod superest, doctos procudere perge libellos,  
Perge: decent annos talia scripta tuos.  
Est aliquid proavos multa deducere virga,  
Cereaque e capsis promere signa suis.  
Quod GIBICE potes; sed tu nil stemmata curas,  
Utque vel a priscis si repetantur Avis.  
Nobiliusque putas aliquo inclarescere Scripto,  
Inter et Insignes nomen habere viros.  
Macte animi, quem rarus habes! quot (Iuppiter) Hermae  
Nil praeter ceras lignaque trunca colunt!  
Atque hi (quod mirere) suo mactantur honore,  
Et patriae summos Sol videt esse Patres.  
Nimirum Fati iam plus valet hora benigni,  
Quam si nos Virtus ipsaque Musa beet.  
Tu tamen intus abis, et plus Bucconibus istis  
Scire cupis, Blennis plus quoque scire tuis.  
Dico Magistellos, quos tu nil PAULE moratus,  
Pressius invisas perge fovere Deas.

EIUSD[EM] AD EUND[EM].

Paulle decus nostrum, Batavi nova fama Lycei,  
Qui modo pinnato pergis in astra gradu;  
Scin'bone, quid vellem? lepidissima carmina vellem,  
Scilicet Ingenii prima PERICLA tui.  
Da, rogo, quae vidi dignissima carmina cedro,

Quemque obiter legi, da mihi, PAULLE, librum.  
 Tres mihi da Charitas: da mille et mille lepores,  
 Quosque habet innumeros pagina salsa jocos.  
 Quae (precor) Invidia est, haec nobis scripta negare,  
 Publica quae dudum missa per ora virum?  
 Cur, bone, cur? nisi forte tuis dictata Bohemis  
 Dicis, et a Batavo non bene posse capi.  
 Namque homines crassi, nati infelicibus ovibus<sup>58</sup>,  
 Et steriles rerum, siccaque turba sumus.  
 Narro tibi verum: nemo heic, quem Laurus inumbrat,  
 Nemo, cui lucet Sardonychata manus.  
 Denique non nobis Pindi conceditur usus,  
 Ipsaque vix paucis est via visa pedum.  
 Et grege de tanto duo vel tres forte fuerunt,  
 Qui poterant versu nomen habere suo.  
 Ut pius et facilis, quem protulit HAGA, SECUNDUS,  
 Qui nulli, BEZA teste, secundus erat.  
 Addo illi, cui sunt *Dulces ante omnia Musae*<sup>59</sup>,  
 Dousam inquam, et Groti carmina sacra mei.  
 Quot vestra interea doctos habet ora Poetas,  
 Carminibus laurum qui meruere suis!  
 Sed quid ago? non vos Batavis conferre volebam,  
 Sed petere Ingenii prima PERICLA tui.  
  
 Atque hoc laetus lubensque merito scripsi Lugduni Bat[avorum] extremo  
 Decembri, Anno MDCII.

### Anhang 5

Aus dem Stammbuch von Petrus Scriverius:

V[iro] CL[arissimo] D[OMI]N[o] PETRO SCRIVERIO Harl[emensi] AMICOR[UM]  
 PRINCIPI

Felix illa dies, exortaque Sole sereno,  
 Quae te PETRE meae junxit Amicitiae.

<sup>58</sup> Recte *oris*.

<sup>59</sup> Verg., *georg.*, 2, 475.

Hac iniecerunt adamantina vincula nobis  
 Pierides, nec non delius, et Charites.  
 Vincula, quae nullus poterit dissolvere Livor,  
 Et nunquam poterit rumpere Tempus edax.

#### ALIUD

Ingenuum ingenuus complector amicus amicum;  
 Non amo, si cuius pectora fucus alit.  
 Qui dulcore litum os mellis, sed acore cor intus  
 Fellis habent, vere pestis Amicitiae;  
 Hos odio assiduo Vodnano prosequor omnes,  
 Et procul a nostris arceo amicitiiis.  
 Te vero diversum ab iis longe esse probavi  
 PETRE, decus PAULI, dulcis amice tui.  
 Hinc me devinxti, studiis conjunctus iisdem,  
 Ut te arte deamet mens mea, dulce caput.  
 Non ita sincerum Pylades ardebat Orestem;  
 Ut te Gisbicius deperit ille tuus.  
 Qui licet ingenio et doctrina par tibi *non est*,<sup>60</sup>  
 Par tamen ingenuo *semper amore cluet*.<sup>61</sup>  
*Ludebam Lugduno abiens*  
*ex tempore prorsus*  
*P[aulus] A. G[isbice]*

#### Anhang 6

Ex albo amicorum excerpta.

##### I.

Musis ac Gratiis, Invidiae atque Inscitiae aliter atque aliter Sacr[atum]

Quod mihi te, tibi me, solide testetur amicum;  
 Hanc bigam longi carminis instar habe.  
 Quam arram licet, imo aram, statuas perennaturae benevolentiae inter nos  
 mutuae, mi GISBICI; ita me Orchemeniae Divae respiciant, ita aversetur

<sup>60</sup> Mit Überschrift *nullus*.

<sup>61</sup> Mit Überschrift *foedere semper erit*.

Livor, aversetur Ignorantia; ut ego non fallam: nec tu quoque spero,  
immo scio.

IANUS GRUTERUS IURISCONS[ultus]  
Scribebam extemplo XII. Aprilis. Heidelbergae.

### III.

Nobiliss[imo] Clarissimoque Paulo a Gisbice D[omino] suo multum  
honorando, ut et Amico.

Sumite GISBICI tenerae, mea cura, tabellae,  
Dulcia festina symbola ducta manu.  
Symbola, quae vester fert Heinsius, Heinsius ille,  
Qui modo GISBICII munere nomen habet.  
Qui modo longinquis aliquis dicetur in oris;  
Qui modo non poterit, si volet ipse, mori.  
Hoc opus hoc Gisbice tuum est: nos munere vestro  
Vivimus; atque aliquis nos sciet esse tuos.  
Ipse pater, vestras qui labitur inter arenas,  
Tam placidae testis jam pietatis erit.  
Rhenus in obliquos Nerei dum labitur aestus,  
Rhenus in aequaream flumine vectus aquam.  
Aspiciet iungi duo nomina: nomina, quorum  
Perpetuus miti foedere nectit amor.  
Si tamen hoc aliquid, vestris adjunge tabellis,  
Qui tibi perpetuo pectore junctus erit.  
Daniel Heinsius Gandensis

### IV.

Ergo etiam prensas? et dextram jungere dextrae,  
Et nomen doctis addere nominibus  
PAULLE jubes? magna est haec gloria; sed vereor, ne  
Furcillis me alii hinc praecipitem eiiciant.  
Sed quia vis, volo; reddatur tibi gloria facti  
Si qua erit, at nobis simplicis obsequii.  
Multum etiam paruisse tibi est, mihi prona voluntas  
Efficit, ut tua sit gratia iudicium.  
Ergo cape hoc pignus; sed sancti pignus Amoris,  
Et quem nulla unquam saecula dissoluant,  
En animum expertem fuci; nunc Gisbici amicis

Incipe BERTIADEN annumerare tuis.

Petrus Bertius Brug[ensis]

Profess[or] Lugduni.

V.

Omnis Doctrinae ac Virtutis laudibus cumulatissime instructo D[omino]  
Paulo a Gisbice, P[oetae] vere nob[ili]

Obtuleras ALBUM nuper mihi PAULE, sed illi

Nominis impressi nuda sigilla mei,

Non aliquod carmen; nostri quod pignus Amoris

Currere doctorum posset in ora virum.

Paenitet heu facti, valde me paenitet inquam,

Quod mea tam PAULO segnis opella fuit.

Accipe nunc igitur: quanquam hoc si forte negarem,

Meque voces in Ius, non ego lite cadam.

Nam tibi cur aliquis faciat, quod conficis ipse?

Qui vati versus, in mare mittit aquam.

Petrus Scriverius.

VI.

Gisbice, quid nostrum poscis sine laude Poema,

Signaque vis Batavae mentis habere tibi?

Invitus tantos inter mea nomina pono,

Nominaque excelso non bene digna loco.

Quam fuerat melius, laribus latitasse paternis,

Quam tecum Augustae tecta subire Domus!

Non mihi vel tituli votis vel fama petatur;

Sed mage cum Domina vita quieta domi.

Albertus Eufrenius Amstelroda[mensis]

Nobiliss[imo] eruditissimoque Paullo a Gisbice,

Ioannes Meursius S[alutem] D[icit]

Libens admodum, Nobilissime Gisbici, epistolium tuum vidi, et quae adjuncta illi, Poemata tua. Mentiar, nisi me hoc munere captum fatear, et jam a me quoque amari te, dignum amore omnium eorum, quibus placent Virtus et Doctrina. Macte isto animo, et quam coepisti calcare Famae viam, porro insiste: neque ingratus dotes illas, quas e paucis habes a benigno Deo, destitue. Benefacit ille libenter nobis hominibus, sed vult



quoque ut utamur beneficiis suis, et reverenter ea habeamus. Scis hoc ipse per te, neque me monitore opus. Quod frustra me quaesiveris nuper domi meae, nollem factum: et doleo Fortunam eiusce diei colloquio nostro invidisse. Verum alias id fore non desperamus. Album tuum nemo mihi a te obtulit, itaque ignosces, si Symbolum non contulerim. Fiet tamen cum opportunum erit, id est, quandocunque tu voles. Vale mi Gisbici, et novitium hunc adfectum tuere diligenter, vel constantiae tuae caussa. Hagae Comitum XIII Kalendas Ianuarias Anni MDCIII.

National Museum Library, Prague  
Department of Manuscripts and Old Prints  
Václavské nám. 68  
CZ-11579 Praha  
marta\_vaculinova@nm.cz

Thomas LEDERER

THE CLEMENCY OF RUFINUS WIDL:  
TEXT AND CONTEXT OF W.A. MOZART'S FIRST OPERA

I.

The old University of Salzburg, which existed from 1622 to 1803, was the centre of Benedictine school drama, that often-forgotten counterpart to the stage efforts of the Jesuits.<sup>1</sup> Latin plays were performed in Salzburg for numerous liturgical and state occasions. The most important theatrical event of the academic year was the *comoedia finalis*, staged by the students of both the university and the *Universitätsgymnasium* (grammar school) at the end of the scholastic year. These actors referred to themselves, or were referred to, as the Benedictine Muses of Salzburg (*Musae Benedictinae Salisburgenses*).

As an important part of the archiepiscopal representational apparatus and that of the Benedictine university, this Counter-Reformational 'Salzburg Festival' *avant la lettre* contained elements of spoken drama, opera, ballet, and pantomime. The University of Salzburg was at that time one of the largest schools on the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, not much smaller than those of Vienna and Leipzig, and the only Roman Catholic university without a Jesuit faculty. It was associated with a confederation of over fifty Benedictine abbeys.<sup>2</sup> In an institution of such relevance, it does not surprise that the *comoediae finales* could reach quite remarkable dimensions. In the last years before the demise of the genre, a patriotic play by Florian Reichssiegel employed 250 actors, singers, dancers, and musicians.<sup>3</sup> From figures such as these it becomes

<sup>1</sup> Heiner Boberski, *Das Theater der Benediktiner an der alten Universität Salzburg (1617-1778)*, Theatergeschichte Österreichs, VI.1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978).

<sup>2</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, pp. 32-34. Hanna Domandl, *Kulturgeschichte Österreichs: Von den Anfängen bis 1938* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1992), p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> Florian Reichssiegel, *Hermann: Ein Beyspiel der Liebe zum Vaterlande* (Salzburg: Prodingen, 1773), fol. A4.

understandable that Archbishop Hieronymus Colloredo, a ruler with much practical sense and little regard for representative pageantry, demanded the abolition of the costly *comoediae finales* in 1776.<sup>4</sup>

The playwrights and directors of these plays were teachers at the *Universitätsgymnasium*, under the title of *comicus*; and they had, by virtue of their office, a seat in the academic senate.<sup>5</sup> Incidental music was provided by the musicians of the cathedral and the archiepiscopal court. Among the better-known composers for the university plays are Anton Cajetan Adlgasser, Matthias Siegmund Biechteler von Greiffenthal, Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber, Johann Ernst Eberlin, Michael Haydn, Leopold Mozart, and Georg Muffat. Yet the most famous of contributors to the genre of the *comoedia finalis* is Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. At the age of five, he performed in the ballet for Marianus Wimmer's play *Sigismundus Hungariae rex* with music by Eberlin (1 September 1761), and in the spring of 1767 Mozart himself wrote the music for a three-act Latin-language intermezzo or 'mini opera'<sup>6</sup> to be performed between the acts of a spoken drama, *Clementia Croesi* by Rufinus Widl, which was given on 13 May 1767 by the syntax class, the third-year students of the *Gymnasium*.<sup>7</sup>

This play is now for the first time made widely available both in the Latin original and in an Englished version. The edition is based upon the only extant manuscript of the playtext, which is preserved in Salzburg, and upon the *periocha* print, of which at least three copies are extant. *Periocha* prints, that is, booklets containing a plot synopsis and detailed act summaries of the spoken play together with the full text of the musical intermezzo, were usually distributed among the illustrious guests at productions of the *Musae Benedictinae Salisburgenses*. The *periocha* collection of Salzburg University Library holds a large number of these valuable documents of eighteenth-century theater practice.

Mozart's small opera (listed as no. 38 in the Köchel catalogue) had no formal title; it was considered merely a supplement to the large play, and the *periocha* mentions only the title of *Clementia Croesi*. The intermezzo was dubbed *Apollo und Hyacinth* several years after the composer's death by his sister Maria Anna, and this is also the title under

<sup>4</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Fritz Hennenberg, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1997<sup>3</sup>), p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 304. The five classes of the *Gymnasium* were *Rudimenta*, *Grammatica*, *Syntaxis*, *Poesis*, and *Rhetorica*.

which it appears in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*.<sup>8</sup> However, it seems more fitting to refer to it as *Apollo et Hyacinthus* — since, as Stanley Sadie observes, ‘for a Latin work a Latin title is to be preferred’.<sup>9</sup>

The author of the plays, Rufinus Widl (1731-1798), was a monk of the (since secularized) abbey of Seeon in Upper Bavaria.<sup>10</sup> He taught at the *Universitätsgymnasium* in Salzburg from 1763 to 1767 and was then appointed professor of philosophy at the University. Thesis papers of two of his students are still preserved in the University Library<sup>11</sup>; other ones are in the Bavarian State Library in Munich<sup>12</sup>, which also holds Widl’s own thesis paper<sup>13</sup> and a *laudatio funebris* written in German.<sup>14</sup> Previous to *Clementia Croesi*, Widl had authored another university play, *Filii in parentem amor* (8 May 1765) with music by Joseph Meißner.<sup>15</sup>

Certainly due to Mozart’s authorship, the intermezzo *Apollo et Hyacinthus* has experienced a revival in the twentieth century; it has been translated into German, among others by as notable a stage practitioner as Erika Mann<sup>16</sup>; it is now performed quite regularly, and several recordings

<sup>8</sup> W.A. Mozart, *Apollo und Hyacinth*, ed. Alfred Orel, *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, II/5/1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990<sup>2</sup>). A digitized facsimile of the *periocha* has been made available by the University Library of Salzburg: <<http://www.ubs.sbg.ac.at/sosa/periochen/R56071/clementiacroesi.htm>>.

<sup>9</sup> Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The Early Years, 1756-1781*, fwd. Neal Zaslaw (New York: Norton, 2006), pp. 119-20.

<sup>10</sup> For a cursory biography see Alfred Orel, ‘Vorwort’, in *Apollo und Hyacinth*, ed. Orel, p. IX, n. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Johannes Baptista Kendler, *Epitome psychologiae empiricae in Alma et Archiepiscopali Universitate Salisburgensi unacum parergis ex universa Metaphysica disputationi menstruae exposita praeside Rufino Widl* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1770). Ignatius Metzger, *Prima mentis humanae actio theoretica ac practice expensa in Alma et Archiepiscopali Universitate Salisburgensi unacum Parergis ex Philosophiae et Logicae prolegomenis ac prima huius parte disputationi menstruae exposita praeside Rufino Widl* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1769). Orel erroneously attributes these two works to Widl’s authorship.

<sup>12</sup> M. Cichann, *Secunda mentis humanae actio theoretica et practice expensa [...] Unacum Parergis ex logica praeside Rufin. Widl. def. M. Cichann* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1769). Ignatius Metzger, *Theses ex universa philosophia, quas in Alma et Archiepiscopali Benedictina Universitate Salisburgensi praeside P. Rufino Widl defendet Ignatius Metzger* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1770).

<sup>13</sup> Rufinus Widl, *Elementa logicae probabilium thesibus menstruis exposita: una cum positionibus ex logici maiori praeside P. Laurentio Manzl, [...] def. Ruffino Widl, [...] in [...] Universitate Salisburgensi diem 22. Junii anno M.DCC.LI.* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1751).

<sup>14</sup> Rufinus Widl, *Dreyfache Größe der Maria Lutgardis Abtissin zu Frauen Chiemsee: Lob- u. Trauerrede* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1763).

<sup>15</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 303.

<sup>16</sup> W.A. Mozart, *Apollo und Hyacinth: Oper in 3 Bildern* K. 38, arr. Karl Schleifer, trans. Erika Mann (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1935).

have been made.<sup>17</sup> Yet if this small piece has risen above obscurity, it has remained the only one of the Salzburg university plays to do so. Of more than six hundred plays and intermezzi that constitute the vast mass of Salzburg Benedictine drama, Mozart's setting of Widl's intermezzo alone has attained certain popularity. Only one further play so far has been rescued from oblivion, namely Michael Haydn's rustic entertainment *Die Hochzeit auf der Alm*, written as an intermezzo for Florian Reichssiegel's *Pietas coniugalis in Sigismundo et Maria* (10 April 1768).<sup>18</sup>

Performances of Mozart's or Haydn's intermezzi, however, like the separate edition of the embedded playlets, only present a torso of the original works. They cater to today's theatre practices, yet they do not do justice to the genre and its conventions. The text of *Clementia Croesi* belongs integrally to the plot, the message, and even the music of Mozart's little opera. It provides the appropriate frame for it, and it contains the key for interpreting it. In fact, a better knowledge of the conventions of the Salzburg Benedictine drama will contribute our understanding of the making of Mozart the dramatist, who, at least in his early stages, was considerably influenced by the theatrical and musical standards of the university stage.<sup>19</sup> The present edition will close a small but noticeable lacuna in Mozartian studies.

## II.

On the Salzburg stage of the seventeenth century, serious drama was often accompanied by entertaining plays or pantomimes between the

<sup>17</sup> To mention a few: W.A. Mozart, *Apollo et Hyacinthus* K. 38, perf. Mozarteum-Orchester Salzburg, Salzburger Kammerchor, Anthony Rolfe Johnson, Arleen Augér, Edith Mathis, Cornelia Wulkopf, Hanna Schwarz, cond. Leopold Hager, Philips Classics, 1991. W.A. Mozart, *Apollo et Hyacinthus* K. 38 and *Bastien et Bastienne* K. 50, perf. Rundfunk-Sinfonieorchester Leipzig, Rundfunkchor Leipzig, John Dickie, Venceslava Hrubá-Freiburger, Arno Raunig, Ralf Popken, Axel Köhler, cond. Max Pommer, Edel Classics, 2003. W.A. Mozart, *Apollo et Hyacinthus* K. 38 and *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* K. 35, Salzburg Festival 2006, perf. Sinfonieorchester der Universität Mozarteum, Maximilian Kiener, Christiane Karg, Jekaterina Tretjakova, Anja Schlosser, Astrid Monika Hofer, cond. Josef Wallnig, DVD, Deutsche Grammophon, 2006.

<sup>18</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 305. Michael Haydn, *Die Hochzeit auf der Alm* MH 107, ed. Johanna Senigl, Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg, 19 (Munich: Strube, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 183. Laura Kuhn, *Baker's New Dictionary of Opera* (New York: Schirmer-Gale, 2000), p. 6. Paul Nettl, *W.A. Mozart, 1756-1791* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1955), p. 90. Bernhard Paumgartner, *Mozart* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1967<sup>6</sup>), p. 66. Stanley Sadie, 'Mozart, (3) Wolfgang Amadeus', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan-Grove, 1980), XII, 689.

acts. By the 1650s these intercalated playlets had begun to be connected to form one thoroughgoing play in its own right, and soon it became customary simultaneously to stage two plays at once, one lighter, the other more serious. At that time, however, there was no connection visible between the serious drama and the intermezzo. In the eighteenth century, the tendency was towards a strong parallelization of the plays as regards plot or message, that is to say, ideological or didactic content. As a rule, the embedded play was relatively lighter than the framing drama, even though the plots were related. Also, the intermezzi were increasingly given the form of *Singspiele* and even full operas. From the 1760s onward, the little opera or *Singspiel* was occasionally acted after the spoken drama.<sup>20</sup> Occasionally, even a third action was intercalated, which was usually low comedy written in the local Salzburg dialect.<sup>21</sup> This is probably connected with a trait frequently found in Roman Catholic-influenced South German/Austrian art, namely the unconcerned mixing of the serious and sublime with a popular, visceral, even coarse and crude humor. Since our focus is on the Salzburg stage, Hugo von Hofmannsthal's mystery plays, especially *Das Salzburger Große Welttheater* (1922), may be cited here as an ultimate example of this tendency. In the case of *Clementia Croesi*, a representative example of a late point in the development of Benedictine drama, the main play and the intermezzo were arranged as follows:

Prologus (First act of *AH*)  
 Actus I (First act of *CC*)  
 Actus II (Second act of *CC*)  
 Chorus I (Second act of *AH*)  
 Actus III (Third act of *CC*)  
 Actus IV (Fourth act of *CC*)  
 Chorus II (Third act of *AH*)  
 Actus V (Fifth act of *CC*)

The two parallel plays are related in a very close way; they are all but staging the same story twice. This parallelism of the two plays is discussed already in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*<sup>22</sup>, yet what is said there is based solely on the summaries of the acts given in the *periocha*. The

<sup>20</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, pp. 139-44.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Wimmer's *Stöfl und sein Weib* ['Steve and his wife'], which backed his *Sigismundus Hungariae rex* (in which the boy Mozart was one of the ballet dancers) and that play's intermezzo, *Tobias* (1 September 1761) and *Der Würth bey dem grünen Hund* ['The Landlord of the Green Dog Inn'] to go with *Israel et Albertus Sueciae reges* and the intermezzo *Samuel et Saul* (31 August 1762). Boberski, *Das Theater*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>22</sup> *Apollo und Hyacinth*, ed. Orel, pp. X-XV.

present edition permits closer comparison of the similarities, which go as far as verbatim repetition of key terms. Both plays deal with the phenomenon of *clementia*, that is, a ruler's willingness freely to pardon criminals. The exact meaning of this concept will be explored presently. However, the parallelism of the two plays is further emphasized by a number of seemingly insignificant details. In *Clementia Croesi*, to quote one such detail, King Croesus is praised as 'the Lydian Apollo' by the courtier Megabasus (CC 154).

Their practice of parallelizing or rather dovetailing two separate plays shows how, still at that late stage, the dramatists of the *Musae Benedictinae Salisburgenses* are indebted to the dramatic forms of the Baroque rather than to those of the Enlightenment. It is remarkable that the preparations for the staging of Widl and Mozart's work occurred during the weeks in which Gotthold Ephraim Lessing began his work as dramaturge at the *Hamburgische Entreprise*. The simultaneity of these two kinds of drama can be deemed to constitute a case of nonsynchronicity (or *Ungleichzeitigkeit*, to use Ernst Bloch's word). Only when the ultimate demise of the academic stage was imminent did the Benedictines of Salzburg seek connection to the literature of the Enlightenment rather than a Latin history play. In 1777, the *Musae Benedictinae* staged what may be called an anthology of German literature: *Auszüge von besten deutschen Schriftstellern genommen, durch Gespräche dramatisch ineinander geflochten*.<sup>23</sup>

Widl's art is related, on the one hand, to the representative stage plays of the seventeenth century. Authors like Daniel Casper von Lohenstein and Andreas Gryphius wrote grandiose tragedies that are overloaded with erudition and political purpose, and between whose ponderous acts allegorical or entertaining intermezzi, pantomimes, or ballets act as a commentary on, or political application of, the main *Staatsaktion*. On the other hand, there is the Italian *opera seria* of the period with librettists such as Gennaro Federico, Nicola Haym, Pietro Metastasio, and Paolo Rolli. Like the spoken drama of the seventeenth century, *opera seria* tended to be complemented by brief, light plays inserted between the acts. From these, the genre of *opera buffa* evolved — the best-known *buffa*, Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *La serva padrona*, was first staged as the light entertainment intercalated in a *seria* by the same composer, the now forgotten *Il prigioniere superbo*.

<sup>23</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 128.

## III.

A relative of the *opera seria* and the Baroque representative play, Widl's theater, like the Salzburg university theater in its entirety, is characterized by an incredible verbosity and a highly static nature. Widl's art is bound to the didactic purpose not only of his play but of the genre as such. The Salzburg university plays served to illustrate certain aspects of ecclesial doctrine and of political expedience and, of course, to extol the Prince-Archbishop as a paragon of orthodoxy and wise statesmanship. In a way, we may perceive the central event of the modern Salzburg Festival, Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Jedermann* (1911), as a revival of this manner of religious instruction drama.

Widl's double play, significantly, contains several details that allow reading as operatic reminiscences. While a thorough discussion of the text cannot be provided within the framework of this introduction, we may point out two remarkable instances. There is, first, the soliloquy of Croesus, in which the king reflects on the death of his son and the questions concerning the nature of guilt and punishment it prompts within him (CC 441-72). This extensive introspection on the part of the protagonist is highly stylized, and in fact takes on the form of the *opera seria*'s staple recitative and aria. If we assume the 'aria proper' to begin with line 452, its ternary form is immediately visible. An outburst of wrath and accusation is followed by a mellower reflection on the nature of the accident, before the king picks up the first theme again, albeit with slight modifications.

In the intermezzo, the bereft king expresses his grief — this time truly in the form of a *da capo* aria<sup>24</sup> — by exploring the metaphorical relationship between human emotions and the ocean. When King Oebalus, in the second act of *Apollo et Hyacinthus*, learns of his son's death at the hand of the pretended friend Zephyrus, he compares the tormenting alternation of emotions this revelation causes in him to the mishaps of a ship at sea in a storm. Just as a vessel is tossed high up and sucked deep down by the fury of the waves, the bereft father oscillates between peaks of insane anger at the killer and gloomy valleys of deep depression (AH 286-95).

Widl's texts serve to convey an explicit moral, which is announced already in the opening phrase of the *periocha*: 'Regum esse proprium

<sup>24</sup> Mozart, *Apollo et Hyacinthus*, 70-78 (no. 7).



Clementiae insigne'. This note is sustained, with variations, throughout the plays. In *Clementia Croesi*, the courtier Hystaspes declares, 'Rex alme, sontes plectere est regum quidem, | Sed propria quoque sit principi clementia. | Parcere scelestis postulat regum indoles' (CC 1377-79). Towards the end of the play, Hystaspes says, 'Sic te, verende rex, tuam et clementiam | Stupebit orbis semper et dicet pium' (CC 1536-37). The play closes with the following sentence, spoken by Mandana, the sister of the pardoned perpetrator: 'Principe in tanto inclutum | Benignitatis mundus exemplum colat!' (CC 1543-44). Similarly, Apollo praises King Oebalus at the end of the intermezzo, 'Sic saecula te futura clementem sonent' (AH 388).

It is interesting to compare Widl's celebrations of kingly power and clemency with the concluding words of other Mozart operas with 'political' messages. There is, obviously, *La clemenza di Tito* K. 621 (1791), on a text adapted from Metastasio, which David Cairns has called 'a sermon on the responsibilities of enlightened despotism'.<sup>25</sup> It concludes with these words:

Oh generoso, oh grande!  
e chi mai giunse a tanto?  
mi trae dagli occhi il pianto  
l'eccelsa sua bontà.<sup>26</sup>

The realization expressed at the end of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (K. 384 [1782]) is quite similar, but has a more sentimental (and enlightened) flavour than both Widl's and Metastasio's clemency plays:

Nichts ist so häßlich als die Rache.  
Hingegen menschlich gütig sein  
und ohne Eigennutz verzeihn,  
ist nur der großen Seelen Sache.<sup>27</sup>

Clemency is explored also in Mozart's *Lucio Silla* (K. 135 [1772]) and, of course, in *Die Zauberflöte* (K. 620 [1791]), whose protagonist Sarastro is a patriarchal absolute ruler whose reputation and power increase through the forgiveness he shows those who are plotting against his life.

<sup>25</sup> David Cairns, *Mozart and his Operas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p. 231.

<sup>26</sup> W.A. Mozart, *La clemenza di Tito*, ed. Franz Giegling, Neue Mozart-Ausgabe, II/5/20 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), pp. 302-305 (no. 26 meas. 32-48).

<sup>27</sup> W.A. Mozart, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, ed. Gerhard Croll, Neue Mozart-Ausgabe, II/5/12 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982), pp. 411-414 (no. 21a meas. 95-109).

In fact, the clement despot as embodied in figures like Selim, Tito, Croesus, or Oebalus, was almost a stock character on the operatic stage of the eighteenth century. Metastasio's libretto for *La clemenza di Tito*, which Mozart used in a condensed version by Caterino Mazzolà, was an opera staple of long and solid standing. It had been set to music literally dozens of times. The most important settings are those by Hasse (1738), Wagenseil (1746), Gluck (1752), and Jomelli (1753), and still after Mozart, the libretto was set by Nicolini (1797).<sup>28</sup> The librettist of *Die Entführung*, Gottlieb Stephanie, significantly altered his literary model, a play by Christoph Bretzner, by adding the motif of clemency. Whereas in Bretzner's play Belmont is revealed to be Selim's son and then pardoned on account of consanguinity, Stephanie's Selim shows forgiveness for no other reason but what can almost be called purpose-free magnanimity. This purpose-free magnanimity appears to have been en vogue on the stage of the period, at least in the Austrian lands.<sup>29</sup> Yet where does it come from, and, most importantly, what gave Widl his ideas?

The linkage between the teaching and the dramaturgy of the Salzburg Benedictines suggests exploring the message of the plays performed by the *Musae Benedictinae* from the vantage point of the university's order of studies or, more broadly speaking, its doctrinal and philosophical orientation. In the case of Widl's leading term, *clementia*, it seems appropriate to seek a definition in the writings of Thomas Aquinas. The Benedictine university of Salzburg, in order to distinguish itself from Jesuit institutions, actively expounded a Thomistic philosophy.<sup>30</sup> Aquinas was chosen patron saint of the Salzburg theological faculty and has an altar in his honour in the university church. As a source for furthering our understanding of Widl's thinking, Aquinas proves to be quite helpful. His encyclopaedic *Summa theologiae* dedicates an entire question (*S. Th.*, IIa-IIae Q. 157) to a definition and discussion of the nature of *clementia*, which he couples, and uses interchangeably, with mildness (*mansuetudo*).

Aquinas forcefully denies any connection between clemency and mercy (*misericordia*). While clemency means abstaining from excessive severity for the sake of temperance (not because severity is considered

<sup>28</sup> Paumgartner, *Mozart*, pp. 437-438.

<sup>29</sup> 'Großmut, die nach einem Berichte damals in Wien Mode war', in Hermann Abert, *W.A. Mozart: Erster Teil, 1756-1782* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955'), p. 770.

<sup>30</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 34.

bad but because as a rule excesses are met with suspicion), mercy stems from compassion. Aquinas states, relying on etymological connections: '[M]isericordia importat dolorem de miseria aliena'.<sup>31</sup> By contrast, clemency stands for an intellectual achievement, a judicial practice, namely the reasonable mitigation of a punishment ('diminutio poenarum'), of a punishment — and this is the decisive detail — which is harsh yet legitimate. Clemency has to be shown 'secundum intentionem legislatoris', that is, it must not thwart the due course of law. As clemency means moderation of punishment, it is a form of temperance; it proceeds from that 'primary' virtue as a 'secondary' one. In Aquinas's words, 'tam clementia quam mansuetudo adiunguntur temperantiae sicut virtuti principali'. This connection is made already by Cicero. Aquinas explicitly acknowledges him as his source.<sup>32</sup> The bulk of his theory of clemency, however, Aquinas draws from Aristotle's *Ethics* and, of course, Seneca's *De clementia*.

Seneca's theory of clemency, as proposed in this little handbook of statesmanship, his collection of political wisdom for the use of his pupil Nero, can be outlined in a few sentences. For Seneca, clemency is that quality which makes the difference between a ruler and a tyrant. It is the necessary result or concomitant of a severe legislation. It is an art, something that has to be acquired diligently. From the ruler's perspective, *clementia* stands for abandoning a legitimate act of revenge. From the perspective of the subject, it means an instance that grants personal safety by suspending prosecution. Clemency is an intentional act rather than the result of tedium or of oversaturation with cruelty or remorse over committed cruelties. In the long run, clemency helps the good (while the bad are strengthened rather by a total absence of severe legislation). It produces social peace and will improve a ruler's reputation. More than that, it will corroborate the legitimacy of that ruler's authority.<sup>33</sup>

Within these paradigms, *clementia* is no antithesis to harshness. Rather, it is an accessory to severity, which it reinforces. To Seneca and

<sup>31</sup> *S. Th.*, IIa-IIae Q. 30 A. 3. I quote from the following edition: *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis doctoris angelici ordinis praedicatorum Summa Theologiae*, cura fratrum eiusdem ordinis (Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 1963), 3: *Secunda secundae*.

<sup>32</sup> *S. Th.*, IIa-IIae Q. 157 A. 3; *Cic.*, *inv.*, 2, 54.

<sup>33</sup> This practical purpose made Kant deny, eighteen years after *Clementia Croesi*, that clemency, moderation (Aquinas's *temperantia*), 'even if greatly praised by the classics and the Fathers, could in any way be deemed good in itself' (*Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, AA 394).

Aquinas, *misericordia* (that is, compassion and humaneness) must appear as unreasonable, as counter to the common good and the security of the state, whereas *clementia*, a well-planned suspension of severity, appeared as reasonable and supportive of the ruler's powers.<sup>34</sup> Aquinas quotes from the Old Testament's Book of Proverbs: '*misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem et roboratur clementia thronus eius*'.<sup>35</sup> In a system of equity law (as contrasted to statutory law) and absolute monarchy, arbitrary acts of forgiveness, such as the pardoning of the traitor Pharnaspes in Widl's *Clementia Croesi*, will both please and appease the people and strengthen the ruler's position. To stay within biblical paradigms, the *clementia* of Croesus has much more in common with the behaviour of the unjust, arbitrary judge in one of Christ's parables (Luke 18.1-6), who, for an egocentric motive, suspends the law in favour of a weak individual, than with the *misericordia* / ἔλεος that the Samaritan protagonist of another well-known story offers to that man who has fallen among the thieves on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho (Luke 10.30-37).

What Aquinas extols as a theological virtue, what Seneca recommends as politically expedient, is cited as the foremost legitimation of Roman world leadership in one of the most famous passages of Vergil's *Aeneid*: 'tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento | (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, | parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'.<sup>36</sup> The same commitment to peace and equity is identified as a leading characteristic of Roman rule and indeed of the Roman people also by Livy: their *clementia* is what distinguishes the Romans from other peoples and what created a good reputation and therefore ultimately what we moderns call 'political capital' for Rome.<sup>37</sup> For Valerius Maximus, *clementia* is so much a characteristic of the noble Roman — he cites the exemplary figure of Fabius Maximus — that for a true Roman it is next to impossible to dissemble it.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the most famous Roman to play on the instrument of expedient clemency, however, was Julius Caesar, who was able to base his success as a warrior and a statesman upon his

<sup>34</sup> Sen., *clem.*, 2, 5, 1; 2, 7, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Vulg., *prov.*, 20, 28. It is notable that, in contrast, the Authorized Version obliterates the distinction between *clementia* and *misericordia* ('Mercy and truth preserve the king: and his throne is upholden by mercy'), whereas the Septuagint clearly distinguishes between ἐλεημοσύνη and δικαιοσύνη.

<sup>36</sup> Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 853-855.

<sup>37</sup> Liv., 21, 60, 4; 26, 14, 2; 28, 34,3; 33, 12, 7; 44, 9, 1; 45, 8, 4; 45, 17, 7.

<sup>38</sup> Val. Max., 2, 7, 1.

reputed *φιλανθρωπία* and *ἐπιείκεια*.<sup>39</sup> Suetonius praises Caesar's tendency to pardon criminals<sup>40</sup>; so does Plutarch<sup>41</sup>; Velleius Paterculus, who is slightly more critical of Caesar<sup>42</sup>, notes his habit of sparing defeated adversaries.<sup>43</sup> Caesar himself points out that he would rather accept defeated enemy troops among his own ranks than to execute them, as he would have been entitled to, and as his enemies did without hesitation.<sup>44</sup> Examples of his clemency are, for instance, his treatment of the Atuatuaci, the Bellovaci, the Bituriges, and the Haedui during the campaign in Gaul, or his policy concerning the city of Corfinium in the Civil War.<sup>45</sup>

Widl's understanding of clemency stands clearly in the Senecan/Thomistic tradition. His play is not advocating gentle rule. In the words of one of his characters, courtier Pharnaspes, leniency signifies the beginning of the downfall of the state: 'Ni poena culpam debita infandam premat, | Si scelus inultum semper et maneat nefas, | Deorsum iam cuncta exinde ferrentur brevi' (CC 580-82). And this is not solely the opinion of the play's draconian figure. The interlocutor of Pharnaspes in this dialogue, the calm and collected Megabasus, indicates his understanding of the nature of the Lydian monarchy thus, 'Iubere reges pro suo libitu solent' (CC 589). In the intermezzo, Hyacinthus neatly sums up the theory of absolutism and equity through clemency when he describes the ways of the gods with humans: 'Et amore | Et timore | Gentes stringunt subditas: | Nunc amando, | Nunc minando | Salva stat auctoritas' (AH 73-78).

A detailed discussion of the philosophy of clemency lies outside the purview of this sketch. However, it is worth considering within the context of the political realities of Mozart's Salzburg, that spiritual principality which philosopher Leopold Kohr celebrated as the foundation and

<sup>39</sup> Plut., *Caes.*, 34, 7; 57, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Suet., *Iul.*, 67, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Plut., *Caes.*, 1, 2.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. in his narrative of the brutal vengeance the young Caesar took on the Cilician pirates who kidnapped and were later forced to release him (Vell., 2, 86, 2; see Plut., *Caes.*, 1, 2; Suet., *Iul.*, 4, 1).

<sup>43</sup> Vell., 2, 55, 2; 2, 87, 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Caes.*, *civ.*, 3, 8, 3; 3, 14, 3; 3, 28, 2-4; 3, 98, 2. Plut., *Caes.*, 46, 4.

<sup>45</sup> *Caes.*, *Gall.*, 2, 14, 4; 2, 31, 3. Hirt. *Gall.*, 8, 3, 5; 8, 21, 2. *Caes.*, *civ.*, 1, 20-23. See Max Treu, 'Zur clementia Caesaris', *Museum Helveticum*, 5 (1948), 197-217. Hellfried Dahlmann, 'Clementia Caesaris', in *Caesar*, ed. Detlef Rasmussen, Wege der Forschung, 43 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), pp. 32-47.

embodiment of his concept of small and *eo ipso* humane nations.<sup>46</sup> There is no reason to assume that the sentiments expressed by his protagonists do not express Widl's opinion of the nature of government, nor indeed the reality of the principality of Salzburg in the last years before the Enlightenment and the Napoleonic invasion. It is quite clear that the clement rulers of the university stage were to be understood as a cipher for the princes on the throne of Salzburg, with the intention of extolling the latter, but also for the purpose of instructing the audiences, and perhaps even more so, the student actors.

Here again we may turn to Aquinas, this time to glance at his understanding of practical aesthetics. For Widl, as for the other authors of Salzburg university plays, the purpose of their efforts was twofold. Their drama was geared towards giving both pleasure and instruction. This is, in a way, related to the Horatian duality of *prodesse* and *delectare*<sup>47</sup>, but more than that, it comes from a Thomistic understanding of the nature of art and beauty. To Aquinas, a 'didactic form possessed beauty not just through its inner proportion, but also through its proportion to its educational goal. It was only when these kinds of harmony were found that aesthetic pleasure could arise'.<sup>48</sup>

In the 1760s the Benedictine Muses of Salzburg staged a number of plays that carried a message similar to that of *Clementia Croesi*. The first play to explore the topos was Simpertus Schwarzhuber's *Clementia Cyri* (17 April 1761).<sup>49</sup> Placidus Scharl, Widl's superior as the prefect of the *Universitätsgymnasium*, authored a number of plays that emphasized the virtue of clemency: *Clementia Vespasianorum* (18 June 1764)<sup>50</sup>, *Clementia Theodosii*, with music by Adlgasser (30 August and 1 September 1768)<sup>51</sup>, and *Hannibal Capuanae urbis hospes* (28 August 1767).<sup>52</sup> We

<sup>46</sup> Leopold Kohr, "Small is beautiful": *Ausgewählte Schriften aus dem Gesamtwerk* (Vienna: Deuticke-Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1995), p. 13. In the immediate vicinity of Salzburg, clemency was the guiding maxim in the political thinking of the empress Maria Theresa, who ostensibly ruled by the motto *Iustitia et clementia*, a device known to numismatists from the rim of the Maria Theresa thaler. It is likewise remarkable that the pope incumbent at the time of *Clementia Croesi* had assumed the name of Clement (XIII, i.e. Carlo Rezzonico).

<sup>47</sup> Hor., *ars*, 333.

<sup>48</sup> Umberto Eco, *The Aesthetics of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Hugh Bredin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1988), p. 183.

<sup>49</sup> Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 299.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 302.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 305-06.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305.

may detect the influence of Scharl's thinking in the work of his subordinate. The last clemency play on the Salzburg stage was Florian Reichssiegel's *Pietas in patriam*, the *comoedia finalis* of 1771. This celebration of Arminius's victory in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest, with music by Michael Haydn, opens with an allegorical homage to Archbishop Siegmund Schrattenbach, who is lavishly praised for his *clementia*. Although the virtue of piety is usually distinguished from clemency in Thomistic thought<sup>53</sup>, Reichssiegel feels that there is enough common ground to warrant a panegyric of his monarch's outstanding clemency, which he invokes not only as Schrattenbach's political guiding principle, but which, as he hopes, will make the archbishop favourably review the play given in his honour. The topos of modesty, a stock element of court literature, is thus cleverly connected to the celebration of princely clemency. In an elegant twist, the clement Schrattenbach's rule over Salzburg is ascribed to the clemency of God, who has placed the archbishop in his position. The same superlative phrases that are so abundant in Widl's play appear here:

Excelse Princeps! columnen et patriae decus!

.....

Hinc si canentis sermo displiceat, bona

Placeat voluntas: Musa, quod potuit, agit.

SIGMUNDE! Clemens adspice Hermannum et fave.

.....

Felix Iuvavia!

Cui Numinis clementia

Haec sors beata obtigit

Sigmundum eligendi.<sup>54</sup>

In this celebration of an absolute ruler's paternalist clemency, we again see the tremendous gap that opens between these plays and the ethos of, for instance, Lessing's Hamburg dramaturgy of the same period.

However, what was the reality behind these celebrations of archiepiscopal clemency? The state that Widl and his fellow dramatists celebrated for its 'clement' sovereigns — and that Kohr was to idealize two centuries later — was in fact among the most restrictive and most badly administered states of the Holy Roman Empire. After the Peasant's War of 1524 the archbishopric of Salzburg had become a clerical oligarchy in

<sup>53</sup> *S. Th.* IIa-IIae Q. 101.

<sup>54</sup> Florian Reichssiegel, *Pietas in patriam: Tragoedia* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1771), fol. 6r. See Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 307.

which the archbishop and his cabinet, the cathedral chapter, ruled without so much as a pretence of concern for their subjects' welfare and dignity. Historian Mack Walker's judgment is unequivocal: the cathedral chapter's 'interests', he writes, 'placemanship apart, were parochial and made no assertion of territorial responsibility except insofar as the chapter occasionally harassed archbishops for their unseemly religious laxity'.<sup>55</sup>

The small principality was characterized by ecclesiastical (and thereby social and political) abuse that persisted long after similar practices had been more or less abolished in the rest of the Empire. In the last third of the seventeenth century, Salzburg was the scene of a hysterical witch hunt that led to the execution of over one hundred so-called members (aged between ten and over eighty) of the alleged 'brotherhood' of 'wizard Jake' (*Zauberer-Jackl*) and the banishment of vagrants from the archbishopric.<sup>56</sup> Expulsion of religious dissenters from the state of Salzburg happened in several waves: the Lutherans of Deferegggen were forced to emigrate (and to leave behind their children and half of their property for the tuition of these children!) in 1684/85; the miners of Dürrenberg were expelled in 1691; and between 1731 and 1733 about 19,000 Lutheran peasants, that is about one fifth of the total population, were compelled to leave the archiepiscopal territory.<sup>57</sup>

Within this context, Widl's (and Reichssiegel's, Scharl's, and Schwarzhuber's) Senecan and Thomistic understanding and discourse of clemency as an absolute ruler's ability to mollify severe penalties handed down in the court of first instance is made immediately relevant. Let me conclude these considerations with a brief look at one particular legal case of the time, namely the trial and imprisonment of Josef Steinwender. This seems all the more appropriate as incarceration does constitute a central theme in *Clementia Croesi*. In 1760, Josef Steinwender, a peasant from Lasaberg near Tamsweg, was arrested and imprisoned in the archiepiscopal fortress at Hohenwerfen, south of Salzburg, on account of

<sup>55</sup> Mack Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction: Expulsion and Redemption in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1992), p. 17.

<sup>56</sup> Heinz Nagl, 'Der Zauberer-Jackl-Prozeß: Hexenprozesse im Erzstift Salzburg, 1675-1690', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 112-113 (1972-1973), 385-539, and 114 (1974), 79-241.

<sup>57</sup> On the incredible cabals of Archbishop Leopold Anton Eleutherius von Firmian and his chancellor Gerolamo Cristani di Rallo that preceded and were instrumental in this act of denominational cleansing see Gerhard Florey, *Bischöfe, Ketzler, Emigranten: Der Protestantismus im Lande Salzburg von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Graz: Böhlau, 1967), pp. 97-252, also Walker, *The Salzburg Transaction*.



publicly proclaiming heterodox religious opinions. Archbishop Siegmund Schrattenbach rejected the pleas of Steinwender's wife to relocate the prisoner closer to her home so she could take better care of him (as was customary at the time, she was responsible for his board and clothing). Nonetheless, Schrattenbach assigned a monthly payment of three florins to the woman and ordered the district administration of Werfen to supply fuel and candles for her husband's cell, all the while never considering a release, let alone a reconsideration of the legislation that imprisoned him in the first place. The payments to the imprisoned Steinwender and his wife, however, were made promptly and faithfully for more than two decades.<sup>58</sup> This is what the Senecan/Thomistic *clementia* signifies: the arbitrary mitigation of harsh sentences passed under a severe legislation with the intention of supporting both the very existence of the legislation and the popularity of the ruler who can nonetheless diverge from it at will.

#### IV.

In their theatrical practice, the Benedictines were far less prejudiced than the Jesuits, who were wary of subject matter taken from classical (i.e. pagan) mythology and tradition.<sup>59</sup> The Benedictines, on the other hand, showed a keen interest in historical and mythological subject matter. Widl's blending of a topic from ancient history and one from mythology and his treatment of his sources prove him to be an expert reader of classical antiquity and a writer in the Benedictine tradition. This is appropriate for a teacher at the University of Salzburg, the first Roman Catholic university that offered historical studies. History as an academic subject had been introduced in 1671 by Simon Rettenpacher, himself a prolific writer of *comoediae finales*, one of which was actually a Croesus play (16 October 1673); however, it emphasizes not so much the king's clemency as the tragic involvement of Adrastus and the 'inevitable power of the fates'.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Gerhard Florey, 'Der «stumme Gefangene» auf Hohenwerfen', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 123 (1983), 283-296. Thanks are due to the Salzburg State Archive for supplying me with the article.

<sup>59</sup> Helmut Feld: *Ignatius von Loyola: Gründer des Jesuitenordens* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), p. 252.

<sup>60</sup> Simon Rettenpacher, *Ineluctabilis vis fatorum, seu Atys Croesi Lydorum Regis filius ab infelici Adrasto inopino vulnere peremptus* (Salzburg: Mayr, 1673). See Boberski, *Das Theater*, p. 34. Domandl, *Kulturgeschichte Österreichs*, p. 306.

Widl's Croesus plot is acknowledged as deriving from the Croesus narrative in the *Histories* of Herodotus (1.34-45) and follows its source quite closely. The origins of the *intermedium* are more complex. As Alfred Orel has shown<sup>61</sup>, Widl cannot have modelled his Hyacinthus drama entirely upon the most obvious source, the tenth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. His portrayal of the protagonists and his development of the conflict show a distinct relation to the depiction of the myth in the forty-sixth chapter of *Apista*, the 'book of impossibilities', by Palaiphatos, a Hellenistic rationalist, and to the dialogue of Apollon and Hyakinthos, the fourteenth of Lucian's *Dialogi deorum*. That Widl was familiar with Lucian is suggested also by his far-fetched reference to Busiris of Egypt (CC 1288), who is cited as an archetypal rebel and traitor (cf. Lucian, *Ver. hist.*, 2, 23). It is possible, as Orel suggests, that Widl was made aware of both Palaiphatos and Lucian by Benjamin Hederich's *Gründliches Lexicon mythologicum* (1724), the standard relevant reference text of the eighteenth century. The character of Melia is, of course, Widl's own invention. Introducing her meant, for one thing, reducing the homoerotic flavour of the myth, where it is the love of Apollo and Hyacinthus that causes furious jealousy in Zephyrus and serves as the reason for the catastrophe. Such a modification was obviously demanded by the conditions of the performance. Yet more importantly, the character of Melia allows Widl to achieve a consistent and convincing parallelization of plots. This appears to be Melia's primary function, as we see even in the two female characters' alliterating names, which reflect those of the male *schuldlos-schuldig* protagonists, Apollo and Adrastus. Despite the shift of the love plot away from him, Widl's Zephyrus still feels a sentimental attachment to Hyacinthus: 'O care! quam libenter offerrem ilia | Pectusque, si tu Apollo mihi meus fores!' (AH 15-16).

## V.

Translating literary texts, it appears, entails theorizing about the practice and the act of translating. Without overestimating the quality and value of Widl's drama and my own translation of it, I do wish to make a few remarks on my own work and the principles which have guided me.

Translators of literary texts usually provide a rationale for their work and their manner of proceeding, and they often like to do so by relying on a more or less apt metaphor. I quote at random: 'When the violin

<sup>61</sup> *Apollo und Hyacinth*, ed. Orel, pp. XI-XIII.

repeats what the piano has just played, it cannot make the same sounds and it can only approximate the same chords. It can, however, make recognizably the same “music”, the same air (...) Language too is an instrument, and each language has its own logic’.<sup>62</sup>

This translation of Widl’s plays cannot claim to be anything but an auxiliary for the reading of the original, an aid for reading the Latin text by means of the logic and mechanics of the English language. It was done as literally as possible and as freely as necessary, and it certainly is not intended to be a translation for the stage, that is, a translation into trenchant sentences which ‘could be comprehended at first hearing by an audience’.<sup>63</sup> It makes no claims whatsoever to artistry. If therefore there is not much ‘music’ in the Englished Widl, to remain within the metaphor and the Mozartian context, the reason lies in the source text. If the English sounds pedantic at times, this is due to the nature of Widl’s Latin. Also, I have been reluctant to transpose lines or even the word order of the original, wherever English syntax permitted adherence to the structure of the Latin.

The Latin text as it appears here is an attempt to restore or reconstruct the original from a rather deficient manuscript source<sup>64</sup>, which was penned by an inexperienced scribe, certainly a student of the *Gymnasium*, very likely one of Widl’s syntaxists, perhaps one of the players. Any attempt to preserve the palaeographic peculiarities of the manuscript is ruled out in the present case. Firstly, there are practical reasons. The result of such a transcription would hardly be legible due to the many idiosyncrasies of the source, namely the hundreds of scribal errors it contains. Secondly, presenting the text in the form it takes on in the MS would be doing a grave disservice to the author, Widl, whose presumable intentions are obviously not captured in his pupil’s weak efforts.

The nature of the scribal errors suggests that the text was dictated to the writer. Most conspicuously, there are copious instances where word endings have been misunderstood, especially metrical elisions. If we assume that it was the author himself who dictated the play to the writer,

<sup>62</sup> John Ciardi, Translator’s Note, *The Inferno*, by Dante Alighieri, trans. John Ciardi, introd. Archibald T. MacAllister (New York: New American Library-Mentor, 1954), p. ix.

<sup>63</sup> Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty, ‘Translating For the Stage and From the Stage’, in *The Oresteia*, by Aeschylus, trans. David Grene and Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty (Chicago, IL: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 27.

<sup>64</sup> I am indebted to Dirk Sacré for numerous helpful comments on the Latin text.

we may even conclude that the Upper Bavarian Widl pronounced his Latin in a distinctly Bavarian way. There are several instances where the writer confuses voiced and voiceless plosives ('dua' – 'tua') and fricatives ('ficta' – 'victa'); likewise, he frequently alternates between 'a' and 'o', which may be attributed to the Bavarian tendency towards strong nasalization of vowels. Where these errors were obviously meaningless, they have been silently emended; where there was even a remote possibility of meaning in the received version, the reading of the MS appears in the footnotes, where *variae lectiones* are likewise indicated. Spelling, including capitalization, and punctuation, also of the printed text, have been carefully normalized, 'u' and 'v' are used in the standardized way, and 'i' appears throughout instead of 'j'. The first word of each line is capitalized, following the convention of the period and the usage of the printed libretto. All ligatures have been spelt out.

The following editorial sigla have been used:

- S: The manuscript of *Clementia Croesi*. 44 fol., 8vo. Salzburg University Library, M I 196 (*olim* V 2 H 141). The MS has no title; however, there is no doubt concerning the identity of the play, as the cover page is inscribed *aō 1767*. The volume, which was clipped after writing, contains only the text of *Clementia Croesi*.
- Σ: The doublet within the manuscript: Lines 1069–1105 are repeated, by the same hand, after line 1385. The doublet, the reason for which is obviously inattentiveness on the part of the writer (or the dictating professor), is of higher quality than the running text.
- s: The *periocha* print, which contains also the libretto of the intermedium: *CLEMENTIA | CROESI | TRAGOEDIA IN SCE- | NAM DATA | A | SYNTAXI | IN VNIVERSITATE SALIS- | BVRGENSI | III IDVS MAII | MDCCLXVII | SALIS-BVRGI | Typis Ioannis Iosephi Mair, Aulicoaca- | demici Typogr[aphi] et Bibliop[olae] p[ro]p[ri]a[m] m[em]oriae] Haeredis*. 12 fol., 8vo. Salzburg University Library, R 5607 I, Kremsmünster, Regenterei, Textbuch Nr. 40<sup>65</sup>, and Überlingen, Leopold-Sophien Library, Jb 27. This print contains the text and act summaries of *Apollo et Hyacinthus* and the act summaries of *Clementia Croesi* as well as the initial synopsis of the Croesus drama after Herodotus and a list of the performers.

<sup>65</sup> My gratitude goes to Hauke Fill of Kremsmünster Convent for locating the volume for me.

- a: The score of *Apollo und Hyacinth*, ed. Alfred Orel (NMA II/5/1, 1959), which is based on Mozart's autograph score and — for the Latin text — the *periocha* print. Orel assumes the composer to have worked from a libretto by Widl's hand rather than from the printed libretto, which accounts for a small number of *variae lectiones*. The autograph is preserved in the Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, Mus.ms.autogr. W.A. Mozart 38.

The *periocha* print is the structuring principle for the present edition. The acts of *Clementia Croesi* appear after the act summaries as given in the *periocha*. To ease distinction between the textual layers, the text from the *periocha* has been rendered in italic throughout, while roman is used for that of the MS.

Thomas Lederer  
Seattle Pacific University  
3307 Third Avenue West  
Seattle, WA 98119 – 1997  
thmlederer@gmail.com

RUFINUS WIDL

CLEMENTIA CROESI

E FONTIBUS EDIDIT THOMAS LEDERER

**ARGUMENTUM**

*Regum esse proprium Clementiae insigne, suo Croesus Lydiae rex comprobavit exemplo. Is Adrastum (filius hic erat Midae Phrygum regis) ob caedem fratri imprudenter illatam patria eiectum rebusque exutum omnibus hospitio exceperat atque inter carissimos semper habuerat. Factum interea, ut feroce apro Mysiam depopulante incolae a Croeso Atyn filium, qui pessimam prosterneret feram, ardenter rogarent. Croesus (in somno utpote praemonitus Atyn cuspide periturum) diu illorum precibus resistit; urgentium autem votis tandem annuens filium concessit, adiuncto tamen Adrasto comite, qui salvum et incolumem denuo reduceret. Verum is emissio infeliciter iaculo non feram, sed Atyn traicerat. Croesus summo exinde adfectus dolore reducem Adrastum super Atys cadaver imprudentis erroris supplicium urgentem iterum in gratiam recepit. Ita Herodotus libro I. Historiarum.*

*Scaena figitur in urbe Sardi.*

**PROLOGUS**

*Oebalus rex fulmine aram Apollini sacrificantis destruyente territus a suis erigitur et Apollinem exsulem excipit.*

## RUFINUS WIDL

## THE CLEMENCY OF CROESUS

ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY THOMAS LEDERER

**THE PLOT**

*Clemency is the proper distinction of kings, as King Croesus of Lydia showed by his own example. With lavish hospitality, he welcomed to his lands Adrastus, the son of King Midas of Phrygia. Adrastus had inadvertently killed his own brother and therefore been banished from his native land and stripped of all his wealth. Yet Croesus held him in high esteem at his court.*

*At this time it happened that a fierce boar was laying waste the land of Mysia, and the inhabitants ardently petitioned Croesus to send his son Atys to kill the evil beast. Yet Croesus had been warned in a dream that Atys would perish by a spear wound. So he resisted this request for a long time. When he finally gave in to the pleas of the people and permitted his son to leave, he ordered Adrastus to go with Atys and bring him home safely. Yet Adrastus hurled his spear so wide off the mark that it killed Atys instead of the boar. Croesus was filled with utmost grief, but when Adrastus, upon his return, demanded to be put to death over the body of Atys on account of his imprudent error, Croesus forgave him and received him back into favour. Thus writes Herodotus in the first book of his Histories.*

*Scene: The city of Sardis.*

**PROLOGUE**

*King Oebalus is terrified when a thunderbolt destroys the altar on which he is offering a sacrifice to Apollo. His followers comfort him, and he welcomes as his guest Apollo, who is a refugee.*

OEBALUS. MELIA. HYACINTHUS. ZEPHYRUS. APOLLO. SACRIFICULI APOLLINIS.

- HYACINTHUS. *Amice, iam parata sunt omnia. Aderit,  
Ut spero, cum sorore dilecta meus  
Ad sacra, quae constituit, actutum pater.*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Ni fallor, est Apollo, quem colitis.*
- HYACINTHUS. *Hic est.*
- 5 ZEPHYRUS. *Apollini ergo tanta sacrificia parat  
Oebalus? An alios nescit in caelis deos?  
An Semelis ergo natus, an Juno, Venus,  
Diana, Mars, Vulcanus, an superum potens  
Pater<sup>1</sup> atque princeps ture nil vestro indigent?*
- 10 HYACINTHUS. *Quibusque consecramus, o Zephyre, diis  
Nullusque nostris vacuus a templis abiit:  
At solus istud Apollo sibi templum suo  
Vindicat honori. Genitor hunc magnum deum  
Veneratur, et ego veneror exemplo patris.*
- 15 ZEPHYRUS. *O care, quam libenter offerrem ilia  
Pectusque, si tu Apollo mihi meus fores!*
- HYACINTHUS. *Dilecte quid me Zephyre permisces diis?  
Honore non me dignor: at novi bene;  
Extorsit ista nimius in Hyacinthum amor.  
(VENIT OEBALUS ET MELIA.)*
- 20 *Sed en, sorore comite nunc genitor venit.*
- OEBALUS. *Dic, nate, num parata sacrificio hostia  
Et ignes?*
- HYACINTHUS. *Ecce, genitor, ad nutum omnia  
Parata praestolantur adventum tuum.*
- OEBALUS. *Bene: ergo succendatur a flamine focus*
- 25 *Et ture plurimo ara praegravis gemat,  
Fumusque sacrificantis in nubes eat.*
- MELIA. *Heu genitor, atra nube tempestas minax  
Ingruit et omnis glomerat huc noctem polus.*
- OEBALUS. *Adeste! Longioris impatiens morae  
Apollo tus et hostiam a nobis petit.  
Fugiet ad istas saeva tempestas preces,  
Et blanda facies Solis his iterum plagis  
Redibit. – Agite, fundite et mecum preces.*
- 30

<sup>1</sup> s] a: caput.



OEALUS. MELIA. HYACINTHUS. ZEPHYRUS. APOLLO. PRIESTS OF APOLLO.

HYACINTHUS. *Everything is prepared, my friend. I hope that not only my beloved sister, but also my father will shortly arrive for the sacrifice that he has ordered.*

ZEPHYRUS. *If I am right, it is Apollo whom you worship.*

HYACINTHUS. *It is he.*

ZEPHYRUS. *[5] Does Oealus prepare such sacrifices for Apollo alone? Does he not know that there are other gods in heaven? The son of Semele, Juno, Venus, Diana, Mars, Vulcanus, or the all-powerful father of the gods, do they not need your incense?*

HYACINTHUS. *[10] To all of them we offer sacrifices, Zephyrus, and none of the gods will leave our temples neglected. Yet Apollo alone reserves this temple for his honour. My father worships this mighty god, and I worship him after my father's example.*

ZEPHYRUS. *[15] Dear boy! How readily should I offer my loins and my heart if only you were my Apollo for me!*

HYACINTHUS. *My dear Zephyrus, are you mistaking me for a god? I am not worthy of worship. Yet I know well that all this is forced on you by your overwhelming love for Hyacinthus. (ENTER OEALUS AND MELIA.) [20] But look, here my father comes, accompanied by my sister.*

OEALUS. *Tell me, son, are the fire and the offerings ready for the sacrifice?*

HYACINTHUS. *They are, father. Everything has been prepared according to your orders and is ready for your arrival.*

OEALUS. *That is good. Let now the fire be kindled by the priest, [25] let the altar groan, loaded with incense, and let the smoke from the offering rise to the clouds.*

MELIA. *Woe, father! A storm is threatening with a black cloud, and the entire sky is compressing night here.*

OEALUS. *Come here! Apollo is impatient about the delay [30] and demands incense and sacrifices from us. The threatening storm will vanish before these prayers, and the sun's cheerful countenance will return yet again to our lands. Rise then, and pray with me.*

- CHORUS. *Numen o Latonium!*  
 35 *Audi vota supplicum,*  
*Qui ter digno*  
*Te honore*  
*Certant sancte colere:*  
*Hos benigno*  
 40 *Tu favore*  
*Subditos prosequere.*
- SOLUS OEALUS. *O Apollo creditam*  
*Tibi semper protege*  
*Et dignare lumine*  
 45 *Oebali Laconiam,*  
*Numen<sup>2</sup> o Latonium! (UT SUPRA)*  
*(FULMEN IGNE ET ARAM DESTRUIT.)*
- MELIA. *Heu me! Periimus! Numen heu nostras preces*  
*Respuit!*
- OEALUS. *An aliquis forsitan ex vobis deum*  
*Violavit?*
- MELIA. *Haud me, genitor, ullius ream*  
*Invenio culpa.*
- HYACINTHUS. *Semper hunc colui deum.*  
 50 *(O Zephyre, quantum timeo, ne verbis tuis*  
*Haec ira sit succensa, quae dixi<sup>3</sup> prius.)*
- ZEPHYRUS. *(Hyacinthe, si me diligis, cela patrem,*  
*Et verba prolata prius a nobis tace!)*
- OEALUS. *Extinctus ignis, ara subversa, hostia*  
 55 *Contempta nobis grande praesagit malum!*  
*Heu totus hoc concussus a fulmine tremo!*
- HYACINTHUS. *Erigere mentem, genitor: insontem geris*  
*Animum. Quid ergo numine a bono mali*  
*Metuas? Ab isto fulmine es laesus nihil,*  
 60 *Nostrumque nemo, quotquot adsumus, ruit.*  
*Vivimus, et omnes pristinus vigor beat:*  
*Hinc terruisse voluit hoc fulmine deus*  
*Terras, potestas pateat ut mundo magis,*  
*Maneatque cum fiducia in nobis timor.*

<sup>2</sup> a] s: Lumen.<sup>3</sup> s] a: dixisti.

- CHORUS. *O Latonian godhead! [35] Hear the vows of your supplicants, who outdo one another, holy one, to worship you with honours three times worthy of you. They are your worshippers; [40] be with them and protect them with your favour.*
- OEBALUS. *O Apollo, protect ever Laconia, the land of Oebalus, which is devoted to you, [45] and vouchsafe this with your flame, O Latonian godhead! (DA CAPO.)*  
*(A THUNDERBOLT DESTROYS BOTH THE FIRE AND THE ALTAR.)*
- MELIA. *Alas, we are doomed! Alas, the godhead rejects our prayers.*
- OEBALUS. *Could one of you have offended the god?*
- MELIA. *My father, I cannot find any guilt in me.*
- HYACINTHUS. *As for me, I have always honoured the god. [50] (WHISPERS.) Zephyrus! I fear that this anger might have been kindled by the words that you spoke before.*
- ZEPHYRUS  
(WHISPERS). *Hyacinthus, if you love me, conceal the matter from your father and remain silent about the words we have exchanged.*
- OEBALUS. *The fire put out, the altar overthrown, [55] the offering refused: portents of a great evil! Woe! I tremble, thoroughly shaken by that thunderbolt.*
- HYACINTHUS. *Father, be of good cheer! Your mind is innocent. Why, then, would you fear evil from a good god? This thunderbolt has not injured you. [60] None of us who are present have been hit. We are alive and healthy as ever. The god wanted rather to frighten the lands with this thunderbolt, so that his power would be manifest to the world, and both our fear and our trust would be reinforced.*

- 65 *Saepe terrent numina,  
Surgunt et minantur:  
Fingunt bella,  
Quae nos angunt;  
Mittunt tela,*
- 70 *Quae non tangunt:  
At post ficta nubila  
Rident et iocantur,  
Et amore  
Et tremore*
- 75 *Gentes stringunt subditas:  
Nunc amando,  
Nunc minando  
Salva stat auctoritas.*
- OEBALUS.  
80 *Ah, nate, vera loqueris: at metuo tamen,  
Apollo ne fors perdat hoc igne Oebalum.  
(ACCEDIT APOLLO.)*
- APOLLO.  
*Apollo vestras audit, o credite, preces  
Suamque pollicetur his terris opem,  
Recipere si velitis hunc modo exsulem  
Iramque fulminantis exosum Iovis.*
- 85 OEBALUS.  
*Quid? Numen hac sub veste pastoris latens  
In nostra praesens regna suscipi cupit?*
- HYACINTHUS.  
*En genitor, ut luisse nos superi solent!  
Iam tibi medelam saeva post vulnera deus  
Adfert, tuamque regiam praesens beat.*
- 90 MELIA.  
*O quam beato sidere haec nubila dies  
Nos recreat, ipse Apollo dum nostros lares  
Optatus hospes visitat! – O quantus decor!  
Quae forma! – Quanta dignitas! – Quanta omnibus  
Gloriaque membris atque maiestas sedet!*
- 95 APOLLO.  
*Melia, quid in pastore tam dignum vides  
Suspensa quod mirere?*
- MELIA.  
APOLLO.  
MELIA.
- Video –  
Et quid vides?  
Eloquere, pulchra!  
Video pulchrum Apollinem,  
Cui cum parente corda iam dudum obtuli.

*[65] Often the gods frighten us; they rise up and threaten. They feign wars that cause us anguish; they shoot arrows [70] that never strike. But after imaginary clouds they laugh and joke. By love as well as by fear [75] they constrain their subject peoples. Through alternating love and sternness they maintain their authority.*

OEBALUS. *Yes, my son, you speak the truth; and yet I fear [80] that Apollo may want to destroy Oebalus with this thunderbolt.*

*(ENTER APOLLO.)*

APOLLO. *Believe me, Apollo has heard your prayers. He is now promising these lands his help, provided you take in this exile, who is hated of anger-fulminating Jove.*

OEBALUS. *[85] What? The god is present, disguised in this shepherd's garb, and wishes to be received in our kingdom?*

HYACINTHUS. *See, father, how the gods like to jest with us. The god himself is present, bringing balm for the dire wound and blessing your kingdom with his presence.*

MELIA. *[90] How lucky the star with which this cloudy day is strengthening us, as Apollo himself, a most welcome guest, is visiting our home! – What splendour, what beauty, what dignity, what majesty and glory are present in all his limbs!*

APOLLO. *[95] Melia, what dignity do you see in a shepherd that you are so rapt in admiration?*

MELIA. *I see –*

APOLLO. *What do you see? Speak, beautiful one!*

MELIA. *I see the beautiful Apollo. To him my father and I have long vowed our hearts.*

- APOLLO. *Quod obtulisti pectus haud revoca amplius;  
 Hoc inter orbis dona praeprimis placet.*  
 100 ZEPHYRUS. *(Hyacinthe, quantum timeo praesentem deum!)*  
 HYACINTHUS. *(Me quoque tremenda dignitas timidum facit.)*  
 APOLLO. *Hyacinthe, amicum semper addictum tibi  
 Habebis in me, amare si deum potes.*  
 105 HYACINTHUS. *O quanta res, diligere si Hyacinthum potes!*  
 ZEPHYRUS. *(Heu, nunc amatum Apollo mihi puerum rapit!)*  
 OEBALUS. *Dies beata!<sup>4</sup> – Numen o sanctum, meos,  
 Manere si dignaris, ingredi lares,  
 Diuque me rogante nobiscum mane.*  
 110 APOLLO. *Habebis in me, crede, tibi facilem deum.  
 Iam pastor Apollo  
 Custodio greges,  
 Nixus et baculo vigilans sto:  
 Iam pascere nolo*  
 115 *Et visito reges,  
 Iam medicinas mortalibus do.  
 Maestos levare,  
 Aegros iuvare  
 Est sola tangens Apollinem res:*  
 120 *Hic me manente,  
 Vobis favente  
 Rex omni rege beatior es.*

<sup>4</sup> s] a: Beata dies.

- APOLLO. *Do not demand back the heart that you have vowed to me. [100] It pleases me more than all offerings of the world.*
- ZEPHYRUS *Hyacinthus, how I fear the presence of the god!*  
(WHISPERS).
- HYACINTHUS *I, too, am afraid of his tremendous dignity.*  
(WHISPERS).
- APOLLO. *Hyacinthus, you will always have a devoted friend in me, if you can love a god.*
- HYACINTHUS. *[105] What marvel – if you can love Hyacinthus!*
- ZEPHYRUS *Woe! Now Apollo takes the beloved boy from me!*  
(ASIDE).
- OEBALUS. *Day of blessings! Enter my home, sacred godhead, if you wish to stay, and, I pray you, abide with us a long time.*
- APOLLO. *[110] Believe me, I shall prove myself a gentle god to you.  
As a shepherd, I, Apollo, guard my flocks, and I keep watch leaning on my staff. Then I wish to be a shepherd no more, [115] and I go to dwell with kings. Then I give remedies to mortals. To comfort those who mourn and to heal the sick is Apollo's sole concern. [120] If I stay here and protect you, O king, you will be happy above all kings.*

## ACTUS I

*Croesus ad instantes redituro filio nuptias omnia parans sinistro inprimis omine, dein infausto Atys ab Adrasto perempti nuntio territus, ex reducti nati vulnere in summum conicitur dolorem.*

## SCAENA I

CROESUS. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS.

- CROESUS. Huc mecum, amice, iussa te petunt mea.  
 Simulque te, Mandana, praesentem volo,  
 Amata nati sponsa stirpis et tuae inclutum  
 Decus, parentis dulce delictum tui  
 5 Amorque Phrygiae patrii et lumen soli.  
 Absente nato patris o stipa interim  
 Latus; redux cum fratre veniat tuo  
 Atys meus, dum patrios relegat lares.  
 Venatione iam sua reducem brevi  
 10 Habebis atque ut pectus hoc sperat quidem  
 Incolumem utrumque quem dein sponsum<sup>5</sup> sinu  
 Excipere laeto poteris, et quidem hac die.
- MANDANA. Verende rex, haud tanta convenient mihi  
 Encomia, haud sum<sup>6</sup> digna quae tantas feram  
 15 Laudes. Favore si tuo liceat frui  
 Et gratia, o rex magne, iam fuerit satis  
 Mandana felix; colere dum patrem licet,  
 In te beare poterit haud quidquam magis  
 Hoc pectus.
- CROESUS. O dilecta nata, quam dabunt  
 20 Superi mihi hodie, dextra ubi data invicem  
 Socialis usque vos sacer iunget torus.  
 Ut animus iste candidus placet mihi!
- MANDANA. O ut parenti natus et sponsus mihi  
 Incolumis omni salvus et redeat<sup>7</sup> malo!

<sup>5</sup> S: sponsam.

<sup>6</sup> S: sunt.

<sup>7</sup> S: reducat.



## ACT I

*Croesus is preparing everything for the imminent wedding of his son, who is expected to return presently. Yet he is troubled, first by a portentous omen, then by the dreadful news that Adrastus has killed Atys. When his son returns, wounded, this throws him into utmost despair.*

## SCENE I

CROESUS. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS.

CROESUS. Come to me, friend, as I order you. Likewise I wish you to be present, Mandana, dear betrothed of my son, noble glory of your house and sweet joy of your father, [5] beloved of Phrygia and light of your native soil. While my son, is away, support his father's side; may my Atys return with your brother, seeking again his father's dwellings. He will shortly return from the hunt. You will have him back, [10] and, as my heart hopes, you will be able to clasp both uninjured. With a happy heart you will take him to be your spouse on this very day.

MANDANA. Worshipful king, such praise does not become me. I am not worthy to have such honours heaped upon me. [15] If I am permitted to enjoy your favour and grace in this way, O king, then Mandana will be sufficiently happy. If I can honour you as my father, nothing will make my heart happier in you.

CROESUS. Beloved daughter, whom today [20] the gods will give me! Once you have joined hands with him, sacred wedlock will evermore unite you. How your gentle mind pleases me!

MANDANA. O that the son may return to his father, and my bridegroom to me, unharmed and safe out of all danger!



- OLYNTHUS. [25] My father will bring him home safely, my king! Fear not, for he stays as a faithful guide at the side of Atys. Have no doubts about this! Adrastus knows how to protect him whom his monarch's hand has entrusted to him, even if peril befall him. He will bring him safely back to his father's home, [30] when the wild boar, that tremendous, raging creature that has hitherto wrought such destruction on the Mysian fields, lies dead, slain by the prince's hand.
- MANDANA. O that this wild boar should already lie dead, drenched in his own blood, killed by my betrothed! [35] O that dreadful terror of Mysia, that plague of the land! Or else that Atys, my betrothed, might never face the savage beast and further remain in safety! Good gods, grant me my request!
- OLYNTHUS. Beloved princess, what vain fear torments [40] your heart?
- CROESUS. Should I not believe him to be safe enough, protected by your brother? Or are you imagining evil?
- MANDANA. I am silent. I do not know what fear oppresses my mind. Atys seems sufficiently safe in my brother's hand and protected by his skill. Yet still I am afraid.
- CROESUS. [45] Of course love will ever be worried. You must know that I did not easily send away my son. Compelled by the rather insistent requests of the Mysians, and moved also by the requests of my son, I, his father, could hardly deny it. [50] They begged and prayed my son during the past year that the wild beast's blood be spilled and the Mysian field be rid of that plague, and that my son's fame should mightily increase. Now where does your fear come from? Tell me.
- MANDANA. What if the wild boar, [55] insane with rage, attacked my betrothed?



- CROESUS. If it attacks him, Atys will be quite capable of slaying it with his own hand. He is experienced with the spear. And if both his hand and his spear fail, if the beast indeed sets upon my son, then there will be a faithful hand to protect him. [60] Full well do I know the loyalty of Adrastus. His trusted care — he has been ordered to use it to protect my son — will certainly not be less than his faithfulness. He will take him safe from the wrath of the evil beast. Yet if the cruel-tusked creature threatens to kill my son, [65] Adrastus will protect him with his own life. He will be alert and ward off all dangers that arise. As a caring father, I ordered that.
- OLYNTUS. Surely Adrastus, my father, would rather sacrifice every drop of his blood than allow any harm to the prince. [70] I should not think ill of his faithfulness.
- MANDANA. I admit that it was a groundless foreboding, this worry that constricts my heart.
- CROESUS. And at my command incense has been offered to the supreme Jove for the well-being of my son, and the blood of a ram has been shed [75] and has drenched the altar. See, here comes the holy servant of the altar, who will tell us of the prosperous omen of Jove.
- MANDANA. The fears that I have repressed are rising again in my heart!
- CROESUS. Olyntus, hasten to order the noblemen gather here at my command.
- OLYNTUS. [80] You see me fly to do your bidding, O king.  
(EXIT.)

## SCAENA II

CROESUS. MANDANA. PHILINTUS.

- CROESUS. Vide Philintum procerum<sup>12</sup> caput.  
Verende mysta, sacra qui facere soles  
Summo tonanti, ture qui pio Iovem  
Placas, adesto!
- PHILINTUS. Te velit salvum polus,  
85 Rex magne! Facilis tu mihi veniam dabis,  
Quod non vocatus regis alloquium petam!
- MANDANA. In tempore ad nos huc sacer flectis gradum,  
Arae minister. Quid refers nobis boni?
- CROESUS. An iam peractum quod tibi iniunxi sacrum?
- 90 PHILINTUS. Egressus a te templa subivi ilico  
Iovi sacrata, iussa ut exsequar tua,  
Et pro salute sobolis effundam preces.  
Sabaea promptus tura cum sacro mero  
Celsis cremanda largus imposui rogis.  
95 His addidi etiam more pro nostro preces.
- MANDANA. O ut benigna summus hauserit tonans  
Haec aure vota!
- CROESUS. Iussus an tauri cruor?
- PHILINTUS. Peracta sunt, rex, cuncta quae dixi mihi.  
Effusus aras insuper tauri<sup>13</sup> imbuit  
100 Cruor superbi. Deerat huc sacro nihil.
- CROESUS. An grata summo victima haec cecidit Iovi,  
Omine secundo vota quo probat mea?
- PHILINTUS. Isthac conatu sacra perfeci irrita.  
Volante ad astra ture, rex, polus silet.  
105 Murmure benigno victimam probat tuam.
- CROESUS. Quid istud, heu, Philinte, portendit malum?  
Probare surdus sacra, vaeh, polus negat?  
An esse vera, quae modo affirmas, putem?
- MANDANA. Falsum loquendo principem ut ludas cave!

<sup>12</sup> S: proximum.<sup>13</sup> S: hauri.

## SCENE II

CROESUS. MANDANA. PHILINTUS.

CROESUS. See, here is Philintus, the head of the nobles. Venerable priest, who offers sacrifices to the highest thunderer and who pleases Jove with holy incense, be at our side!

PHILINTUS. May the heavens protect you, [85] mighty king! Kindly permit me the liberty to speak to the monarch without being asked.

MANDANA. You move your steps towards us at the right time, holy servant of the altar. What good news are you bringing us?

CROESUS. Have you performed the sacrifices that I have commanded?

PHILINTUS. [90] When I left you, I immediately sought the temple of Jove, so as to carry out your orders, and offer up my prayers for the well-being of your child. Readily and generously I cast incense from Sheba and sacred wine onto the firewood to be burned for the sublime ones. [95] To that I added prayers, as is our custom.

MANDANA. May the highest thunderer have granted an open ear to your prayers!

CROESUS. What about the bull's blood that I have ordered?

PHILINTUS. I have done everything as you instructed me, O King. The blood of a superior bull drenched the altars [100] as I shed it above them. The sacrifice lacked nothing.

CROESUS. Did the death of the sacrificial animal please the supreme Jove? Does he show approval of my prayers with a favorable omen?

PHILINTUS. In vain I attempted the sacrifice. As the incense rose to the stars, O King, the heavens were silent. [105] If a sacrifice is accepted, there is benign thunder.

CROESUS. Woe! What evil does this foreshadow, Philintus? The heavens are deaf and refuse to accept our sacrifice? Shall I believe that what you tell me is true?

MANDANA. Do not attempt to fool the king by telling lies!

- 110 PHILINTUS. Sunt vera cuncta. Nescit hic sinus dolum.  
 Ipsum Philintum summus invasit stupor,  
 Cum iam silere sensit iratos deos.
- CROESUS. Actum est, amata! Natus, heu, periit meus!  
 Cur commodavi credulus nimis parens,  
 115 Heu, precibus aures? Vota male sanus tua,  
 Vaeh, cur probavi, o nate? Cur te sinu meo  
 Dimisi? Acerbus corda dilacerat dolor!
- MANDANA. Repelle nimium corda qui premit metum:  
 Perire natum frater haud sinet meus,  
 120 Fidelis haeret quamdiu lateri comes.  
 Sat tutus est, dum tegitur Adrasti manu.
- CROESUS. Est perditus quem perditum cupit polus;  
 Humana salvum reddere haud potest manus  
 Quem persequuntur numina irati Iovis.
- 125 PHILINTUS. Rex, absit, iram<sup>14</sup> ut numinis fingas tibi!  
 CROESUS. Quid? An benignos esse mihi deos putem,  
 Probare laeto victimam omine dum negant?<sup>15</sup>  
 Negata caelis signa non semper malum  
 Sunt omen? Et silere cum solet polus,  
 130 Tamen immolatam saepe victimam excipit?
- PHILINTUS. Sinu favente, nostram ut exploret fidem,  
 Mystera saepe dum tegit silentio  
 Levique nostra corda percellit metu,  
 Maiore luctum postea solatio  
 135 Solet levare.
- CROESUS. O ut tuis constet fides  
 Dictis, sacerdos, laetus ut Croesus foret!
- MANDANA. Repetita saepe sacer non spernit polus.  
 CROESUS. Age ergo, mysta, ture iam fument novo  
 Arae rogique, denuo occisi fluat
- 140 Tauri cruor, fors fronte respiciet magis  
 Placida peractum iam altera sacrum vice.
- PHILINTUS. Recurro promptus, iussa competam tua. (ABIT.)

<sup>14</sup> S: diram.<sup>15</sup> S: negam.



- PHILINTUS. [110] Everything is true. My heart knows no treason. Philintus himself was utterly astonished when he felt the silence of the wrathful gods.
- CROESUS. That is it, my dearest! Woe, my son is dead! Why have I, overly credulous father that I am, [115] given my ear to their demands? Woe! Why was I mad enough to believe your promises, my son? Alas! Why have I let you depart from my side? Bitter pain is tearing apart my heart.
- MANDANA. Cast off the fear that oppresses your heart too harshly. My brother will not let your son die. [120] As ever, he will be at his side as a faithful companion. Atys is safe enough when the hand of Adrastus protects him.
- CROESUS. He will be destroyed whom heaven wants to destroy. He cannot be saved by a human hand whom the power of wrathful Jove pursues.
- PHILINTUS. [125] King, do not believe that the god is wrathful against you.
- CROESUS. What? Should I believe that the gods mean well when they refuse to approve of my sacrifice with a blissful omen? When the skies will not give a sign, is that not always a bad omen? And when heaven is silent, [130] will the sacrifice be accepted nonetheless?
- PHILINTUS. In order to test our faith, yet always favourably, heaven will often conceal its mysteries in silence and shake our hearts with a small fear. Afterwards, it will provide all the more solace [135] to take away our misery.
- CROESUS. If only your words could be trusted, priest, so that Croesus might be happy.
- MANDANA. It happens often that the heavens accept a new sacrifice.
- CROESUS. Well then, holy man, let the altar and the stacks smoke with fresh incense, kill another bull and let his blood flow. [140] Perhaps another sacrifice, performed in the same manner, will be received with a more favourable mien.
- PHILINTUS. I shall swiftly leave to carry out your command.  
(EXIT.)

CROESUS.           Nata, quantus me quatit maestum timor!  
 MANDANA.       Erigere, princeps! Laeta fors afferet magis  
 145               Brevi sacerdos, numen et sacrum Iovis  
                       Avertet omne quod imminet nato malum.

## SCAENA III

PRIORES. OLYNTHUS. HYSTASPES. MEGABASUS. PHARNASPES. DATIS.

OLYNTHUS.       Ad iussa, princeps, sisto praesentes tibi  
                       Procere ducesque, iussa ut excipiant tua.  
 HYSTASPES.     Invicte princeps, patriae nostrae pater,  
 150               Amore semper regere qui tuos soles,  
                       Plusquam paterno candido et sinu foves:  
                       Ad iussa promptum pectus hoc cernis tua.  
 MEGABASUS.    Excelse rex, quem capite demisso colit  
 155               Lydia suumque nominat Phoebum, amice  
                       Bonitate cunctam qui sua illustrat plagam:  
                       Imperia regis promptus exspecto mei.  
 DATIS.           Rex alme, vive! Sanguis iuvenis fluens  
                       Est tibi sacratus usque, quod petit fides.  
                       Iube salute pro tua ut fluat, et fluet.  
 160 CROESUS.<sup>16</sup>   Amica capita, patriae o fulcra incluta!  
                       Sat vestra regi constat et nota est fides  
                       Amorque sat probatus, et nosco probe  
                       Quam sit saluti regiae addictus sinus,  
                       Et quam paratus sanguis in nostrum bonum.  
 165               Hac luce promptos vos ad obsequia velim.  
 HYSTASPES.     Mandata, princeps alme, quae impones mihi,  
                       Quaecumque fuerint, mente stat virum exsequi.  
 DATIS.           Seu me ire medios hostium in cuneos Datin  
                       Iubeas, vel igneis ut insileat rogis  
 170               Petas, ad omnia pectus hoc promptum vides.  
 MANDANA.       O quam fideles aula, rex, tenet tua  
                       Procere! Beatum principem esse quis neget,  
                       Qui fraudis inscios, fide et sacra inclutos  
                       Tenet ministros?

<sup>16</sup> S: Pharna.

CROESUS. Daughter, how sad and afraid I am!  
 MANDANA. Comfort yourself, my king. The priest might soon bring  
 [145] more pleasant news, and the sacred power of  
 Jove will avert all evil that threatens your son.

## SCENE III

THE SAME. OLYNTHUS. HYSTASPES. MEGABASUS. PHARNASPES. DATIS.

OLYNTHUS. As you have commanded, my lord, I present the noble-  
 men and grandees to hear your orders.  
 HYSTASPES. Invincible king and father of our fatherland, [150] you  
 ever rule your subjects with love and protect them  
 with a gentle and more than fatherly heart — see here  
 my heart ready for your commands.  
 MEGABASUS. Sublime king, whom Lydia worships with a bowed  
 head and whom she calls her Apollo, [155] who shines  
 over his lands with goodness — I am ready to hear my  
 king's orders.  
 DATIS. Gracious king, may you live! My youthful, pulsing  
 blood is devoted to you however loyalty demands it.  
 Command me to spill it for your well-being, and I  
 shall spill it.  
 CROESUS. [160] Friends! Noble pillars of our fatherland! Your  
 king knows and trusts well your faithfulness and has  
 seen proofs of your love, and I know for sure that your  
 hearts are devoted to the king's well-being and that  
 your blood is dedicated to my good. [165] On this day  
 I demand you readily to obey me.  
 HYSTASPES. Whatever orders you may lay on me, gracious king,  
 this man is determined to fulfill them.  
 DATIS. If you command Datis to attack enemy battalions sin-  
 gle-handedly, or if you demand him to throw himself  
 onto [170] flaming pyres — you will find this heart  
 ready for everything.  
 MANDANA. O king, what faithful noblemen are there at your court!  
 Who will deny that happy is the monarch whose min-  
 isters are incapable of fraud and excel by their avowed  
 loyalty?

- CROESUS. Vestra, fateor, et placet  
 175 Fides, amici, restat at nato quoque  
 Illam probetis, nostra dum reducem plaga  
 Complexa fuerit. Nuptias quas iam paro  
 Solemnis omni ex parte comitetur decor  
 Cultusque, sponsam qualis o tantam decet.  
 180 Conferre vestrum quidquid ingenium potest  
 Laborque, quidquid aula laetitiae tenet  
 Et pompae, id omne nuptiis sacrum velim.  
 Hac namque natum luce rediturum mihi  
 Confido. Tuae iam, Olynthe, Mandanae latus  
 185 Stipa solersque iussa, quae dederit tibi,  
 Exsequere.
- OLYNTHUS. Nutus, alma, iam exspecto tuos,  
 Regina.
- CROESUS. Lateri regis Hystaspes sui  
 Haerebit usque.
- HYSTASPES. Gnavus implebo tua,  
 Rex alme, iussa.
- CROESUS. Deesse nequidquam queat  
 190 Decoris, id Pharnaspis efficiet manus.  
 Tua, Megabase, cura splendidos oculis dabit  
 Animisque ludos.
- MEGABASUS. Cuncta perspicam ilico.  
 PHARNASPES. Quaecunque luxus<sup>17</sup> in sinu nutrit suo  
 Oculis videnda proferam. Deerit nihil,  
 195 Augeri pompa quo simul decor et queat. (ABEUNT.)
- CROESUS. Datis paratum militem teneat, redux  
 Ubi natus aderit, qui laete suum  
 Regem salutet.
- DATIS. Promptus, en, iussa exsequor.
- MANDANA. Tua, fare, tristes fronte quas nubes lego?
- 200 CROESUS. Quis tacitus, dic, concutit mentem pavor?  
 DATIS. Haud aliquis, o rex, pectus hoc quatit dolor.

<sup>17</sup> S: laxus.

- CROESUS. Your loyalty does please me, I freely say it, [175] my friends. You have to demonstrate the same also to my son, once he returns to the embrace of our land. To the wedding which I am now preparing I desire solemn pomp and rites from all our provinces. That becomes a bride such as this one. [180] Whatever your imagination and your diligence can propose, whatever joy and splendour our court provides, I want you to gather it all for this wedding. Today is the day that I expect my son back. Olynthus, be at your Mandana's side and [185] support her and diligently carry out the orders she will give you.
- OLYNTHUS. I stand at your command, gracious queen.
- CROESUS. Hystaspes will always be at his king's side.
- HYSTASPES. Eagerly I shall fulfill your wishes, gracious king.
- CROESUS. The hand of Pharnaspes shall ensure [190] that no rites remain unobserved. And your care, Megabasis, shall provide splendid pleasures for our eyes and minds.
- MEGABASUS. I shall see to all right away.
- PHARNASPES. Whatever is nourished in the bosom of luxury, I shall bring it before his eyes. No rites will be omitted [195] from equipping the solemnity, as he demands. (EXEUNT.)
- CROESUS. Let Datis have a soldier ready to salute with cheer his monarch upon the return of my son.
- DATIS. Readily I carry out your orders.
- MANDANA. Tell me, what mournful clouds do I detect on your brow?
- CROESUS. [200] Speak, which silent fear torments your mind?
- DATIS. No pain afflicts my heart, O king.

- CROESUS. Praestanda nato forsitan obsequia negas?  
Ergo Atys, fare, adeo natus est cordi meus –?  
Ad nomen Atys fare cur pallant genae?  
205 Eloquere! Rumpe promptus invisas moras!
- DATIS. Loqui tacentem dum iubes, metum explico.  
Fera peremptum pessima natum, volat  
Rumor per urbem.
- CROESUS. Heu fulmineus! Atys meus  
Iaceat peremptus natus<sup>18</sup> infanda fera?
- 210 MANDANA. Heu astra! sponsus noster elinguis iacet?  
Quis huius, edic, auctor est famae impius?
- DATIS. Ignotus iste mihi est; forum hac fama insonat.
- CROESUS. Inquire, amice, et siste pessimum mihi  
Auctorem.
- DATIS. Ut, alme rex, iubes, factum puta. (DISCEDIT.)

## SCAENA IV

CROESUS. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS. HYSTASPES.

- 215 CROESUS. Quae sensa mente, nata, pervolvit tua?  
Verumne censes quod prius retulit Datis?
- MANDANA. Ignara, rex, et dubia quid credam haereo.  
Iam tacitus urget pectus, affligit timor,  
Iamque hoc represso, blanda spes mentem erigit.  
220 Videre sponsum dente concisum ferae  
Videor mihi, et mox impiae ereptum neci  
Manu fideli contueor.
- HYSTASPES. Vestro sinu  
Eicite, qui vos, principes, premit metum,  
Rumore falso corda ne sinite opprimi!
- 225 CROESUS. Falsam, quid urget, quod putas famam?

<sup>18</sup> S: status.

- CROESUS. Do you deny that my son was protected? Well? Speak! Atys, my son, to my heart —? Speak! Why do your cheeks turn pale at the mention of his name! [205] Open your mouth! No more ill-omened silence!
- DATIS. You command to speak a man who wishes to remain silent. I shall explain my fear. There is a rumour in the city that your son was killed by the wicked beast.
- CROESUS. The murderous one! My son Atys is dead, killed by that unspeakable beast?
- MANDANA. [210] Woe! You stars! My betrothed lies dead and speechless? Speak, who is the wicked inventor of this lie?
- DATIS. That I do not know. The marketplace resounds with the tale.
- CROESUS. Search, friend, and arrest that most evil of liars.
- DATIS. Your command is as good as carried out, gracious king. (EXIT.)

## SCENE IV

CROESUS. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS. HYSTASPES.

- CROESUS. [215] My daughter, what thoughts are you moving in your mind? Do you think that Datis has told us the truth?
- MANDANA. King, I do not know, and I am not sure what to believe. A silent fear afflicts and urges my heart; I oppress it, and mild hope comforts my mind. [220] I seem to see my betrothed killed by the beast's tusk, and then I watch how he is rescued from ruthless death by a faithful hand.
- HYSTASPES. Expel from your soul the fear that afflicts you, noble princes, and let not a false rumour afflict your hearts.
- CROESUS. [225] What makes you call it a false rumour?

- HYSTASPES. Latens  
 Ignotus auctor quod sit indicium mihi  
 Sat luculentum est, esse quod veram negem.
- MANDANA.  
 Auctore quid opus cognito integra  
 Dum rumor urbe publicus palam insonat?
- 230 OLYNTHUS.  
 Quam saepe rumor plebe nonnunquam infima  
 Mendace lingua aut invida per forum celer,  
 Quae spargit haec, ut certa iam populus tenet.  
 Effusa velut ex ore numinum putat  
 Oracla saepe, lingua quae mendax refert.
- 235 HYSTASPES.  
 Fors quem necatum rumor affert et apro  
 Iamiam peremptum, natus in vivis adhuc  
 Incolumis atque salvus existit tuus.  
 Adgressus Atyn fors ferae dirus furor  
 Mortem nefando dente minitatus fuit,  
 240 Ac inde retulit fama sublatum nece.  
 Sic puto: volando nempe crescere assolet.
- CROESUS.  
 Tuis, amice, quam lubens verbis fidem  
 Darem, nisi alius premeret afflictum metus.  
 Nam tenet aliud omen horridum magis  
 245 Hunc animum.
- MANDANA.  
 Et illud quod? Dolor! Maestus siles.  
 Num tacitus id celare Mandanam potes?
- CROESUS.  
 Ah parce, nata! Pectori infligis novum  
 Dirumque vulnus, omen ubi revocas mihi.
- MANDANA.  
 Partem doloris in meum reice sinum  
 250 Id me docendo. Quidquid est, feram libens.
- CROESUS.  
 Quae me quietum iam diu haud sinunt,  
 Iam pando, nata. Cognita haud ulli hactenus,  
 Haec nescit unus, nescit et natus meus.  
 Vidi egomet atra nocte non paucis abhinc  
 255 Diebus – horrens refero – cum fessos levis  
 Imbueret oculos somnus, adstantem toro  
 Atyn nefando saucium telo ilico  
 Cecidisse, multus inde stillabat cruor,  
 Tandemque dira natus occubuit nece.



- HYSTASPES. Its inventor is anonymous and unknown. That alone seems proof for me. That is so obvious that I deny the tale is true.
- MANDANA. Why would we want to find the inventor of the rumour, when it openly circulates in the entire city?
- OLYNTBUS. [230] How often does it happen that from a deceitful or envious tongue a rumour arises among the lowly and is propagated until the people hold it to be the truth. They will take something to be an oracle from the mouths of the gods, while it is really the invention of a mendacious tongue.
- HYSTASPES. [235] Perhaps your son, whom this rumour proclaims to be already dead and killed by the boar, still dwells among the living safely and without harm. Perhaps the dire, wrathful beast attacked Atys and threatened to kill him with its treacherous tusks, [240] and that is where the rumour of his death came from. Yes, that must be it. Rumours grow as they circulate.
- CROESUS. How gladly should I trust your words, my friend, if not another fear were tormenting my afflicted heart. For another presage, even more horrible, [245] holds my heart captive.
- MANDANA. And what is that? Woe! You appear silent and down-cast. Can you indeed conceal it and not speak of it to Mandana?
- CROESUS. Ah, spare me, my daughter. You are inflicting a new sharp wound to my heart if you remind me of the presage.
- MANDANA. Cast part of your pain into my bosom [250] as you tell me. Whatever it is, I shall bear it willingly.
- CROESUS. What has long been depriving me of rest, I shall tell you, my daughter. Nobody has heard it yet; nobody knows it, not even my son. I myself saw, a few days ago, at the dead of night — [255] how I shudder as I am telling it — when gentle sleep bedewed my heavy eyes — I saw Atys standing beside my bed, and there, struck by a wicked spear, he fell! He shed much blood, and then my son died a harsh death.

- 260 OLYNTHUS. Simulacra noctis caecae, quae nocendi iusserat  
Favor malignus et inde conceptus timor,  
Quam saepe inanes pectori obiciant metus  
Raroque resonent vera, compertum est satis.
- HYSTASPES. Nox inquieta quidquid obiecit male,  
265 Id vanum inane ludicrum, princeps, puta!  
Clitander atque Adrastus avertent malum  
Manu fideli filio imminens tuo.
- MANDANA. Horum probata et nota me virtus movet  
Fidesque. Uterque sedulam impendet manum,  
270 Salvum educant denuo ut natum tibi.
- CROESUS. Votis secundet nata, propitius polus!  
Sed en, redire video iam huc ad nos Datin.  
Rumoris ille pessimi auctorem dabit.

## SCAENA V

PRIORES. ATYS. ADRASTUS. DATIS. MILITES.

- ATYS. Accede, amice, libera afflictum metu  
275 Pectus parentis, esse quin vanum doce!
- DATIS. Addere dolori, vah, novum cogor miser?
- MANDANA. Quid inquis? Esse an vera, quae rumor sonat<sup>19</sup>?
- DATIS. Dolore, princeps, pectus in partes abit  
Metu trementem vix sinit linguam eloqui.
- 280 CROESUS. Moras facesse! Quidquid ingruet mali,  
Effare!
- DATIS. Natus, ah, redux venit sua  
Venatione, vulnere est laesus gravi.  
Manu fideli militum tibi ilico  
Portatus aderit patrem et unicum ingemens.

<sup>19</sup> S: putem.

- OLYNTHUS. [260] Those are images of the dark night; a malignant desire to do harm has sent them to you, and fear springs from them. How often do such things burden the heart with vain worries! Yet this much is certain: they are hardly ever true.
- HYSTASPES. The evil that a restless night produces, [265] O king, consider it a vain illusion! With a faithful hand Clitander and Adrastus will avert any danger that might threaten your son.
- MANDANA. I am moved by their certain and known virtue. Both will proffer a dutiful hand, [270] so that they will lead back your son unharmed.
- CROESUS. May the heavens grant your wishes, my daughter! Yet there I see Datis return to us. He will give us the name of the inventor of that wicked rumour.

## SCENE V

THE SAME. ATYS. ADRASTUS. DATIS. SOLDIERS.

- ATYS. Come, friend, liberate my father's tormented soul from fear. [275] Tell him that it is in vain!<sup>1</sup>
- DATIS. Woe! Miserable me, I am forced to cause him new pain?
- MANDANA. What are you saying? Is it true what I believed to be a rumour?
- DATIS. For pain, O princess, my heart is breaking; barely does it permit my tongue to speak, which quivers with fear.
- CROESUS. [280] Tarry not! Tell me what evil has occurred!
- DATIS. Alas, your son has returned from his hunt, yet he has received a serious wound. Carried by the hands of faithful soldiers, he arrives, sighing for the sake of his dearest father.

<sup>1</sup> The wounded ATYS is carried in on a stretcher. At this point CROESUS has not yet seen or heard him (until line 292). The procession of soldiers with the stretcher halts in the background and then moves forward at a hint from DATIS.

- 285 CROESUS. Misero parenti fulmen, heu, quantum intonat?  
 MANDANA. Iuvate superi! Ferre tam saevum nequit  
 Pectus dolorem.
- OLYNTHUS. Fata, vah, dura, aspera!  
 CROESUS. Quis ille tam nefandus est nati latro?  
 An aper, an alius regium insidiis petens  
 290 Caput?
- HYSTASPES. Tum multa tecta tam tristi insonant.  
 (ADDUCITUR ATYS COMITE ADRASTO.)
- CROESUS. Dilecte nate, qualis, ah, oculos subis  
 Tui parentis! Heu, dolor vocem opprimit!  
 MANDANA. Heu me, gelatus sistit in venis cruor.  
 ATYS. Heic me repone, miles, ad latus patris!
- 295 Dilecte genitor, filium reducem cape,  
 Vulnere cruento saucium licet, quia  
 Qua mente veneror numen o sacrum Iovis,  
 Manus paternas inter amplexum et tuum,  
 Genitor, subire quod mihi annuerit necem.
- 300 CROESUS. Quanto dolore pectus, o nate, adficis!  
 Heu, refugit oculos, vulnere ubi laesum<sup>20</sup> intueor  
 Atyn, paternae stirpis inclutum decus.  
 O nate, caelum quem dedit patri amicum,  
 Te teneo, video sanguine immersum tuo.
- 305 ATYS. Heu fata, miserum sic patrem premitis! Dolor!  
 Reprime dolorem, genitor, et fatis caput  
 Submitte, quae perire me et mori iubent.  
 Concede, fata quo vocant mea, ut sequar.  
 Caelo exigente iam lubens morior, pater.
- 310 OLYNTHUS. Heu, quam nefandas principis doleo vices!  
 CROESUS. Moriendo, nate, vah, patrem et miserum enecas.  
 Superi, impium quod Atys admisit scelus,  
 Ut genitor insons<sup>21</sup> morte \* \* \*  
 Suo et cruore? Si quod admisit parens  
 315 Nefas, perire sinite pro nato patrem!

<sup>20</sup> S: laesus.<sup>21</sup> S: insonans.

- CROESUS. [285] What a thunderclap shakes this miserable father!
- MANDANA. You gods, help us! My heart cannot bear such violent pain.
- OLYNTHUS. Woe! A hard, cruel fate!
- CROESUS. Who is the godless murderer of my son? The boar? Or someone who plots against my royal [290] head?
- HYSTASPES. Then many houses weep for the afflicted man.  
(ATYS IS BROUGHT IN, ACCOMPANIED BY ADRASTUS.)
- CROESUS. Beloved son, do you thus return to your father's sight? Woe! My pain is silencing my voice.
- MANDANA. Woe, my blood is freezing in my veins.
- ATYS. Put me down here, soldier, at my father's side. [295] Dearest father, receive back your son, even if afflicted by a dire wound, because in my mind I cherish the sacred power of Jove, and here, in your fatherly arms, I cherish your embrace, my father. It will admonish me to accept my death.
- CROESUS. [300] My son, what pain you cause to my heart! Woe, he averts his eyes, as I see him grievously wounded, him, Atys, the worthy glory of his father's line. My son, whom heaven has given as a friend to his father! I hold you, I behold you as you are drenched in your blood.
- ATYS. [305] Fates, you are tormenting my afflicted father. What pain! Suppress your pain, father, and submit your will to the fates, which have willed me to perish and die. Permit me to follow where my destiny is calling me. Heaven disposes, father, and I die willingly.
- OLYNTHUS. [310] Woe, how I lament the prince's horrible fate!
- CROESUS. Your death, my son, also kills your suffering father. Gods, what crime has Atys committed, that even his innocent father [should perish by his] death and by his blood? If his father has committed [315] any evil, permit the father do die for the son!

- ATYS. Felix, beatus usque post nati necem  
Vive, et favore numinum tectus tuos  
Usque rege, nati sed memor semper tui!  
Dilecta sponsa, cordis o mei unicum  
320 Solacium, spes una simul Atys tui,  
Absterge lacrimas, quae tuis manant<sup>22</sup> genis!  
Deflere cessa quae premunt sponsum vices,  
Melioe sponso digna, te servet polus.  
In me sacratas corde quas faves, faces  
325 Superi rependent, Atys ubi moriens nequit.  
MANDANA. O sponse amate, pectus adflictum negat  
In verba linguam solvere ligatam metu.  
Oculos madentes lacrimis cerne asperis,  
Doloris ac amoris hos vestes velim.  
330 Effusus o hic cruor pro te meus  
Profluere, amate, posset, ut lubens darem!  
ATYS. Tuum in me amorem, sponsa, compensent dii,  
Et nomen Atys corde conserva pio,  
Pariter ab ore hoc ultimum recipe vale!  
335 MANDANA. Heu me! Dolori ponite, o dii, modum!  
ATYS. Et vos, amici, corde quos mea hactenus  
Fovi, valete, semper et memores mei  
Vivite! Fideles tegere paternum caput  
Pergite, meamque tegite Mandanam simul!  
340 HYSTASPES. Discindit ima cordi, heu, maestus dolor.  
OLYNTHUS. Maerore vincta lingua denegat sonum.  
CROESUS. O nate, patrem criminis tanti edoce  
Quis fuerit auctor impius, et atra nece  
Licet nefandus latro commissum scelus!  
345 ATYS. Ah, parce prodam, genitor, auctorem tibi!  
ADRASTUS. En, rex, nefandi sceleris auctorem tenes.  
Est<sup>23</sup> ipse Adrastus.  
ATYS. Contine o linguam, bone!  
ADRASTUS. Permite, princeps, culpam ut eluam nece!  
ATYS. Haud culpa Adrasti est, sed mihi culpam imputa.  
350 ADRASTUS. Unus ego tanti sceleris existo reus.

<sup>22</sup> S: maneant.<sup>23</sup> S: et.

- ATYS. Live happily and blissfully long after your son's death, and rule over your people, protected by the grace of the gods, yet do not forget your son. Beloved spouse, only solace of my heart, [320] and likewise the only hope of your Atys, wipe off the tears which are moist on your cheeks! Cease to mourn the fate that crushes your betrothed. You are worthy of a better man. May the heavens protect you. The sacred brands of love that you bear in your heart: [325] may the gods reward these, as Atys is dying and can do so no more.
- MANDANA. O beloved spouse, my tormented heart restrains my tongue, which is bound with fear. Behold my eyes dripping with bitter tears. I should wish them to be my robes of grief and mourning. [330] O that my blood could be spilt for yours, my beloved! How happily should I give it!
- ATYS. May the gods reward our love for me, my spouse. Keep the name of Atys devoutly in your mind, as you receive a last farewell from my lips.
- MANDANA. [335] Woe is me! Gods, put an end to this suffering!
- ATYS. And you, my friends, whom I have held dear in my heart, farewell! Live and remember me always. Continue faithfully to shield my father's head, and shield my Mandana likewise.
- HYSTASPES. [340] Ah, bitter pain is tearing my innermost heart asunder.
- OLYNTHUS. My tongue is crushed by grief and will not form one word.
- CROESUS. My son, tell your father who was the godless perpetrator of such a crime! This ruthless murderer shall pay for his deed with a grim death.
- ATYS. [345] Ah, do not make me reveal the perpetrator, father!
- ADRASTUS. Here, my king, is the perpetrator of the godless crime. It is I, Adrastus.
- ATYS. Good friend, hold your peace!
- ADRASTUS. Permit me, my lord, to wash off the guilt with my own blood.
- ATYS. Adrastus bears no guilt. Blame me!
- ADRASTUS. [350] I alone stand guilty of the atrocious deed.

- CROESUS. Superi! Quid istud?  
 MANDANA. Heu dolor!  
 OLYNTHUS. Trepidat sinus!  
 ATYS. Permite, genitor! Natus est solum reus,  
 Insons Adrastus. – Corde sed calor fugit,  
 Meat per artus dira mors. – Pater, vale!  
 355 Accede, Adraste, tange morientis manum  
 Dextramque iunge. – Morior. – Ah, pater, meam  
 Tuere sponsam, Adrastum et –  
 HYSTASPES. Heu! Clausit diem.  
 CROESUS. Reliquit ossa spiritus. Nate, occidis!  
 Mortuus ab ore patris extremum accipe  
 360 Amplexum et has, elinguis, has lacrimas bibe!  
 MANDANA. O sponse, fata fac brevi sequar tua!  
 Relicta fac ut sponsa sit comes necis!  
 ADRASTUS. En, rex, Adrastus poplite inflexus iacet.  
 Effrenis ira pectus hoc petat reum.  
 365 Ego ille nati latro sum tui impius.  
 Emissa cuspis dextera haud cauta satis  
 Et vulnus et atram dirus intulit necem.  
 CROESUS. Quid? Heu! Nefanda natus Adraști manu  
 Cecidit necatus?  
 MANDANA. Frater!  
 OLYNTHUS. O genitor!  
 ADRASTUS. Nefas,  
 370 Scelus patratum morte iam mea eluam  
 Fuso et cruore. Pectus hoc, princeps, feri.  
 CROESUS. Cessa, nefande, dire, crudelis latro!  
 Hoc noster in te meruit, o, scelus favor?  
 Eloquere, latro tigride Hyrcana sate!  
 375 Quis caecus, edic, pectus abripuit furor,  
 Dirus paterno natum ut eriperes sinu?  
 Scelus cruore faxim ut effuso eluas;  
 Dira, cruenta morte, stat fixum, cades.  
 Obscura claudat ut specus feram impiam,  
 380 Cura, fidelis o Datis, simul et cave  
 Effugere ne qua possit infandum caput!



- CROESUS. Gods! What is that!
- MANDANA. The pain!
- OLYNTHUS. My heart is trembling.
- ATYS. Allow me, father! Your son alone is guilty; Adrastus is innocent. — Yet the spark is fleeing from my breast; harsh death is flowing through my veins. — Father, farewell! [355] To my side, Adrastus! Touch my dying hand and clutch it with your right hand. — I am dying. — Ah, father, protect my betrothed, and Adrastus, and — [(HE DIES.)]
- HYSTASPES. Woe! His life is ended.
- CROESUS. His soul has left his body. My son, you are dead! Let your dead body receive a last kiss from your father's lips, [360] and drink these, these tears, as you are without speech.
- MANDANA. O betrothed, let me soon follow your way! Let your bereft betrothed be your companion in death!
- ADRASTUS. See here, king, Adrastus is bending his knees before you. Let your boundless wrath call for his guilty heart. [365] I am the ruthless murderer of your son. My spear, hurled with a hand that was not careful enough, has caused both his wound and bitter death.
- CROESUS. What? Woe! My son died from the ruthless hand of Adrastus?
- MANDANA. My brother!
- OLYNTHUS. O father!
- ADRASTUS. My heinous deed, [370] my crime — let me atone for it with my own death and by shedding my own blood. My king, run through my chest!
- CROESUS. Stop it, you ruthless, heinous, cruel murderer! Is this what my kindness against you has deserved? Speak, you murderer, you offspring of Hyrcanian tigers! [375] Tell me what blind fury was whipping your mind and made you cruelly tear a son from his father's arms? I shall ensure that you wash off this crime with blood. You must — I am determined — die a cruel, bloody death. Let this godless beast be locked up in a dark dungeon, [380] faithful Datis, and ascertain that this unspeakable man cannot escape! (ATYS IS TAKEN OUT.)

(ABDUCITUR ATYS.)

Tu vero, amice, funus ex oculis refer,<sup>24</sup>  
 Funestum et omni, qua potes, cura modo,  
 Deinde regem sequere.

	HYSTASPES.	Quod iubes, agam.
385	OLYNTHUS.	Mandana, tristis scaena quae sese exhibet.
	MANDANA.	Ah, maeror, hunc dirumpit in partes sinum.
	OLYNTHUS.	Amate genitor!
	MANDANA.	Fratris, ah, carum caput!
	OLYNTHUS.	Agito, parentem sequere iam meum ocus, Et quo iuari possit, indaga modum.

## ACTUS II

*Rege partim dolore perempti filii et procerum stimulis ad vindictam, partim amore erga Adrastum et Mandanae ac Olynthi precibus ad clementiam propendente, Pharnaspes omnium maxime Adrasti supplicium urget.*

### SCAENA I

MEGABASUS. PHARNASPES.

390	PHARNASPES.	Sic est, amice. Filius <sup>25</sup> Croesi unicus Vulnere recepto clausit extremum diem. Venatione vix redux obiit miser Et in paterna spiritum efflavit manu.
	MEGABASUS.	Quam doleo nati et patris infaustas vices!
395		Iam nostra cecidit spes et omnium salus. Sed fare, dictis vera num constat fides, Fuisse Adrasti vulnus inflictum manu?
	PHARNASPES.	Quin squalido et atro carcere inclusum audio.

<sup>24</sup> S: reffert.

<sup>25</sup> S: illius.

But you, my friend, take his body from my sight and prepare the funeral rites in every way you can. Then report again to your king.

HYSTASPES.

I shall do as ordered.

OLYNTHUS.

[385] Mandana, it is a mournful scene that we are beholding.

MANDANA.

Ah, what grief! It breaks my heart asunder.

OLYNTHUS.

My beloved father!

MANDANA.

Ah, my brother's dear soul!

OLYNTHUS.

Up, swiftly follow my father and find a way that we may help him.

## ACT II

*The king is torn between vengeance, towards which his grief for his deceased son and the urgings of his nobles are pressing him, and clemency, which is caused by his love for Adrastus and the entreaties of Mandana and Olynthus. More than anyone, Pharnaspes calls for the death of Adrastus.*

### SCENE I

MEGABASUS. PHARNASPES.

PHARNASPES.

[390] It is like this, my friend. The only son of Croesus was wounded and has passed away. Barely home from his hunt, the poor fellow died. He breathed his last in his father's arms.

MEGABASUS.

How I mourn at both the father's and the son's ill fortune! [395] Our hope and the well-being of all have fallen. Yet tell me, is there any truth behind what they are saying? Was the wound caused by the hand of Adrastus?

PHARNASPES.

Well, I hear that he has been imprisoned in a dark and dreary gaol.

- MEGABASUS.  
400 Quis ergo, fare, id<sup>26</sup> pectus invasit furor?  
Exhibitus illi meruit a Croeso favor  
Hoc tam nefandum, barbarum, impium<sup>27</sup> scelus?
- PHARNASPES.  
Quis? Nempe nimius saepe principum favor  
Magis insolentes reddit et saevos magis.
- MEGABASUS.  
405 Quis, fare, poterit cordis esse tam feri?  
Non homine, sed leone tigride et satum  
Putem.
- PHARNASPES.  
Favore saepe cumulatus solet  
Astutum iniquo tegere sub pectore dolum.  
Nutrivit ipse Croesus in proprio sinu  
410 Anguem nefandum, pessimum et nece  
Dignum cruenta, barbarum favens caput  
Tanto favore, nimium in Adrastum pius.
- MEGABASUS.  
O quam fidelem credidit<sup>28</sup> Croesus sibi  
Futurum Adrastum, cum dedit comitem suo  
Nato, reducat patrio ut salvum solo,  
415 Sed quam fefellit credulum Regem nimis  
Animus dolosus hospitiis ficta et fides!
- PHARNASPES.  
Quo tantam Adrastus meruit, o, fiduciam  
A Rege nostro patrio profugus solo  
Fratris perempti sanguine et madens adhuc?  
420 MEGABASUS. Numquid probatam semper exhibuit fidem?
- PHARNASPES.  
Dic blandiendo potius effictam fidem!  
Decipere poterit. Facile regnantum<sup>29</sup> indolem  
Quisquis dolosus capere blanditiis valet,  
Fidem ore simulat, corde sed fraudes coquit,  
425 Exserere nunquam, quae suas vires solent,  
Optata sese nisi dolis pandat via.  
Suspecta dudum fuerat Adrasti fides.

<sup>26</sup> S: faverit.<sup>27</sup> S: pium.<sup>28</sup> S: reddidit.<sup>29</sup> S: regnandum.

- MEGABASUS. So tell me what rage took hold of his heart. [400] Did the favours that Croesus showed him merit such a ruthless, barbarous, and godless crime?
- PHARNASPES. Of course, the favour that monarchs show rather too often creates insolent and rash men.
- MEGABASUS. Who, tell me that, could be so cruel-hearted? [405] I should believe him to be born of lions and tigers, not of humans.
- PHARNASPES. They who have been showered with favours often will hide cunning ruse in their heart. Croesus has nourished a heinous, evil adder at his bosom, one that deserves [410] a painful death. He has shown great favour to a barbarian, and he has been too kind towards Adrastus.
- MEGABASUS. Croesus expected Adrastus to be loyal when he assigned him to be his son's companion, to bring the youth safely home again. [415] And how the overly trusting king was fooled by this deceitful heart and its pretended loyalty towards hospitality!
- PHARNASPES. Ah, in what way did Adrastus merit the king's trust? He had fled his native land, reeking with the blood of his brother, whom he had killed.
- MEGABASUS. [420] Well, has he not always shown his certain faithfulness?
- PHARNASPES. You had rather say 'faithfulness pretended under the guise of flattery'! He was able to deceive. Any deceitful man who readily desires to pursue his greed for power by flattery claims to be faithful, and yet he brews fraud in his heart, [425] never to show how powerful it is, unless the road of deceit lies openly and comfortably before him. I have long had my doubts about the loyalty of Adrastus.

- MEGABASUS. Amice, vera loqueris, ast unum exime  
 Hoc corde dubium. Cur doli censes reum,  
 430 Qui reducis Atys vulnere affecti licet  
 Lateri fidelis haesit, et rediit comes?  
 Cur non saluti consulens suae caput  
 Subtraxit irae regis elapsus fuga?  
 PHARNASPES. Ut inde sese sceleris innocuum probet,  
 435 Ut se suosque fraude repetita tegat.  
 Sed, astra testor, cedat haud bene impio  
 Circumvenire quo petit regem dolus,  
 Cadat nefandus hic<sup>30</sup> regis nati latro,  
 Aut sanguis iste haud bulliat corde amplius.  
 440 Cedamus hinc, nam petere iam regem iuvat. (ABEUNT.)

## SCAENA II

CROESUS.

- CROESUS. Heu, sors iniqua, quam patrem miserum premis,  
 Unicum et amatum dum sinu natum eripis!<sup>31</sup>  
 Iam me beatum credidi et carum polo,  
 Cum tam probatum dederit et natum pium,  
 445 Qui sola spes et patriae et fuerat patris  
 Fulcrumque<sup>32</sup> regni summus et Lydiae decor.  
 Sed iam nefanda sorte subversam spei  
 Causam<sup>33</sup> video. Quam sunt leves rerum vices!  
 Nato parentem cerno spoliatum suo,  
 450 Cui destinatum fuerat et sceptrum et thronus,  
 Cuius parata sponsa iam expetiit manum.  
 Vah, astra, et iste natus, heu, cecidit male,  
 Dira et peremptus cuspide elinguis iacet,  
 Et iacet amica laesus Adrasti manu!  
 455 An ista de te meruit, o latro impie?  
 Affusus huc usque favori immerito favor?  
 Tantam rependis pro dato hospitio fidem?

<sup>30</sup> S *om.*<sup>31</sup> S: eritis.<sup>32</sup> S: Vulcarumque.<sup>33</sup> S: quasi.

- MEGABASUS. My friend, you speak the truth. Yet remove one doubt from my heart. Why do you consider guilty of treason [430] that man who, when Atys was wounded, remained faithfully at his side and came back with him? Why did he not try to protect his own life and remove himself from the king's wrath by escaping?
- PHARNASPES. To prove himself innocent of the crime! [435] To protect himself and his kin by yet another treason! Yet, by the stars, his godless deception with which he tried to trick the king, it shall fall dreadfully! This heinous murderer of the king's son, he shall fall, or my blood shall no longer boil in my heart! [440] Let us depart. We have to go and see the king. (EXEUNT.)

## SCENE II

CROESUS.

- CROESUS. Woe, unjust fates, you are weighing down this miserable father, as you tear his only beloved son from his arms! I believed myself to be happy, to be dear to the heavens, when I was given such a true and faithful son. [445] He was the only hope of both his father and his fatherland, a pillar of the kingdom and the noblest splendour of Lydia. Yet now I see the cause of our hopes overthrown by a heinous fate! How fickle is the course of things! I see a father deprived of his son, [450] of him who should have received the sceptre and the throne, and whose betrothed was yet awaiting his hand in marriage. Woe! You stars! And my son, alas, he died horribly. He lies, speechless, struck by a cruel spear, and he lies, killed by the hand of Adrastus, his friend! [455] Has he deserved this, you ruthless murderer? You have been showered with undeserved favours. Is this the loyalty with which you reward your hosts for their favours? Speak! What rabid fury has entered your heart and made you torture a suffering parent with wicked cunning? [460] Yet why am I accusing Adrastus of responsibility for the mur-

Quis rabidus, edic, pectus invasit furor,  
 Miserum parentem pessimo ut ludas dolo?  
 460 Sed cur Adrastum caedis incuso reum,  
 Quem natus ipse sceleris insontem fecit,  
 Dum voce tremula caedis inocuum pius  
 Moriens probavit? Nate, quam dixti bene!  
 Haud ulla Adrastum culpa non sontem premit,  
 465 Ipse ego cruentus impius tui latro,  
 O nate, sum, qui monitus a caelo antea,  
 Ad vota facilis tua patris dederam sinu  
 Abire. Morte iam parens sua eluat  
 In te patratum, nate, tam dirum scelus.  
 470 Oportet atque patrium pectus chalybs<sup>34</sup>  
 Feriat. Inultum maneat haud tantum nefas.  
 Natum sequatur in necem parens brevi!

## SCAENA III

CROESUS. HYSTASPES. PHARNASPES. MEGABASUS.

HYSTASPES. Princeps verende, iussa complevi tua,  
 Et, ut petebas, denuo huc refero gradum.  
 475 CROESUS. An Atys ergo funeri est factum satis?  
 HYSTASPES. Ad iussa tua, rex.  
 CROESUS. O amici, quis dolor  
 Infandus ima cordi excruciet patris!  
 Aty perempto nomen o carum mihi  
 Est explicando lingua non compar mea.  
 480 PHARNASPES. Quam doleo fata tam aspera, o princeps, tibi,  
 Tibi natoque, quem dolet Lydia sibi<sup>35</sup>  
 Dira nefanda morte sublatum.  
 MEGABASUS. Meos  
 Invasit artus haud minor, princeps, timor  
 Dolorque, natum dum impia extinctum audii  
 485 Nece, et tuas, Rex, doleo tam diras vices.

<sup>34</sup> S: chalyx.<sup>35</sup> S: quam doleo fata tam aspera o princeps? tibi | Natoque! fata quem dolet lygia sibi.



der, as my son himself has called him not guilty of the deed, when with a fading voice he proved him to be innocent? Gentle yet in the moment of death! Son! You have spoken well. No guilt weighs on Adrastus. He is not chargeable. [465] It is I! I am your ruthless, bloody murderer, my son! I have been warned by the heavens, yet my fatherly mind was all too ready to give in to your pleas and to let you go. May your father pay with his own death for the wicked crime committed against you, my son! [470] It is only just that a sword shall run through your father's chest. Such a crime may not go without punishment. Let the father swiftly follow his son in death!

### SCENE III

CROESUS. HYSTASPES. PHARNASPES. MEGABASUS.

- HYSTASPES.       Worshipful prince, I have carried out your order. As you commanded, I present myself again.
- CROESUS.       [475] Has Atys been decently mourned?
- HYSTASPES.       As you have ordered it, my lord.
- CROESUS.       My friends, what unspeakable pain will torture this father's innermost heart! Now that Atys is dead, my tongue is no longer able to speak that name so dear to me.
- PHARNASPES.     [480] How I mourn, my King, over your fate, which is grievous for you and your son, now that Lydia mourns to have lost him to a cruel, heinous death.
- MEGABASUS.     No less were the fear and the pain that pervaded my limbs, o king, when I heard that your son was extinguished [485] by wicked murder. I weep over your harsh fate.

- CROESUS. Nato cadente cecidit et patriae salus.  
HYSTASPES. Nimium dolendo, rex, cave ut propriae malum  
Vitae imperes et patriam maestam novo  
Dolore, cives at novo adficias metu.  
490 Cum prole caderet sic sua simul parens.  
MEGABASUS. Servet benignus usque te regem polus  
Tuamque salutem<sup>36</sup>! Subditum ut regas diu,  
Sunt sola nostrum candida et vota omnium.  
CROESUS. O ut parenti liceat optata nece  
495 Cum nato obire! Quam foret gratum mihi!  
PHARNASPES. Reprime dolorem, qui tuum infestat sinum,  
Rex alme! Fletum tergere ex oculis decet.  
Nunc potius ira pectus inflammet tuum  
Et scelere dignam pessimo poenam coquat.  
500 CROESUS. Iram<sup>37</sup> retardat nimius, ah, nostram dolor.  
PHARNASPES. Quin potius iram iustus accendat dolor!  
Quousque tandem impune grassari scelus,  
Et te nefanda fraude deludi sines?  
Certum patratum caedis auctorem tenes,  
505 Manus pedesque vincla constrictum gravant.  
Quid ergo poenam debitam exigere vetat?  
CROESUS. Amice, nescis sceleris auctorem impii.  
PHARNASPES. Est ille Adrastus, tetrica clausus specu,  
Cuius probatam semper et sacram fidem  
510 Existimabas, unus hic sceleris reus.  
Adrastus ergo, pessimi doli artifex,  
Fuso cruore tetricum exsolvat scelus!  
CROESUS. Quo furor, amice, pectus accensum rapit?  
Adeone certum est impium Adrasti scelus?  
515 Illius ergo culpa iam penitus patet,  
Nullius ut rationis indigeat, neque  
Aliud supersit quam nece ut cadat reus?  
MEGABASUS. An ergo nondum caedis est auctor satis  
Tibi notus, esse possit ut dubium super?

<sup>36</sup> S: tuumque salus.<sup>37</sup> S: Diram.

- CROESUS. The hope of our country has fallen with my son.
- HYSTASPES. Be careful, o king, lest by too great suffering you do harm to your own life or cause the mourning fatherland new pain and the citizens new fear. [490] Then the father would indeed perish together with his son.
- MEGABASUS. May the heavens favourably protect you and your well-being, O king! May you long rule over what is yours! That alone is the pious desire of us all and sundry.
- CROESUS. Ah, let the father perish with his son [495] through voluntary death! How I would welcome that!
- PHARNASPES. Suppress the pain that lives in your heart, gracious king! You must wipe the tears from your eyes. It is better now to let wrath inflame your heart and devise a punishment that fits this wicked crime.
- CROESUS. [500] Ah, my wrath is restrained by excessive pain.
- PHARNASPES. Let rather your just pain inflame your wrath! How much longer will you allow crime to roam unpunished and yourself to be tricked by heinous fraud? You have the perpetrator of this deed in custody; [505] he is weighed down by chains hand and foot. What keeps you from meting out the punishment that he deserves?
- CROESUS. My friend, you do not know the perpetrator of the godless crime.
- PHARNASPES. But it is Adrastus! He is even now held in a dark dungeon. And in this man's certain and avowed faithfulness [510] you have always believed. He alone is guilty of the deed. Therefore let Adrastus, who has fabricated this wicked betrayal, pay for his dark crime with his own blood.
- CROESUS. Where does rage take your inflamed heart, my friend? It is yet uncertain if the godless deed was carried out by Adrastus. [515] Is his guilt so fully evident that there is no need for further thought and that nothing remains but this: how shall the criminal die?
- MEGABASUS. Well, do you not yet sufficiently know the murderer, as there is still room for doubt?

- 520 PHARNASPES. An est Adrastus, auctor infandae necis,  
Pro prole propria carus et gratus magis,  
Ut omnis sceleris immunem putes?
- CROESUS.<sup>38</sup> Non ego, sed ipse natus insontem impii  
Sceleris habebat antequam clausit diem.
- 525 MEGABASUS. Nimium benignam novimus nati indolem,  
Parcere scelestis<sup>39</sup> semper adsuetus fuit.
- PHARNASPES. Movere in iras, vindicem manum leva!  
Aequa videre mente num natum tibi  
Tolli rapique scelere inaudito potes?
- 530 Hoc scelus inultum tacitus et patiens feres?
- MEGABASUS. Si tam nefandum crimen Adrastum premat,  
Impune ut abeat non decet tantum nefas.
- CROESUS. Votis, amici, credite o, fiet satis.  
Cadet cruenta caede qui nati est reus.
- 535 HYSTASPES. Video ferentes huc scitos ad te gradus  
Comitante Olyntho regiam sponsam modo.

## SCAENA IV

PRIORES. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS.

- MANDANA. Tuum subire liceat aspectum mihi,  
Princeps verende!
- CROESUS. Quid tibi fieri petis?
- MANDANA. Maestum dolore percussus hoc pectus vide.  
540 Pro fratre supplex venio, rex, ad te meo.  
Remitte culpam, Croese, da veniam, rogo,  
Fratrī, probrosa solve conclusum specu!
- OLYNTHUS. En, advolutum pedibus, o princeps, tuis  
Adspice gementem et imbre perfusum genas.  
545 Nato parentem redde dilectum suo,  
Dissolve vincla, quae patrem insontem premunt!

<sup>38</sup> S *om.*<sup>39</sup> S: coelestis; *id.* 881; 1125; 1139; 1379.

- PHARNASPES. [520] Well, is Adrastus, who has committed this unspeakable murder, so dear and even more precious on account of your own son, that you consider him incapable of any evil deed?
- CROESUS. Not I, but my son himself deemed him innocent of the godless treachery before he closed his eyes forever.
- MEGABASUS. [525] We know your son's overly gentle nature. It was ever his habit to forgive evildoers.
- PHARNASPES. Let yourself be moved to wrath and raise your hand to vengeance! Can you watch with an unperturbed mind as your only son is taken from you, as he is ravished by unspeakable crime? [530] Will you silently tolerate this atrocity?
- MEGABASUS. If such a heinous crime weighs Adrastus down, then it must not be that such wickedness remain unpunished.
- CROESUS. Believe me, my friends, your wishes shall be fulfilled. He who has committed a crime against my son, he shall die a cruel death.
- HYSTASPES. [535] I see that she who was the royal bride is approaching you with graceful steps, and Olynthus is with her.

## SCENE IV

THE SAME. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS.

- MANDANA. May I be allowed to step before your face, worshipful monarch!
- CROESUS. What do you want me to do for you?
- MANDANA. See how my grieving heart is scorched by pain. [540] Humbly I approach you, king, to plead for my brother. Forgive his guilt, O Croesus, and grant my brother pardon, I beseech you. Free him who is locked in a shameful dungeon!
- OLYNTHUS. See me, O King, crouched at your feet, weeping and with tear-stained cheeks. [545] Render a beloved parent to his son, and undo the chains that bind my innocent father!

- CROESUS. Olynthe, natum redde quoque Croeso suum,  
Et patrem habebis ilico exemptum specu.
- MANDANA. Quid? Sceleris insons tam graves poenas luat?
- 550 PHARNASPES. Cuius cruenta cecidit infectus manu  
Atys, nefandi sceleris hunc reum negas?  
OLYNTUS. O teste, fare, constat admissum nefas?  
MANDANA. Nonne Atys ipse dixit innocuum prius?  
CROESUS. Haec una Adrastum causa non sontem facit,  
555 Dum natus ipse caedis non<sup>40</sup> reum antea  
Dicebat.
- PHARNASPES. An non vulnus inflictum manu  
Dira nefanda caedis auctorem probat?
- OLYNTUS. Patrare an alius ergo non potuit scelus?
- MEGABASUS. Cur non removit pectore opposito malum?  
560 Hoc iussa regis, et data petisset fides.
- MANDANA. Inimica pectus Atys insidiis petens  
Forsan cruentum vulnus inflexit manus.
- OLYNTUS. Cur ipse, edic, reducis est Atys latus  
Comes secutus, regiam ingressus domum,  
565 Sceleris nefandi si reus genitor foret?
- PHARNASPES. Regem facilius inde quo fallat dolus.<sup>41</sup>  
Sese expedire poterit haud scelere parens.
- CROESUS. Perge, cara, carceris pateant fores.  
Accede fratrem, Olynthus et sciat comes.  
570 Efficite, sceleris sese ut innocuum probet!  
Habebit in me, credite, haud iudicem impium.  
Tu sequere regem, iussa te volunt mea.
- HYSTASPES. Haerere lateri regis est gratum nimis.

<sup>40</sup> S om.<sup>41</sup> S: dolor.

- CROESUS. Olynthus, give Croesus back his son too, and your father will immediately be freed from his dungeon.
- MANDANA. What? An innocent man shall be thus severely punished?
- PHARNASPES. [550] Are you denying that he whose bloodstained hand struck and killed Atys is guilty of the unspeakable crime?
- OLYNTHUS. Tell me and swear to it, has he admitted the deed?
- MANDANA. Did not Atys himself call him innocent earlier?
- CROESUS. This is the only circumstance that could excuse Atys, [555] that my son did pronounce him not innocent of the murder.
- PHARNASPES. The wound inflicted by a cruel, ruthless hand, does it not prove him to be the perpetrator of the crime?
- OLYNTHUS. But surely somebody else could have done that?
- MEGABASUS. Why did he not ward off the danger with his own breast? [560] The king's orders and his avowed loyalty would have demanded it.
- MANDANA. An enemy's hand, cunningly aiming at the heart of Atys, may have caused the fatal wound.
- OLYNTHUS. Tell me, why did my father return, at the side of Atys, as his companion, and enter the royal palace, [565] if he is supposed to have perpetrated such an unspeakable crime?
- PHARNASPES. A ruse in order to trick the King more easily. No, your father cannot get out of this crime.
- CROESUS. Proceed, dear lady. The prison doors shall be opened. Go, see your brother, and let Olynthus come with you as a witness [570] Make him prove himself innocent! Believe me, I shall judge him with clemency. And you, follow your king, as I order you.
- HYSTASPES. It is a delight to me to be at my king's side.

## SCAENA V

PHARNASPES. MEGABASUS.

- PHARNASPES. Quis animo, amice, iam sedet sensus tuo  
 575 De rege nostro? Fare, quid volvis modo?  
 MEGABASUS. Incertus, anceps, quid putem, sane haereo.  
 Nimis videtur, fateor, in Adrastum bonus.  
 PHARNASPES. Fas omne contra pessimo pium voca.  
 Bonitate tandem quid sua efficiet? Cedo!  
 580 Ni poena culpam debita infandam premat,  
 Si scelus inultum semper et maneat nefas,  
 Deorsum iam<sup>42</sup> cuncta exinde ferrentur brevi.  
 MEGABASUS. Tam carum Adrasti principi est nostro caput,  
 Admissi ut illum sceleris insontem putet  
 585 Et sic cruentae cupiat eripere neci.  
 PHARNASPES. Id ipsum, amice, pectus hoc dudum dolet,  
 Nostra videatur quod minor regi fides,  
 Ut cura nati fuerit imposita<sup>43</sup> extero.  
 MEGABASUS. Iubere reges pro suo libitu solent.  
 590 PHARNASPES. Deceptus ergo dum semel fuit, decet  
 Ut sapiat, et latronis impii scelus  
 Dira nefanda plectat, ut meruit, nece.  
 Sed parcat: an non maius audebit nefas  
 Impius Adrastus crimen exutus suum?  
 595 Quid iam vetabit regium petere caput  
 Manu nefanda proprio et pellere throno?  
 Perimere natum regium an scelus leve?  
 MEGABASUS. Sed rex Adrasti crimen in dubium vocat.  
 PHARNASPES. An iure?  
 MEGABASUS. Id ipsum, amice, Megabasum fugit.  
 600 Sed fare, cur Clitander ipse et comes  
 Atys redire visus est necdum hactenus?

<sup>42</sup> S: Deque [*pro* Deorsum iam].<sup>43</sup> S: imposito.



## SCENE V

PHARNASPES. MEGABASUS.

PHARNASPES. What thoughts, my friend, are on your mind [575] concerning our king? Tell me, what are you thinking?

MEGABASUS. I am at a loss. I do not know what to think. I admit he seems to be too kind towards Adrastus.

PHARNASPES. Call him kind towards a wicked man, against all custom. What does he achieve with his goodness! Tell me that! [580] If unspeakable guilt is not crushed by the punishment it deserves, and if crime is forever permitted without retribution, then everything will soon be in dissolution.

MEGABASUS. Our monarch holds the life of Adrastus so dear that he considers him innocent even of a crime that he has admitted. [585] Thus he tries to protect him from cruel death.

PHARNASPES. And, my friend, it especially troubles my heart that our own loyalty should appear insufficient to the king, so that the protection of his son was assigned to a stranger.

MEGABASUS. Well, kings will command according to their whims.

PHARNASPES. [590] Therefore, as he has been deceived once, it is necessary that he acknowledge it and strike the godless murderer's deed as it deserves: with a cruel, unspeakable death. And if he should spare him? Will Adrastus, that fiend, not dare an even greater crime when he is acquitted of this deed? [595] What will prevent him from attempting to take the king's life with his own ruthless hand and to cast him off the throne? Is it petty crime to slay a prince of the royal blood?

MEGABASUS. Yet the king doubts that Adrastus is guilty.

PHARNASPES. Rightly so?

MEGABASUS. That, my friend, is too much for Megabasus to say. [600] Yet tell me, why is it that Clitander, the bodyguard of Atys, seems not to have returned yet?

PHARNASPES. Fors ipse caesus perfida Adrasti manu  
 Quoque iacet, Atys in nece impia comes.  
 Sed, astra testor, horridas poenas dabit  
 605 Perfidia tanta, tetricum et luet nefas.  
 Haud me quietum videat haec aula amplius,  
 Donec cruore proprio eluerit scelus  
 Nocens Adrastus horrida cadens nece.

### CHORUS I

*Apollo propter necem Hyacintho illatam Oebali regia discedere iubetur.*

OEBALUS. MELIA. APOLLO. ZEPHYRUS.

OEBALUS. Amare numquid, filia, haud dubito, deum,  
 125 Favore qui ter dignus est nostro, potes?  
 MELIA. Quid loquere, pater? Apollo mortalem sibi  
 Me iugali cupiat adiungi toro?  
 OEBALUS. Dubitare noli, Apollo te sponsam petit,  
 Meumque, libertate sed nata utere  
 130 Tua, roganti placidus adsensum dedi.  
 MELIA. Negare num me, genitor, adsensum putes?  
 Quae virgo contempsisse divinum virum  
 Tantosque honores, stulta nisi et animi impotens  
 Fuerit, et obstitisse fortunae velit?  
 135 OEBALUS. Prudenter istud nata, coniugium eligis;  
 Sic namque per te frater et genitor tuus,  
 Sic et nepotes sorte divina eminent  
 Sic nostra diva efficitur his facibus domus.  
 MELIA. Dic, ubi moratur Apollo? Colloquio illius  
 140 O ut liceret optimo actutum frui!  
 OEBALUS. Cum fratre disco ludit et Zephyro simul  
 In nemore. At huc redibit, ut spero, citus<sup>44</sup>  
 Tuumque me praesente consensum petet.

<sup>44</sup> s] a: citius.

PHARNASPES. Perhaps he is dead too, slain by the perfidious hand of Adrastus, joining Atys in violent death. Yet I swear by the stars, there will be horrible punishment [605] for such perfidy, for this dark crime. This palace will not see me quiet until Adrastus, the plotter, pays for his evil deed with his own blood and dies a horrid death.

### CHORUS I

*On account of the death of Hyacinthus, Apollo is ordered to leave the kingdom of Oebalus.*

OEBALUS. MELIA. APOLLO. ZEPHYRUS.

OEBALUS. *My daughter, would it be possible for you to love [125] a god? I have no doubt that he is thrice worthy of our favour.*

MELIA. *What are you saying, my father? Apollo wants to wed a mortal being like me?*

OEBALUS. *Have no doubt. Apollo wants you to be his spouse. Make your free choice, my daughter. [130] I have gladly assented.*

MELIA. *Father, why do you think I could refuse? What young woman would reject a god for her husband and all the honours that come with that, unless she were foolish and feeble-minded and willing to resist her good fortune?*

OEBALUS. *[135] Daughter, this is a wise choice of a spouse. Thus also your father and your brother and all our descendants will shine by divine favour; thus our entire house will become divine through your marriage.*

MELIA. *Tell me, where is Apollo tarrying? O that it were possible [140] to enjoy his wonderful conversation without delay!*

OEBALUS. *He is throwing the discus in the woods with your brother and Zephyrus. Yet he will soon return, as I hope, and ask your assent in my presence.*

- MELIA.  
145 *O petat! Habebit omne, quod pectus cupit.  
Laetari,  
Iocari  
Fruique divinis honoribus stat,  
Dum Hymen optimus  
Taedis et floribus*
- 150 *Grata,  
Beata  
Connubia iungit et gaudia dat.  
Iam diva vocabor  
Si numen amabo;  
155 Per astra vagabor  
Et nubes calcabo  
Et urbes, et regna devoveant se,  
Et Fauni adorent, et Satyri me.  
(ACCEDIT ZEPHYRUS.)*
- ZEPHYRUS.  
160 *Rex, de salute filii est actum; iacet  
Hyacinthus!*
- OEBALUS. *Heu me, nuntium o tristem nimis!  
Qua morte cecidit?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Ictus a disco ruit.*
- OEBALUS. *Quis filium occidisse non timuit meum?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Apollo.*
- OEBALUS. *Contremisco!*
- MELIA. *Superi quid? Deus,  
165 Qui me beare voluit, hic fratri necem  
Sit machinatus? Ista quis credat tibi?  
ZEPHYRUS. Vera loquor, et testis ego pereuntis fui.  
Vix lapsus est Hyacinthus, aufugi, malum  
Ne simile feriat forsitan et nostrum caput.*
- OEBALUS. *Sic ergo plectis, numen, innocuos? Favor,  
170 Quo te recepi, morte num nati unici  
Dignus erat? Ergo Meliam et natam quoque  
Surripere patri, numen o falsum, paras?*
- MELIA. *O absit a me, genitor, ut sponsum eligam,  
Deoque, qui cruore germani madet,  
175 Nuptura porrexisset praesumam manus.*
- ZEPHYRUS. *(Quid audio? An coniugia meditatur deus?  
An Meliam et rapuisse mihi amatam cupit?  
Qui rapuit Hyacinthi, anne et istius mihi  
Rapiet amorem?)*

- MELIA. *O let him ask! He will have all that his heart desires. [145] To rejoice, to revel and to enjoy divine honours is mine, when most noble Hymen with torches and flowers effects [150] this welcome and blissful wedlock and gives us joys. I shall be called divine as I love a deity; [155] I shall wander amongst the stars and tread on clouds. Let cities and kingdoms devote themselves, and fauns and satyrs worship me.*  
(ENTER ZEPHYRUS.)
- ZEPHYRUS. *King, your son's life is over! Hyacinthus [160] has fallen!*
- OEBALUS. *Woe to me! What a dire message! What manner was his death?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *He fell, struck by a discus.*
- OEBALUS. *Who dared kill my son?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Apollo.*
- OEBALUS. *I tremble!*
- MELIA. *Gods! What? The god who wanted to make me happy — he should have killed my brother? [165] Whom do you want to believe that?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *I speak the truth, and I have witnessed his death. As soon as Hyacinthus fell, I fled, lest a similar evil strike my own head.*
- OEBALUS. *There! Godhead, thus do you strike the innocent? The kindness [170] with which I have welcomed you, did it merit the killing of my only son? Deceitful god! Are you plotting to take my daughter Melia from her father as well?*
- MELIA. *My father! Never could I choose to marry the god who is stained with the blood of my brother [175] or to give him my hand in marriage.*
- ZEPHYRUS  
(ASIDE). *What is this! The god was contemplating marriage? He is planning to take my beloved Melia away? He has deprived me of the love of Hyacinthus — will he steal hers as well?*

- OE BALUS. *Zephyre, quae causa improbum*  
 180 *Adegit hoc ad facinus?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Haud ullam scio.*  
*Natus ad amoenum litus Eurotae stetit,*  
*Discumque metae proximum adspiciens, meus,*  
*Clamabat, ecce discus est vestro prior,*  
 185 *Metamque tetigit. Apollo tum discum iacit,*  
*Loquentis et propellit in pueri caput,*  
*Quo laesus iste pronus in terram ruit.*  
*Non dubito, quin extinctus hoc disci impetu*  
*Perierit.<sup>45</sup>*
- OE BALUS. *An sic furere non dubitat deus,*  
*Ut sibi benignum privet et prole Oebalum?*  
 190 *Exesse regno Numen invisum mihi*  
*Meisque iubeo. Zephyre, fac pellas reum,*  
*Maiora ne vel plura mihi damna inferat.*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Rex, regna tua sunt: ipse tu pelle impium.*  
*Tu morte nati laesus es. Timeo deum,*  
 195 *Qui fulmen hoc torqueret in nostrum caput.*  
*(Expellat utinam! noster ut possit dolus*  
*Latere; nam caedis ego sum factae reus!)*
- OE BALUS. *Abibo. Vos manete! Si veniat deus*  
*Ad vos, abire, nata, crudelem iube.*  
 200 *Ad litus Eurotae ibo, num vivat, meum*  
*Videre natum. Forsan occurret mihi*  
*Apollo, regnis numen exosum meis. (ABIT.)*
- ZEPHYRUS. *(Succedit ad mea vota, succedit dolus,*  
*Meliaque mea dilecta nunc coniunx manet.)*
- 205 MELIA. *Non capio, cur Apollo ne laesus quidem*  
*Necarit unice ante dilectum sibi*  
*Hyacinthum. Amare qui sororem me queat,*  
*Si fratris ante polluat fato manus?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Dilecta, ne mirare, quod tantum scelus*  
 210 *Apollo perpetrarit; haud nosti impium:*  
*Astutus est, crudelis, inconstans, levis:*  
*Hinc exulare iussus est caelis, suo*  
*Furore ne turbaret unanimes deos.*

<sup>45</sup> s] a: fuerit.

- OEBALUS. *Zephyrus, what cause led to [180] such a wretched crime?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *I know of none. Your son was standing at the pleasant banks of the Eurotas, and, looking at the discus nearest the base, he said, 'See, my discus has won over yours; it has touched the base.' Then Apollo hurled his discus. [185] He threw it against the head of the boy, who was still speaking. Struck by it he fell flat on the ground. I have no doubt that the force of the discus killed him.*
- OEBALUS. *And the god grew enraged so unhesitatingly that he robs Oebalus of his son? Oebalus, him who has been so kind to him? [190] I command this envious god-head to leave my kingdom. Zephyrus, have the perpetrator removed, lest he inflict greater and worse harm on me.*
- ZEPHYRUS. *King, it is your kingdom. You cast him out yourself. You have been injured by the death of your son. I am afraid of the god, [195] as he might direct the same strike against my own head. (ASIDE.) Let him throw him out! Then my cunning can remain hidden. It is really I who perpetrated the crime!*
- OEBALUS. *I shall go. You stay here. If the cruel god comes to you, my daughter, order him to leave. [200] I shall go to the banks of Eurotas to see if my son is still alive. Perhaps I shall meet Apollo, the god who hates my kingdom. (EXIT.)*
- ZEPHYRUS  
(ASIDE). *My plan is working; it is working as desired. Now I can marry my beloved Melia.*
- MELIA. *[205] I cannot comprehend why Apollo, without any provocation, killed Hyacinthus, whom he loved so dearly. How can he desire to love me, his sister, when he has polluted his hands with the blood of her brother?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Do not be surprised, beloved, that Apollo has committed [210] such a crime. You do not know the scoundrel. He is sly, cruel, fickle, and careless. Therefore he was banned from the heavens, so that his frenzy would not perturb the unanimous counsel of the gods.*

- MELIA. *Meliora credidisse de tanto Deo*  
 215 *Mens dictat. (Ast incertus est animus tamen,*  
*Timorque spesque pectore alternant vices).*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Melia, quid animo volvis? Ah sponsum abice,*  
*Cuius cruore dextra fraterno calet,*  
 220 *Zephyrumque, cuius ipsa sat nosti fidem,*  
*Amore, quo beatus efficiar, bea.*
- MELIA. *Nunc fata fratris cogito, haud Zephyri faces.*  
 ZEPHYRUS. *O dura! Num sprevisse sic Zephyrum potes?*  
*En! Duos conspicias:*  
 225 *Amantem et nocentem,*  
*Iuvantem et furentem;*  
*Cui manum porrigis?*  
*Apollo te necabit:*  
*At Zephyrus amabit.*  
*Fraterno qui dexteram tinxit cruore,*  
 230 *Tentabit in tenera plura sorore:*  
*Quem prudens eligis?*  
*Heu! Numen, ecce, numen huc gressum movet;*  
*Melia, quid agimus? Indica effugii locum!*  
*Timeo ferocem.*
- MELIA. *An ergo me solam obicis?*  
 235 *Subsiste! Num iactata sic perstat fides?*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Ne patere, quaeso, ut noceat insonti deus!*  
 (ACCEDIT APOLLO.)
- APOLLO. *Adesne latro! Fraudis infandae artifex!*  
*Hyacinthum amicum rapere non fuerat satis?*  
 240 *Rapuisse sponsam numquid et nostram simul,*  
*Sceleste, tentas? Crimen et mendax novis*  
*Criminibus auges? Impie! iratum tibi*  
*Quid possit, experire, iam numen modo!*  
*Amantis et nocentis, et iuste quidem*  
*Nocentis experire vindictam dei!*  
 245 *Irruite, venti! Claude sceleratum specu,*  
*Aeole!*
- ZEPHYRUS. *Quid? Heu me!*  
 (ZEPHYRUS IN VENTUM MUTATUS ABRIPITUR.)



MELIA. *I should think better of so great [215] a god. (ASIDE.)  
Yet my mind is undecided yet. Fear and hope are  
struggling in my heart.*

ZEPHYRUS. *Melia, what are you pondering? Ah, reject the suitor  
whose hand reeks with the blood of your brother, and  
bless Zephyrus, whose loyalty you know full well,  
[220] with that love that makes me blessed.*

MELIA. *I am still thinking of my brother's death, not of the  
marriage of Zephyrus.*

ZEPHYRUS. *O cruel one! Could you cast away Zephyrus like this?  
Behold, you see two, a loving one and a harmful one,  
[225] one who helps and one who rages. To which do  
you give your hand? Apollo will kill you, yet Zephyrus  
will love you. He who has stained his hand with the  
blood of your brother, [230] he will seduce the sister  
to further caresses. Whom do you wisely choose?  
Woe! The god, look, the god is coming towards us!  
Melia, what shall we do? Show me a hiding place! I  
fear his fury.*

MELIA. *And leave me alone? [235] Stay here! Is this the  
faithfulness of which you boasted?*

ZEPHYRUS. *Do not speak of it, I pray you, lest the god cause grief  
to an innocent man!*

*(ENTER APOLLO.)*

APOLLO. *There you are, murderer! You who committed unspeak-  
able treason! Was it not enough that you killed my  
friend Hyacinthus? Are you now attempting also to  
take my betrothed from my arms? [240] Ruthless one!  
And are you increasing your crime by further crimes,  
liar? Faithless one! You shall see what a god can do  
when you enrage him. You shall see the vengeance of  
a god who is both 'loving' and 'harmful', and rightly  
'harmful' indeed! [245] Burst in, you winds! Aeolus,  
lock this evildoer into your dungeon.*

ZEPHYRUS. *What? Woe is me!*

*(ZEPHYRUS IS CHANGED INTO A WIND AND WHIRLED AWAY.)*

- MELIA. *Quid agis, o numen grave!  
Funeribus an replere vis regnum patris?  
Iam fratre caeso occidis et Zephyrum simul?  
Tyranne! nunc et Meliam et regem opprimes?  
O cara!*
- 250 APOLLO. *Quid! Vocasse me caram audes?  
Cruente!*
- APOLLO. *Me percipere si non sit grave –*
- MELIA. *Est grave, tace! Atque nostra, sic genitor iubet,  
Ilico relinque regna, ne noceas magis!*
- APOLLO. *(Ah! pone tandem fulmen, o superum pater!  
Quousque persequetur hic miserum furor?)*
- 255 MELIA. *Discede,  
Crudelis!  
Gaudebo, tyrannus si deserit me!  
Vah! Insolentem,  
260 Qui violat iura!  
Discede, discede, nam metuo te.*
- APOLLO. *Est, crede,  
Fidelis,  
Est mitis Apollo, qui deperit te.*
- 265 *Quid? Innocentem  
Sic abicis, dura!  
Sic perdis amicum, si reicis me.*
- APOLLO SOLUS. *Quem caeli premunt inopem,  
An terris agat exsulem?  
270 Manebo!  
Quousque resederit dira,  
Quae pectora sauciat ira,  
Latebo.*

- MELIA. *What are you doing, harsh god! Do you wish to fill my father's kingdom with death? You have killed my brother; are you taking Zephyrus likewise? Tyrant! Now are you aiming at Melia and the king?*
- APOLLO. *[250] Dear one!*
- MELIA. *What! You dare call me dear! Blood-stained monster!*
- APOLLO. *Let it not be grievous to behold me —*
- MELIA. *It is grievous. Silence! And leave our lands at once, as my father has commanded, lest you cause even more harm.*
- APOLLO (ASIDE). *Oh, lay down your thunderbolt, father of the gods! [255] How long shall your wrath persecute this wretch?*
- MELIA. *Hence, cruel one! I shall be glad when the tyrant has left me! Woe, the brazen one [260] who violates justice! Hence, hence! I am afraid of you.*
- APOLLO. *Believe me, Apollo is faithful and mild, and he is faint with love for you. [265] What? Thus do you cast out an innocent, o harsh one? Thus you will lose a friend, if you reject me. (SOLO.) He whom the heavens press with poverty, must he wander the earth as an exile? [270] I shall stay! And as long as your cruel ire remains and lacerates my heart, I shall hide.*

## ACTUS III

*Pharnaspes dolo Adrastum perditurus, dum Mandana cum Olyntho fratrem servare conatur, Croesum, sceleris patrati causa et culpa in sororem quoque et filium Adrasti subdole coniecta, ad vindictam exagitat, suam interea operam miseris addicente Clitandro.*

## SCAENA I

PHARNASPES. CLITANDER.

- 610 PHARNASPES. Dux inclute, id sat capere mens nequit mea,  
Quod tu patratae caedis innocuum adseras  
Adrastum et omnis sceleris expertem velis,  
Cum tamen innocuum perfidia premat.
- CLITANDER. Amice, vera, quae dixi tibi, reputa.  
Esse hunc ego nefandi sceleris reum nego.<sup>46</sup>
- 615 PHARNASPES. Quid? Ipse Croesus, aula quin sontem integra  
Et noscit et damnat.
- CLITANDER. Erit, ut spero, brevi  
Solutus omni scelere, dum seriem rei  
Audierit ex me Croesus.
- PHARNASPES. Ast ipso quoque  
Fatetur esse caedis infandae reus.
- 620 CLITANDER. Eluere culpam morte crudeli expedit.  
Hoc nimia in Atyn loquitur Adrasti fides  
Dolorque, caesum quo sua manu luet.
- PHARNASPES. Quid? Ergo eundem caedis insontem probas,  
Cum sit peremptus, caesus Adrasti manu?
- 625 Potius latronem perfidum impium voca,  
Dira, cruenta milies dignum nece.
- CLITANDER. Haud ille. Nulla aurem premit sceleris nota  
Quae tam<sup>47</sup> cruenta morte puniri solet.  
En gemma, natus ipse quam dederat mihi
- 630 Iam vulneratus, qua patri innocuum probem  
Pandamque Adrastum.

<sup>46</sup> S: Amice vera, quae dixit tibi. | reputa; nefandi sceleris hunc reum nego.

<sup>47</sup> S: Unquam [pro Quae tam].

## ACT III

*Mandana and Olynthus seek to rescue her brother. Pharnaspes, plotting to have Adrastus killed, spurs Croesus to vengeance for the wrong done, cunningly casting guilt onto the sister and son of Adrastus as well. Meanwhile Clitander seeks to help the wretched victims.*

## SCENE I

PHARNASPES. CLITANDER.

PHARNASPES. Noble officer, my mind cannot comprehend [610] how you insist that Adrastus is innocent of the murder that was committed and how you wish to exonerate him of all accusations, although with his faithlessness he strikes an innocent person.

CLITANDER. My friend, think again of the facts that I have told you. I deny that he is guilty of the heinous crime.

PHARNASPES. [615] What? Croesus himself and the entire court know and condemn him as guilty.

CLITANDER. I hope that he will briefly be freed of all accusations, as I explain the course of events to Croesus.

PHARNASPES. Yet he himself has admitted to being guilty of the unspeakable crime. [620] He has to pay his debt with horrible death.

CLITANDER. That came from the exceeding loyalty of Adrastus towards Atys, and from pain, so as to atone for him whom his hand had killed.

PHARNASPES: What? You insist that he is innocent of the murder, although a person has been killed, killed by the hand of Adrastus? [625] Call him rather a perfidious, godless murderer, one who a thousand times deserves a harsh and cruel death.

CLITANDER. Not he. My ears have not heard of a single fact punishable by cruel death. See this jewel, which the king's son himself gave me [630] when he was wounded, so that I could prove and demonstrate to his father that Adrastus is innocent.

- PHARNASPES. Quid?<sup>48</sup> Novo tu quoque dolo  
Lusisse tentas principem? Hoc a te pius  
Suo favore meruit? Indignum caput,  
Tu quoque nefandum crimen Adrasti adiuvas?
- 635 CLITANDER. Magis probata constat, ut puto, fides  
Mea, quam nefandi ut noxium incuses doli?
- PHARNASPES. Accusa Adrastum caedis infandae reum  
Et omnis expers mihi doli videberis.  
Si vita regis cara sit, propria et tibi,  
640 Probante te fac saevus Adrastus cadat.
- CLITANDER. Desiste tantum petere tam indignum nefas.  
Potare foedum pectus hoc scelus nequit.
- PHARNASPES. Gemmam ergo trade, quam tenes mihi ilico.
- CLITANDER. Hanc regis ipsam manibus imponam decet.
- 645 PHARNASPES. Moras recuso; trade, vel ferro hoc cades.
- (ENSEM NUDAT.)
- CLITANDER. Quid? Tu Clitandrum petere quoque ferro paras?  
En, expeditam cernis ad pugnam manum. (FIT PUGNA.)  
Infausta sors!
- PHARNASPES. Iam cecidit in casses fera.  
Iam redde gemmam, certus aut animam spues.
- 650 CLITANDER. Casu cadenti gratis intendis minas?  
(ET CASU DEXTERAM SCIDIT.)  
Ubi iura, fas et ubi?
- PHARNASPES. Tace! Mea ocios  
Perfice petita, vel nigram Stygem subis!
- CLITANDER. O astra! Recipe, sed dolum quemvis cave.
- PHARNASPES. Age iam, simulque iureiurando tuam  
655 Praesta fidem, quod cuncta iam tacito sinu  
Contegere velis.
- CLITANDER. Vah, quod impium exigis  
Scelus!<sup>49</sup>
- PHARNASPES. Resistis? Movere!
- CLITANDER. Contine manum, impie!
- PHARNASPES. Testare patrios mihi deos!
- CLITANDER. Testor. Scelus!

<sup>48</sup> S om.<sup>49</sup> S: solus.

- PHARNASPES. Do you dare fool the king with a new ruse? Has this man of clemency deserved this reward for his kindness? Worthless man, you too are helping with the godless crime of Adrastus?
- CLITANDER. [635] I daresay that my faithfulness has been proved better than to permit you to accuse me of treacherous and malicious cunning.
- PHARNASPES. Call Adrastus guilty of the unspeakable murder, and I will consider you free from all treason. If you cherish the king's life and your own, [640] then let the savage Adrastus fall, and assent to it.
- CLITANDER. Do not demand such a great and wicked crime of me! This heart cannot breathe the stench of malice.
- PHARNASPES. Then hand over at once that jewel that you are holding.
- CLITANDER. That I have to place in the king's own hands.
- PHARNASPES. [645] No tarrying! Hand it over, or my sword will strike you down. (HE DRAWS HIS SWORD.)
- CLITANDER. What? You are attacking Clitander with the sword? There! You are encountering a battle-trained arm. (THEY FIGHT.) What misfortune!
- PHARNASPES. I have ensnared the beast! Hand over the jewel now, or you will spew out your life.
- CLITANDER. [650] Are you gratuitously threatening a man as he is falling, a victim of chance? (AS HE FALLS DOWN, HE OPENS HIS HAND.) Where is justice? Where is right?
- PHARNASPES. Silence! Hurry, do as I have told you, or you shall descend to black Styx!
- CLITANDER. O stars! Take it then, but avoid perpetrating any ruse.
- PHARNASPES. Up, swear allegiance to me, [655] swear that you will be silent and conceal in your heart what has happened.
- CLITANDER. Woe, what godless crime are you demanding!
- PHARNASPES. You resist me? Let me incite you!
- CLITANDER. Hold back your hand, godless man!
- PHARNASPES. Swear to me by the gods of our fathers!
- CLITANDER. I swear. — What a crime!

- PHARNASPES. Triumpho. Votis nunc meis factum est satis.  
 660 Sic, sic, Clitander, patriae et legi faves.  
 CLITANDER. Superi! Quid egi? Vah, pudor, miserum obrue! (ABIT.)  
 PHARNASPES. Dilecta gemma, pectus ut deceas<sup>50</sup> meum!  
 Per te furori mox meo fiet satis,  
 Per hanc Adrastus perfidus cadet brevi. –  
 665 Sed en, quis ad nos huc citus movet gradum?  
 Mandana simul et natus Adrasti est, lues  
 Invisa. – Iam petendus est princeps mihi,  
 Deinde rem docere Megabasum decet. (ABIT.)

## SCAENA II

MANDANA. OLYNTHUS.

- OLYNTHUS. Quid nunc agendum restat? O amita, doce,  
 670 Quomodo<sup>51</sup> iuvare possit infelix parens!  
 MANDANA. Heu me, quam acerbus hunc sinum exagitat dolor  
 Et triste varios pectus in partes rapit!  
 672a Nimis in amandum fervidus sponsum hinc rapit,  
 Illic Adrasto debitum retrahit amor.  
 Est frater –  
 OLYNTHUS. Edic, corde quid tacita geris?<sup>52</sup>  
 675 MANDANA. Dolet peremptus Atys, et frater dolet.  
 OLYNTHUS. Non iam dolori, cara, vocandum amplius,  
 Medela sed ferenda quae sciat patri,  
 Iam cogitandum est. Ah modum, quaeso, edoce!  
 MANDANA. Iam sponsi amorem reprimo, nunc fratri fave,  
 680 Regem petendum supplici et voce autumo,  
 Nobis Adrastum ut servet illaesum nece.  
 Flectendus animus regis est precibus super  
 Piisque lacrimis, sceleris ut absolvat reum.

<sup>50</sup> S: neceas.<sup>51</sup> S: Quaecum.<sup>52</sup> S: genis.



- PHARNASPES. Triumph is mine! Now my wishes have been fulfilled. [660] Like this, Clitander, like this you serve your country and her laws.
- CLITANDER. Gods! What have I done? Woe, shame, destroy this miserable man! (EXIT.)
- PHARNASPES. Now adorn my chest, precious jewel! Through you my wrath will soon be satisfied, and by this that perfidious Adrastus will soon perish. [665] Yet look! Who is swiftly directing his steps towards me? It is Mandana and the son of Adrastus, that hateful plague. — Now I must go to see the king, and then I have to inform Megabasus of the case. (EXIT.)

## SCENE II

MANDANA. OLYNTHUS.

- OLYNTHUS. What remains to be done? Tell me, aunt, [670] how can my unlucky father be helped?
- MANDANA. Woe is me! How this bitter pain torments my heart and tears my mournful bosom asunder! The all-too-glowing love I feel for my dearest betrothed tugs me to one side. The love which I owe Adrastus draws me the other way. After all, he is my brother.
- OLYNTHUS. Tell me, what are you quietly considering in your heart?
- MANDANA. [675] Both the death of Atys and my brother are causing me pain.
- OLYNTHUS. We must cry out in pain no more, my dear. Rather we must consider what hope can be brought to my father. Ah, tell me the means, I pray you!
- MANDANA. Yes, I suppress my love for my betrothed. Now I am concerned for my brother. [680] I think we have to seek out the king with words of supplication, that he may preserve Adrastus unharmed. Furthermore we have to change the king's mind with pleas and the tears of pity, so that he may relinquish the accused.

- OLYNTHUS.  
685 Scis nunquid ipsa regis in patrem sinum  
Adeo faventem, ut ipsum insontem velit  
Sceleris probetque se parens culpa<sup>53</sup> inscium?  
Sed fare, cur potes! Ipse se dicit reum.  
Cur ipse ultro sibi necem inferri cupit  
Satis<sup>53</sup> probatus ac dum scelere est satis  
690 Purus? Quid aget hominem ut cupiat necem?  
Time parenti, ne ultimum immineat malum!  
MANDANA.  
Pariter minae, heu!<sup>54</sup> Pectus hoc quatitur metu,  
Si non se Adrastus frater insontem probet,  
Dira cruenta morte ne – dolor! – cadat.  
695 Si Croesus etiam parcat in fratrem pius,  
Furoris alius timeo ne accendat faces.  
Non adeo regem timeo, Pharnaspes magis  
Saevo timore pectus afficit meum.  
OLYNTHUS.  
700 Fidum favere sed patri Hystaspem scio  
Iramque mitigare, ne noceat patri.  
MANDANA.  
Nepos amate, precibus aggredi iuvat  
Regis animum. Fors fletus et preces simul  
Muliebris – usque fletus et leges solet  
Movere. Regem tu, nepos, mecum pete,  
705 Nostris et adde quoque tuas lacrimas.  
OLYNTHUS. Sequor.  
Superi secundent vota propitii patris. (ABEUNT.)

## SCAENA III

CROESUS. HYSTASPES. DATIS. PHARNASPES.

- CROESUS.  
710 Fornice, largam semper ut praestat fidem,  
Ergo dolore concitus miser gemit  
Adrastus, Atyn corde et afflicto dolet  
A se peremptum.  
DATIS. Quin sitit mortem, amice.  
Suum expiare hac optat admissum nefas.

<sup>53</sup> S: Atys.<sup>54</sup> S: haud.

- OLYNTHUS. You yourself know, do you not, that the king is so favourably disposed towards [685] my father that he wishes him innocent of the crime, and that my father denies knowledge of guilt? Yet tell me, how can you do that! He has admitted his guilt himself. Why else does he continue to demand death? He is honourable enough, and he is yet [690] free of crime! What drives this man to desire his own death? Ah, I fear that utmost evil is endangering my father!
- MANDANA. And so are threats. Woe! My heart is struck by fear that my brother Adrastus, unless he can prove his innocence, will die a dire and bloody death. The pain! [695] And if Croesus were to show clemency towards my brother and to pardon him, I should still fear that he might inflame the brands of a new wrath. I do not fear the king that much. Rather, Pharnaspes fills my heart with wild fear.
- OLYNTHUS. Well, I know that Hystaspes holds my father favourably and [700] will calm that man's wrath, lest my father be harmed.
- MANDANA. Beloved nephew, we must seek the king's heart with pleas. Perhaps a woman's tears and her pleas — and tears do often suspend laws! Nephew, come to the king with me [705] and add your tears to mine.
- OLYNTHUS. I follow you. May the gods favourably support my father's pleas. (EXEUNT.)

### SCENE III

CROESUS. HYSTASPES. DATIS. PHARNASPES.

- CROESUS. In this vault, as he has ever shown his great faithfulness, Adrastus is sighing, moved by his pain, and in his wounded heart he mourns for Atys, [710] whom he has killed.
- DATIS. Yes, my friend, and he even thirsts for death. With it he wants to atone for the guilt that he has allowed.

- CROESUS. Praeter sororem propriam<sup>55</sup> et natum quoque  
Nulli pateat aditus.
- DATIS. Id miles vigil  
Prohibebit usque.  
(ACCEDIT PHARNASPES.)
- HYSTASPES. At ecce, propero pede  
715 Ad te ferentem video Pharnaspem gradum.
- PHARNASPES. Rex alme, vive. Iam patet doli artifex.  
Nati latronem teneo pessimum, impium.
- CROESUS. Quis ille, fare, quem facit caedes reum?  
Luet cruenta morte tam indignum scelus.
- 720 PHARNASPES. Est ipse Adrastus perfidum caedis caput.  
Istud monile noris, o rex?
- CROESUS. Est mei  
Nati, quod humeris semper optavit suis.  
Ratione qua, dic, in tuas venit manus!
- PHARNASPES. Detrahit hoc Adrastus a collo impius  
725 Atys, suoque per ducem comitem ocus  
Nato remisit, regium ut capiens decus  
Croeso perempto Lydiae<sup>56</sup> thronum occupet.  
Clitander istud retulit at fidus mihi,  
Ut inde regem praestet incolumem dolo.
- 730 DATIS. Scelus nefandum! Crimen emissum Styge!
- CROESUS. Amice, quae portenta tu refers mihi?
- PHARNASPES. Tam vera sunt haec, vita quam constat mihi.
- HYSTASPES. (Suspecta sunt haec verba Pharnaspis mihi.  
Magis probata constat Adrasti fides  
735 Pectusque mihi, quam ut suspiciam tantum nefas.  
Diu iam Adrastum lumine infenso aspicit  
Infesto et illum corde persequitur diu.)
- CROESUS. Adraste, regi sic datam probas fidem,  
Ludere nefando Principem ut tentes dolo?
- 740 An ista de te meruit, vah, pietas mea  
Amorque, quo meo, usque te pavi, simul?  
Receptus ille profugus hospitio mihi  
Eripere sceptrum patris, exuere et throno

<sup>55</sup> S: furorem proprium.<sup>56</sup> S: Lygiae.

- CROESUS. Let nobody besides his own sister and his son be admitted to him.
- DATIS. That will be ensured by a watchful soldier.  
(ENTER PHARNASPES.)
- HYSTASPES. Yet behold, I see Pharnaspes [715] swiftly moving his steps towards you.
- PHARNASPES. Gracious king, may you live long. We know the perpetrator of the heinous deed. I have apprehended the wretched, godless murderer of your son.
- CROESUS. Who is he, speak, who bears the guilt of murder? He shall pay for this unworthy deed with a cruel death.
- PHARNASPES. [720] Adrastus himself is the perfidious instigator of the murder. Do you know this collar, my king?
- CROESUS. It belongs to my son. He wished always to wear it on his shoulders. Tell me how it got into your hands!
- PHARNASPES. The godless Adrastus tore it from the neck of Atys, [725] and he had it swiftly delivered to his son by the accompanying officer, so that he could appropriate the royal title and succeed to the throne of Lydia after the death of Croesus. The faithful Clitander handed the jewel to me instead, thus to protect his king against treason.
- DATIS. [730] O the unspeakable heinousness! O the crime conceived in Styx!
- CROESUS. My friend, what wondrous things are you telling me?
- PHARNASPES. They are true, upon my life.
- HYSTASPES. I do not trust the words of Pharnaspes. I know better  
(ASIDE). the faith and mind of Adrastus [735] than to suspect this manner of crime. This man here has long been observing Adrastus with a hostile eye, and he has long been tracking him with a hostile heart.
- CROESUS. Adrastus, do you thus prove the faithfulness you have sworn to your king, that you dare deceive your monarch with godless treason? [740] Woe! Has my graciousness deserved this reward? Has likewise my love for you deserved it, my love which delighted me? As a fugitive I welcomed him. Now he plots to wrest the sceptre from me and cast me from my forefathers' throne. O what a creeping, perfidious, envious man!

- 745 Me tentet! Atrox, perfidum, invisum caput!  
 Misera regentum fata! Vah, quantos sibi  
 Fallax dolores purpura admixtos habet!  
 Sic celsa semper obiacent ventis iuga  
 Turresque caeli fulmen excelsas ferit.
- HYSTASPES. Rex alme, questum pone! Fors melior tuam  
 750 Fructus sequetur, ac putas, clementiam.
- DATIS. Huc usque servavit te incolumem polus,  
 Invicte princeps. Ne time! In multam quoque  
 Te, quod precamur, placidus aetatem leget.
- PHARNASPES. Ferrum, catastas potius ac enses para  
 755 Eis! Tam infandum pessimum factum scelus!<sup>57</sup>  
 Quousque, maiestatis excelsae decus,  
 Ludibrio haberi tacitus et patiens feres?
- CROESUS. Clemens videri quin prius volui hactenus,  
 Severitatem sed modo induere decet.  
 760 Surge, ira, pectus occupa, totam imbue,  
 Megaera, mentem! Promite, o Ditis specus,  
 Quidquid furoris in sinu vestro latet,  
 Ah, perfido quo digna et horrenda erigam  
 Supplicia; ut orbis stupeat, ulciscar nefas.  
 765 Graviores vincla perfidum ut premant, Datis,  
 Cura!
- DATIS. Alme rex, mox fiet imperio satis. (ABIT.)
- CROESUS. Fac cum sorore natus ut veniat brevi!
- PHARNASPES. En, huc venire cerno, quos ambos petis.

## SCAENA IV

PRIORES. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS.

- CROESUS. Tegere furoris horrida iuvat faces.  
 770 Mandana, fare, frater an culpa in scium  
 Sese probavit, fassus an caedis reum!

<sup>57</sup> S: flectus sceleris.

[745] O how miserable the fate of rulers is! Woe, how much suffering accompanies the deceitful royal purple! Yes, it is always the highest mountains that have to face the storm, and heaven's thunderbolts will always strike the tallest towers.

HYSTASPES. Gracious king, lament no more. Perhaps your clemency [750] has borne better fruit than you think.

DATIS. So far heaven has protected you, victorious king. Fear not. It will guide you benevolently — we pray for that — for many ages to come.

PHARNASPES. You had rather prepare chains, slave cages, and swords [755] for them! What an unspeakable, evil crime to commit! How much longer, splendour of sublime kingship, will you allow yourself to be tricked in silence and patiently?

CROESUS. Indeed, so far I have wished to be considered clement, yet now I must put on severity. [760] Arise, my wrath! Let you alone be on my mind, Megaera! Proffer, you caverns of the underworld, whatever wrath is hidden in your vaults! Ah, I shall devise cruel and horrid manners of death fit for this traitor! I shall take vengeance for this deed in a way that will astonish the world! Datis! Even heavier chains shall weigh down [765] the traitor: see you to that!

DATIS. Gracious king, your command will immediately be fulfilled. (EXIT.)

CROESUS. Let his sister and his son come to me!

PHARNASPES. Look, here they are coming whom you desire.

#### SCENE IV

THE SAME [SAVE DATIS]. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS.

CROESUS. Now I must conceal the horrid flame of wrath. [770] Mandana, tell me, has your brother proved himself to be innocent, or has he admitted that he is guilty of the murder?

- MANDANA. Praeter dolores, quae sinum maestum premunt,  
Tristesque gemitus, quos amor in Atyn elicit,  
A fratre, quidquid egererem, obtinui nihil.
- 775 CROESUS. Fors tibi parentis animus est notus magis,  
Olynthe. Quo se caedis innocuum probat?
- OLYNTHUS. Atyn peremptum pectore afflicto gemit  
Huiusque caede te patrem viduum dolet.
- CROESUS. Ut ergo vobis lusus est nondum satis  
780 Croesus? Latere creditis vestros dolos,  
Circumvenire me quidem?<sup>58</sup> O Atys lues  
Infanda, dira pestis et patriae probrum!
- MANDANA. Quo verba tendunt ista? Quis nobis dolos  
Affingit, et quis, Croese, nos reos facit?
- 785 OLYNTHUS. Ego omnis expers, rex, et insons sum doli.  
CROESUS. Perfide, negare num scelus vales adhuc?  
Haec gemma num tibi nota, quam coram vides?
- OLYNTHUS. Atys erat haec, ni fallor.
- CROESUS. Et nondum reum  
Te sceleris esse nosis, impium caput?
- 790 Tueri regem num putas spatium, thronum,  
Quod cum parente natus invides mihi  
Et me perempto rapere quod cogites tibi!  
Haec gemma numquid fuerit in signum tibi  
Tuo a parente missa, quod dira nece
- 795 Natus ceciderit, ut inde me caeso quoque  
Tibi, nefande, pateat ad thronum via?
- OLYNTHUS. Rex alme, iuro, testor et sacrum Iovem:  
Fulmine trisulco pectus hoc feriat polus,  
Si crimen ullum vel dolum quemdam coquat
- 800 Vel hoc monile si manus tetigit mea.  
Quis istud, o rex, fingit innocuo scelus?
- PHARNASPES. Haud ista ficta<sup>59</sup> sunt. Satis constat nefas,  
Negare quod non poteris, et fida manu  
Relata sunt haec cuncta principi nimis
- 805 In vos pio.

<sup>58</sup> S: ne quibus.<sup>59</sup> S: victa.



- MANDANA. I have tried hard, but I have not been able to elicit anything from my brother, other than his pain, which weighs down his grieving heart, and sad sighs, which are caused by his love for Atys.
- CROESUS. [775] Perhaps you know your father's mind better, Olynthus. Whereby does he prove himself innocent of the murder?
- OLYNTHUS. With an injured heart he mourns the killing of Atys and pities you, a father bereft by this death.
- CROESUS. Have you not yet had enough of mocking Croesus! [780] Do you think your treason remains hidden and goes by me unnoticed? You unspeakable killers of Atys! You ruthless plague! You disgrace of your country!
- MANDANA. What can these words mean? Who is falsely accusing us of treason and calling us guilty, Croesus?
- OLYNTHUS. [785] My king, I am clean and free of all treason.
- CROESUS. Perfidious one, dare you still deny your crime? Do you know this jewel?
- OLYNTHUS. If I am not mistaken, it used to belong to Atys.
- CROESUS. And you still do not consider yourself guilty of the heinous deed, godless man? [790] You may be sure that the king will protect his position, the throne of which you and your father envy me and which you want to obtain for yourself after my death! Sent to you by your father, this jewel should have been the certain token that my son [795] died a cruel death, so that you only had to kill me, you wretch, and the path to my throne was open to you.
- OLYNTHUS. Gracious king, I swear; I call upon the sacred Jove! Let heaven strike my heart with a three-pointed thunderbolt if I ever plotted any crime or treason, [800] or if I ever laid hand upon this collar. My king! Who slanders an innocent man like this?
- PHARNASPES. This is no slandering. Your crime is sufficiently known, you cannot deny it, and a faithful messenger has made it known to the king, who has shown himself [805] too gracious towards you.

CROESUS.

Vah, impium terrae probrum!  
 Sicine, scelestes, Principem exponis foco?  
 An ista de te meruit exhibitus favor  
 Tibi, parenti, vah, simul et amitae quoque?  
 Barbare, cruenta, lacte nutritus ferae!<sup>60</sup>  
 810 Sed cum parente natus et soror dabit  
 Pro scelere poenas. Pereat infanda haec lues.  
 Iamiam cruentam<sup>61</sup> corde vindictam paro.  
 (ABIT CUM SUIS.)

## SCAENA V

MANDANA. OLYNTHUS. CLITANDER.

OLYNTHUS.

Mandana!

MANDANA.

Amate, perditum, heu, sumus, nepos.

OLYNTHUS.

815 Heu, fata acerba! Quis sinum occupat stupor?  
 Quis ima cordis horridus penetrat dolor?  
 Quid, vah, Olynthus corde perfidiae scelus  
 Nutriat nefandum, pessimum et tegat dolum?  
 Semper probatam praestiti regi fidem  
 Croesumque semper corde venerabo pio,  
 820 Et nunc iniqui sceleris hic reum tenet  
 Gemmamque signum criminis mihi obicit.  
 Vos, astra, testor! Pectus inocuum gero.  
 MANDANA. Nunquid timendum rege Pharnaspem magis  
 825 Dixi? Hic nefandos caedit in nostrum caput  
 Dolos; parentem tetrico ut subdat neci,  
 Te quoque paterni sceleris in partem trahit.  
 (ACCEDIT CLITANDER.)  
 CLITANDER. Heic congregatos video quaesitos diu.  
 Mandana, salve!  
 MANDANA. Amice, vah, maestos iuva!  
 CLITANDER. Eloquere, pectus quod tuum premit malum?

<sup>60</sup> S: ferve.<sup>61</sup> S: cruenta.

CROESUS. Woe, godless disgrace of the earth! Thus do you expose your monarch in his house? Have I merited this by the favour which I have shown you and your father and also to your aunt? Woe! Barbarian! Blood-stained monster, nourished with a wild animal's milk! [810] Yet together with that father his son and his sister will now pay for their heinous deed. Let this unspeakable plague perish. I am yet devising a manner of cruel revenge in my heart. (EXIT WITH HIS ATTENDANTS.)

## SCENE V

MANDANA. OLYNTHUS. CLITANDER.

OLYNTHUS. Mandana!

MANDANA. Woe, my beloved nephew, we are lost.

OLYNTHUS. Ah, what a harsh fate! What is stunning my mind? [815] What horrid pain is entering my innermost heart? Woe, why would Olynthus nourish godless crime and conceal wicked treason in his perfidious soul? I have always demonstrated my avowed faithfulness to my king, and I shall always honour Croesus with a devout heart. [820] And now he thinks me guilty of a wicked crime and holds this jewel against me as a token of the deed. I call upon you, stars! My heart is innocent.

MANDANA. Have I not told you that Pharnaspes is more dangerous than the king? He has cast this godless treason onto our heads, [825] so that he could put your father to shameful death and involve you, too, in your father's crime.

(ENTER CLITANDER.)

CLITANDER. Here I see assembled whom I have long been looking for. Hail, Mandana!

MANDANA. My friend! Woe, help the afflicted!

CLITANDER. Tell me what pain is oppressing your heart.

- 830 MANDANA. Altum est: periimus, nulla iam superest salus.  
 Atys perempti frater, ah, agitur reus,  
 Mendax nepoti lingua Pharnaspis scelus  
 Affingit atque hunc perfidum regi adserit.
- CLITANDER. (Heu me, patrari patiar hoc dirum nefas?  
 835 Vah, quam dolosum video Pharnaspis caput!  
 Fides<sup>62</sup> nefanda, heu, iureiurando data!)
- OLYNTHUS. Me velle rapere patrium regi thronum  
 Sceptrumque vindicare mihi manu impia  
 Croeso perempto falsus incusat reum,  
 840 Et istud Aty propria gemma adprobat.
- MANDANA. Rex motus ira iam tulit diram necis  
 Sententiam in nos, frater et nepos cadet  
 Mecum, ah, ad unum. Perditi, heu, omnes sumus,  
 Ni tam nefanda mala tuo auxilio leves.
- 845 CLITANDER. Aerumna quantum vestra sollicitum premit!  
 (Vah, omnis istaec culpa me solum ferit!  
 Quid stolidus egi, pectus et rapuit timor?)
- MANDANA. Quid ipse tecum, fare, quid volvis, tei†!
- OLYNTHUS. Adsiste nobis potius et miseros iuva!
- 850 CLITANDER. Excelsa princeps, quidquid ingenium, vigor  
 Efficere, quidquid possint et<sup>63</sup> manus quoque,  
 Promptissimo hoc in unicum impendant sinu,  
 Fratrem sorori reddam ut et nato patrem  
 Et singulorum capita ut eripiam neci.
- 855 MANDANA. Licet, cruore proprio id fiat quoque.
- CLITANDER. O quantum, amice, nos tua recreas fide!  
 Mandana, mecum iam tuum fratrem pete!  
 Tu vero, Olynthe, lumine attento bibe,  
 Quaecunque agantur, cuncta nos dein doce.
- 860 OLYNTHUS. Impleta cernes cuncta pro votis tuis.  
 O ut benignus coepta confirmet polus!

<sup>62</sup> S: Vides.<sup>63</sup> S: potent ut.

- MANDANA. [830] A deep pain. We have gone under; there is no salvation. My brother, alas, is held guilty of the death of Atys, and the deceitful tongue of Pharnaspes calls guilty also my nephew and has declared him traitorous to the king.
- CLITANDER  
(ASIDE). Woe is me! Do I have to bear to commit this heinous deed? [835] Ah, now I see what a treacherous man this Pharnaspes is! Alas, I have sworn a wicked allegiance!
- OLYNTUS. That liar is accusing me of wishing to murder King Croesus in order to deprive him of the throne of his forefathers and to obtain his sceptre with my unholy hands. [840] And a certain jewel that belonged to Atys is supposed to prove it.
- MANDANA. The king is outraged and has already sentenced us to a cruel death. My brother and my nephew are to perish together with me. Ah! We are all lost, ah, unless you end all this evil wit our help.
- CLITANDER. [845] How I am worried, and how your anxiety troubles me! (ASIDE.) Woe, the guilt is mine alone. What have I done, fool that I am, and where has my fear taken me?
- MANDANA. Come, tell us what you are secretly thinking.
- OLYNTUS. Rather stand by us and help us in our misery!
- CLITANDER. [850] Illustrious princess, whatever my mind, my body, and my hands can do, it will all be directed by my willing spirit to one sole aim, namely to returning the brother to his sister and the father to his son and to rescue everyone from death. [855] Even if I have to shed my own blood to achieve this!
- MANDANA. My friend, how well you restore our hopes!
- CLITANDER. Mandana, come with me to see your brother! And you, Olynthus, keep a watchful eye on everything that is happening and keep us informed.
- OLYNTUS. [860] I am already carrying out your orders. May the heavens support your endeavours!

## ACTUS IV

*Pharnaspe de successu doli laeto Mandana cum Clitandro agens fratrem  
neci subtrahere satagit, sed conatu irrita.*

## SCAENA I

PHARNASPES. MEGABASUS.

- PHARNASPES. Ad vota, amice, mea fluit structus dolus  
Adrasto, et ira regis infandum premit.
- 865 MEGABASUS. Sed cur Olynthum sceleris innocuum quoque  
Reum arguis, cur hunc tuo innectis dolo?
- PHARNASPES. Nati ex nocente fiat vi parens magis  
Nocens. Olynthi scelere et Adrasti scelus  
Increscit atque augetur. Aspera nece  
Uterque tali citius occumbet modo!
- 870 MEGABASUS. Sic, sic peribit saeva cum catulo fera.  
Sed fare, quid peccaverit innocuus puer  
In te, quod illum tam asperis odiis petas?
- PHARNASPES. Commisit in me natus haud quidquam mali.  
Peccasse patrem sufficit. Laesum satis  
875 Me credo dum favore rex tanto exterum  
Beat, nefandum caedis impiae nefas  
Ut velit inultum morte nec premat scelus.
- MEGABASUS. Minor inde an ergo regis est in te favor,  
Si favet Adrasto, donat et culpam reo?
- 880 PHARNASPES. Punire scelera regis officium expedit.  
MEGABASUS. Parcere scelestis saepe principes decet.  
Insigne Croeso proprium clementiae  
Quis esse nescit?
- PHARNASPES. Ne nimis Adrasto pius  
Favensque mihi videris.

## ACT IV

*Pharnaspes rejoices in the success of his cunning. Mandana works together with Clitander to prevent her brother's death, but their attempts are fruitless.*

## SCENE I

PHARNASPES. MEGABASUS.

PHARNASPES. The plan that I have devised against Adrastus is working out as intended, my friend. The king's wrath weighs heavily upon the wretch.

MEGABASUS. Yet why do you also claim that the innocent Olynthus [865] is guilty as well, and why do you involve him in your plan?

PHARNASPES. By the son's dangerous strength, the father might grow more dangerous. Through the crime of Olynthus the crime of Adrastus grows and increases. Soon both shall in the same manner die a cruel death! [870] Thus, thus the wild beast shall perish together with its cub.

MEGABASUS. Yet tell me, what has the innocent youth done to you that you seek to destroy him with such hatred?

PHARNASPES. He has not done me any harm. Suffice it that his father has transgressed! I think I have been offended enough, [875] as the king favours this foreigner so openly that he wishes the wicked wickedness of this heinous crime to go unavenged, and that he does not crush with death the deed.

MEGABASUS. Well, is the king any less favourably inclined towards you if he protects Adrastus and forgives the accused his guilt?

PHARNASPES. [880] It is the duty of kings to punish crime.

MEGABASUS. Often monarchs must pardon perpetrators. Who does not know that Croesus is renowned for his clemency?

PHARNASPES. You seem to be too compassionate and favorable towards Adrastus.

- MEGABASUS. Haud faveo quidem.  
 885 Sed petere fraude, scelere sat pressum suo  
 Nolim, doloque ludere haud regem audeam.  
 Quid, fare, regi si tuus pateat dolus?  
 Impune nunquid caedis abiturum caput?  
 Ferire proprium saepe meditatus dolus  
 890 Dominum solet.
- PHARNASPES. Quam vanus est timor tuus!  
 Te praeter istum nescit haudquisquam dolum.  
 Hunc tegere tacito corde Megabasum decet.
- MEGABASUS. Decipere regem poteris, o, facile quidem.  
 Sed nunquid astra patriae et nostrae dii  
 895 Sunt tibi timendi, vindices tanti doli.
- PHARNASPES. Quid aspera memoras fulmina irati Iovis?  
 An tanta nostri cura sollicitos tenet  
 Deos, ut animos rebus humanis premant?  
 Facesse bruta fulmina irati poli;  
 900 Potius furori consecra pectus tuum  
 Et perde mecum perfidum Adrastum quoque  
 Cum prole, salva constet ut regis salus!  
 Iam nil moratus principem ad nostrum gradus  
 Reflecto, pectus ut nova inflammem face  
 905 Furoris. At<sup>64</sup> tu sequere praeceuntem brevi! (DISCEDIT.)
- MEGABASUS. Sequor dolosum, vah, caput. Mentem probam  
 luisse tentat, principem et deos simul,  
 Impius, iniquus regi et aspernans deos.  
 Quid statuis, anime? Perfidum an dolum tegis,  
 910 Et dira Olynthum, nulla quem culpa opprimit,  
 Sinis perire morte? Heu, procures, caput  
 Saevo furori regis obicere placet.  
 Retegente Croeso mente quae volvitur dolent.<sup>65</sup>  
 O<sup>66</sup> quid erigis? Stat mente iam fixum mea  
 915 Eludere alio pessimum hunc iure dolum.  
 Mandanae, Olyntho pectus addico meum,  
 Et quo iuvare nunc queam, omittam nihil.  
 Discedo, namque video venientem Datin.

<sup>64</sup> S: adde.<sup>65</sup> S: Retgregendo Croeso, mente quem volvitur, dolunt.<sup>66</sup> S: do.



- MEGABASUS. I am not at all favorable. [885] Yet I had rather not persecute with deceit a man already weighed down by his crime, and I am not brazen enough to trick the king. Tell me, what if the king unmasks your cunning? Will the deviser of the murder be acquitted with impunity? Intentional perfidy usually strikes [890] its own master.
- PHARNASPES. Such fears are in vain! Except you nobody knows that there is foul play involved. And Megabasus will keep silent about it.
- MEGABASUS. Well, you will easily be able to deceive the king. Yet now you have to fear the stars and the gods of our country. [895] They are the avengers of such deception.
- PHARNASPES. Why are you talking of the dire thunderbolts of wrathful Jove? Do the gods feel so closely attached to us that they busy their minds with human affairs? Furnish the wild thunderbolts of wrathful heaven! [900] Rather pledge your heart to fury, and join me in destroying the perfidious Adrastus together with his offspring, so that the king's safety is threatened no longer! I shall tarry no more and direct my steps towards our monarch to cast new brands of wrath into his heart. [905] And you will follow me right away! (EXIT.)
- MEGABASUS. I follow this deceitful man. Alas! He has attempted to cheat a righteous mind, and both his monarch and the gods. He is faithless and wicked against the king, and he scorns the gods. How will you decide, my mind? Will you cover his perfidious cunning [910] and let Olynthus, who bears no guilt, die a painful death? Woe! Noblemen, willingly I turn my face against the king's dire wrath. If Croesus changes his current opinion, they suffer. Ah, what are you setting up? My mind is firmly set upon [915] escaping from this wicked plan by a different law. I devote my heart to Mandana and Olynthus, and I shall leave nothing undone by which I could help them. I must be off, for here I see Datis approach. [(EXIT.)]

## SCAENA II

MANDANA. CLITANDER. DATIS.

- DATIS.                    Excelsa princeps, dura mihi sane imperas,  
 920                    Dum petis, ut aditus pateat ad Adrastum tibi.
- MANDANA.                Fratrem sorori petere non liceat? Cedo,  
                               Quae causa prohibet quae vel imperia iubent,  
                               Ut me volentem colloqui a fratre arceas?
- DATIS.                    Rex ipse te carceribus arcendam cupit.  
 925                    Haec iussa princeps antea imposuit mihi.
- CLITANDER.              Amice, an ista serio regem putas  
                               Tibi imperasse?
- DATIS.                                    Iussa nunc regis iocos  
                               Putas? Iocari Croesus iratus fugit.
- CLITANDER.              Nonne ipse sat benignus Adrasto favet  
 930                    Simul et nefandi sceleris innocuum tenet?
- DATIS.                    Tenebat antequam novus patuit dolus,  
                               Quo natum Adrastus Lydio imponere throno  
                               Tentaret.
- MANDANA.                                Absit, istud ut credas nefas  
                               De fratre. Crimen hoc sed afflictum<sup>67</sup> puta!  
 935                    Pharnaspis iste est, crede, confictus dolus,  
                               Lusisse regem quo cupit fratrem simul  
                               †Natumque dirae possit neci dare†.
- CLITANDER.              Perspectus est mihi animus Adrasti magis,  
                               Qui fugere cunctos semper assuevit dolos,  
 940                    Quam quod rebellis principi existat suo  
                               Turbare Croesum patrio et tentet throno.  
                               Haud unquam Adrastus laesit hospitii hactenus,  
                               Salvaque iura coluit usque devoto sinu  
                               Croesum fidelis proprio et regis caput
- 945                    Tegere paratus sanguine et dira nece.
- DATIS.                    Saltem nefandi vulneris in Atyn reus  
                               Caedisque habetur, regia ut merito caput  
                               Ira petat, et cruentae ut addicat neci.  
                               Aut ergo, amice, sceleris insontem proba!

<sup>67</sup> S: afflictum.

## SCENE II

MANDANA. CLITANDER. DATIS.

- DATIS.           Illustrious princess, you are demanding a very difficult thing [920] asking for permission to see Adrastus.
- MANDANA.       Should a sister not be allowed to visit her brother? Tell me what reasons you have for refusing to let me speak to my brother, or under what orders you act.
- DATIS.           The king himself wants you to be kept from the prison. [925] The monarch has commanded it.
- CLITANDER.      My friend, do you believe that the king has seriously commanded you to do so?
- DATIS.           Do you think that the king's orders are jokes? Croesus hates jests.
- CLITANDER.      Does he not look upon Adrastus quite favorably [930] and consider him innocent of the crime?
- DATIS.           That he did before new treason was unmasked, namely that Adrastus was plotting to raise his own son to the Lydian throne.
- MANDANA.       Do not believe my brother to be capable of such a heinous deed. You must consider it a slander. [935] Believe me, it is a lie, devised by Pharnaspes, by which he desires to ensnare the king and likewise can commit the son of Adrastus to a cruel death.
- CLITANDER.      I do think better of the mind of Adrastus, who is wont to abstaining from cunning plans. [940] He would never rise against his monarch, overthrow Croesus and obtain the throne of his fathers. So far Adrastus has not ever acted against the rules of hospitality; he has always observed the law with a devout mind, and he is ready faithfully to protect Croesus and the king's life [945] with his own blood, ready to die a cruel death.
- DATIS.           Anyway, they believe he is guilty of wounding and killing Atys and that therefore the king's wrath is rightly inflamed against him and sentences him to die a bloody death. But now, my friend, prove that he is innocent of the crime!

- 950 CLITANDER. (Heu, renovat ulcus! Iam fides prohibet data  
Male fausta. Torquet dirus, ah, sinum dolor.)  
MANDANA. Permite saltem pauca cum fratre<sup>68</sup> ut loquar.  
Remunerari nostra te novit manus.  
Namque esse propria et regna Mandanae haud latet.
- 955 Nostri parentis aula te recipit ducem,  
A rege quidquam si mali timeas tibi,  
Fratrī mihique praestitam certe fidem  
Rependet usque gratiis suis parens.
- DATIS. Nimis benignam video Mandanam mihi.
- 960 (Ipsus ego doleo principis tantae vices,  
Idemque nostrum pectus affligit dolor.  
Quid, pauca si cum fratre permittam loqui?  
Non video struere quem dolum regi queant.)  
Verenda princeps, corda qui premit tua
- 965 Dolor, inque fratrem, quo placida flagras, amor,  
Haec corda mulcet, sacra tibi pietas movet.  
Permitto, Princeps. Aditus, en, patet tibi,  
Clausumque fratrem carcere adducam ilico. (ABIT.)
- CLITANDER. En, astra nostris propitia coeptis favent.
- 970 MANDANA. O ut fidelis maneat et custos specus!  
CLITANDER. Fidus<sup>69</sup> manebit aere corruptus meo.  
(REDIT DATIS.)  
DATIS.<sup>70</sup> Heic sisto fratrem, et abeo rediturus brevi. (ABIT.)

## SCAENA III

MANDANA. CLITANDER. ADRASTUS.

- MANDANA. Dilecte frater, compede, heu, pressum intueor.  
Haec vincla nunquam merita, vah, manus gerit.
- 975 Infausta quam sors hunc tua affligit sinum!

<sup>68</sup> S: dua fratri.<sup>69</sup> S: fidum.<sup>70</sup> S om.

- CLITANDER [950] Woe, he is renewing my pain. The oath that I  
(ASIDE). have haplessly sworn prevents me from speaking. Ah!  
Harsh pain is tormenting my heart.
- MANDANA. At least permit me to have a few words with my  
brother. I shall reward you with my own hand. It is  
well known that Mandana, too, has a kingdom. [955]  
My father's court will receive you as a grandee, if you  
fear the king's revenge; and my father will with his  
gifts reward the loyalty that you have shown me and  
my brother.
- DATIS. Mandana seems to be too kind to me. [960] (ASIDE.) I  
grieve at the dire fate of this princess. The same man-  
ner of pain is afflicting my own heart. What if I let her  
have a few words with her brother? I do not see what  
plots against the king they should devise. (ALoud.)  
Worshipful princess, the pain that weighs on your  
heart [965] and your love for your brother, which is  
quietly burning, soften my heart, and my compassion  
for you moves it. I permit it, princess. See, the gates  
are open for you, and I shall immediately fetch your  
brother, who is held in this prison. (EXIT.)
- CLITANDER. See, the lucky stars are favourable to our endeavour.
- MANDANA. [970] May the guardian of the dungeon remain faith-  
ful to us!
- CLITANDER. He will remain faithful, bribed by my money.  
(RE-ENTER DATIS.)
- DATIS. Here I bring your brother. I am leaving, yet I shall be  
back soon. (EXIT.)

### SCENE III

MANDANA. CLITANDER. ADRASTUS.

- MANDANA. Beloved brother, I see you weighed down by shackles!  
Woe! You do not deserve the chains that your hand is  
wearing. [975] How your unhappy fate is afflicting  
my heart!

- ADRASTUS. Modum dolori pone, †dilecta soror,†  
 Et patere fratrem, fata quo trahant, sequi.  
 Sed age, quid huc te ferre compulit gradum?  
 Mandana regis ore num refert necem?
- 980 O quam venirent dulcia a lingua tua!
- MANDANA. O frater, absit ut necem feram tibi!  
 Potius salutis te modum edoceo soror.  
 O facile te servare iam nobis queas.
- ADRASTUS. Servari Adrasti non potest salvum caput,  
 985 Quem destinarunt fata iam ad mortem brevi.
- CLITANDER. Amate princeps, fata te premunt quidem  
 Iniqua. Vah, ego causa factorum impia!  
 Sed obtinere qua tuam pressus queas  
 Certe salutem, ter bona ostendunt viam,
- 990 Hac reddidisse, hoc si placet, salvum potes.
- MANDANA. En, me volente vacuus hic omni arbitro  
 Locus est, nec ipsas quispiam observat fores.  
 Corruptus aere custos addixit fidem.  
 Hic ergo, si vis ipse, iam liber potes
- 995 Abire mecum. Dumque spes aliam induat  
 Frontem, latere in aedibus poteris ducis.
- CLITANDER. Mea te parata tecta protegent satis,  
 Tutus latere poteris in laribus meis,  
 Suas furoris ira dum posuit faces.
- 1000 Vel si cruore proprio tuum caput  
 Tegere necesse sit, lubens fundam integrum.  
 (Eluere possem ut morte commissum nefas!)
- ADRASTUS. Vis igitur, hinc veloce ut abripiar fuga?  
 Amata, verba perdis. Haud meam potes
- 1005 Movere mentem, turpem ut hanc prenam viam.  
 Sic nostra numquid vos fuga exponet malo  
 Regis furori, tetricae et dabit neci?
- MANDANA. Pro fratre, crede, pro patre moriatur soror  
 Natusque.
- ADRASTUS. Nullum crimen innocuos premit,  
 1010 Quod eripiendum sanguine a vobis foret.

- ADRASTUS. Moderate your pain, beloved sister, and let your brother go where his destiny is calling him. Yet say, what makes you direct your steps to this place? Does Mandana bring my death sentence from the king's mouth? [980] Oh, it would be welcome if your tongue spoke it!
- MANDANA. My brother, never shall I carry your death sentence. Rather I, your sister, shall inform you of the manner of your salvation. Oh, you can yet easily save yourself for us.
- ADRASTUS. There is no salvation for the life of Adrastus, [985] whom the fates have destined for an immediate death.
- CLITANDER. Beloved prince, an unjust fate is oppressing you. Woe, I am the ungodly cause of your doom! Yet fate does show you a thrice expedient manner in which you, even gravely afflicted, can surely obtain your salvation. [990] If you please — you could have saved him here.
- MANDANA. See! As I requested, there is no eyewitness present, and not even the gates are guarded. We have bribed the gatekeeper, and he has promised us his loyalty. Therefore, if you wish, you can freely [995] walk away with me. Until hope shows a new face, you can hide in the house of this officer.
- CLITANDER. My house is all ready to protect you well. You can safely hide in my home until wrath lays down the brands of rage. [1000] Yet if it is necessary to guard your life with my own blood, I shall gladly shed every drop of it. (ASIDE.) If only I could atone with my death for the crime I have committed!
- ADRASTUS. So you want me to be taken from here by swift escape? My dear, you are wasting your words. You cannot convince [1005] my mind to choose such a shameful way. Will my escape not subject you to the king's evil wrath and put you in danger of cruel death?
- MANDANA. Believe me, your sister would die for her brother, and your son for his father.
- ADRASTUS. No crime lies on the innocent [1010] that would have to be paid with your blood.

- MANDANA. Sed ipse natus scelere perfidiae reus  
Arguitur, et id auctore Pharnaspe impio.  
Natumque meque certa mors tecum manet.
- 1015 ADRASTUS. Heu me! Nefandum dirus affingit nefas  
Soboli! Ah, Olynthus sceleris est insons meus.  
Sed fare, natum teste quo probat reum?
- CLITANDER. Omitte! Potius subtrahe, o, fuga caput!  
Vel imminere si mali quidquam putes  
Nato et sorori, praebeo, en, nostras manus.
- 1020 Concede vincla, redde mihi capitis decus  
Togamque. Pro te promptus horridam specum  
Subibo quodque mortis opperiens<sup>71</sup> genus.
- ADRASTUS. Amice, nimius est in Adrastum favor.  
Pro me nocente haud manet innocuus cruor.
- 1025 CLITANDER. (Insons, Adraste, pectus a culpa geris.  
Solut Clitander omnis est sceleris reus.)
- ADRASTUS. Servare natum potius incolumem stude  
Simul et sororem, sceleris insontes proba  
Regi, ullus in me pectus ubi teneat amor.
- 1030 Mihi statutum est, fata cum velint, mori.  
CLITANDER. [(]O ut liceret per fidem datam impie  
Loqui![]]
- MANDANA. Heu, morine, frater, est certum tibi?
- ADRASTUS. Certum: impedire nil meam poterit necem.
- MANDANA. Adspice sororem, frater, afflictam pius,
- 1035 Fuga rapaci subtrahe, ah, caput neci!  
Per mutuas te, frater, obtestor faces,  
Per sanguinem, unus qui mihi tecum fluit,  
Parce tibi vitamque ipse conserva tuam!
- ADRASTUS. At cede!<sup>72</sup> Surdo fabulam canis, soror.
- 1040 Cum prole nostra iam tuum serva caput,  
Utrique vestrum consulas fuga velim.  
Maneo paratam ruere promptus in necem.
- CLITANDER. Sed ecce, natus huc citum flectit gradum.

<sup>71</sup> S: operiens.<sup>72</sup> S: accede.



- MANDANA. Yet even your son is accused of the crime of treason, and that at the instigation of that godless Pharnaspes. Certain death awaits both your son and me!
- ADRASTUS. Woe! He is slanderously inventing wicked wickedness, the cruel man. [1015] Ah, my son Olynthus has no share in my guilt. Yet tell me, what witness does he quote to accuse my son?
- CLITANDER. Leave it be! Rather save your life by escaping! Yet if you think that your son and your sister are in danger, see here my hands. [1020] Give me your chains; hand over your headgear and your cloak. I am ready to go into the horrid dungeon in your place to discover whatever manner of death awaits you.
- ADRASTUS. My friend, you are too kind towards Adrastus. For a guilty man like me, no innocent blood should be spilt.
- CLITANDER [1025] Adrastus, your heart is free of all guilt. Clitander alone is the perpetrator of the entire crime.
- (ASIDE).
- ADRASTUS. You should rather try to rescue my son and my sister. Prove to the king that they are not guilty of the crime, if your heart contains any love for me. [1030] I have decided to die if the fates will it so.
- CLITANDER Ah, the oath I have wrongly sworn! If only I could speak!
- [(ASIDE)].
- MANDANA. Woe, my brother! Will you surely die?
- ADRASTUS. Surely nothing will be able to prevent my death.
- MANDANA. Loving brother, look upon your afflicted sister [1035] and flee to save your life from rapacious death. I implore you, brother, by our love for one another and by the blood that flows in my veins and yours, that you save yourself and protect your life!
- ADRASTUS. But stop it! You are preaching to deaf ears, my sister. [1040] I want you to save your life together with my son; in effect, take thought for both of you with flight. I remain here, ready to cast myself into death.
- CLITANDER. Yet look, your son is swiftly directing his steps towards us.

## SCAENA IV

PRIORES. OLYNTHUS.

- OLYNTHUS. Heu, genitor, actum est, perdita est nostrum omnium  
 1045 Salus, nisi astra perditam causam iuvent.  
 ADRASTUS. Eloquere, nate! Quid refers? Mentem explica!  
 OLYNTHUS. Ah, nequeo. Saevus comprimit dolor.  
 ADRASTUS. Frena dolorem, nate! Quid nimis tuum  
 Torquere, quid conficere vis luctu sinum?  
 1050 MANDANA. Quod ergo nobis nuntium adportas, nepos?  
 OLYNTHUS. Fatale, acerbum, triste, funestum nimis.  
 ADRASTUS. Quod illud, edic! Pectus hoc timet nihil  
 Iamiam ferendis par et adsuetum malis.  
 OLYNTHUS. Genitor, in omnes nos tulit sententiam  
 1055 Rex mortis.  
 CLITANDER. (Heu me! Quale commisi nefas?  
 Quantum patravi iure iurando scelus?  
 Si cadit Adrastus, vah, mea culpa cadit.)  
 MANDANA. Amate frater, ergo, dum potes, fuge!  
 ADRASTUS. Haud, nate, triste nuntium refers mihi,  
 1060 Dum iam paratam nuntias necem mihi.  
 Mortem opperiri<sup>73</sup> pectore intrepido sedet.<sup>74</sup>  
 Id angit unum, culpa quod premat quoque  
 Natum et sororem, sceleris insontes patris.  
 OLYNTHUS. Servare possem si patrem, morerer lubens,  
 1065 Et rapere fratrem morte crudeli iuvat.  
 CLITANDER. Excelsa princeps, pone maerori modum  
 Et, quo iuvare poteris Adrastum, vide!  
 Accede regem, fratre pro tuo pia,  
 Pro te ac Olyntho pectus iratum move,<sup>75</sup>  
 1070 Inflecte lacrimis, precibus infensum sinum!<sup>76</sup>  
 Forsan benignus audiet Croesus preces,  
 Mulcere forsán poteris hoc fletu minas  
 Iramque regis. Ne<sup>77</sup> moras trahe amplius!

<sup>73</sup> S: operiri.<sup>74</sup> S: sede.<sup>75</sup> Σ] S: movet.<sup>76</sup> S] Σ: sinunt.<sup>77</sup> S] Σ: inde.

## SCENE IV

THE SAME. OLYNTHUS.

- OLYNTHUS. Woe, my father! It is over! None of us may be saved, [1045] unless the stars lend aid to our desperate cause.
- ADRASTUS. Speak, my son! What are you saying? Explain what is on your mind.
- OLYNTHUS. Ah, I cannot. Savage pain is weighing me down.
- ADRASTUS. Bridle your pain, my son. Why torture your heart too much; why kill it with mourning?
- MANDANA. [1050] What news have you for us, nephew?
- OLYNTHUS. All too deadly, bitter, grievous, funereal news.
- ADRASTUS. What is it, tell us! My heart fears no more. It has grown accustomed to bearing evil.
- OLYNTHUS. My father, the king has sentenced us all [1055] to death.
- CLITANDER  
(ASIDE). Woe is me! What crime have I committed? What a heinous deed have I done by swearing that oath? If Adrastus dies, I am at fault! Alas!
- MANDANA. My dear brother, then you have to flee while you still can!
- ADRASTUS. My son, you are not bringing me grievous news [1060] as you tell me that death is awaiting me. I am sure to meet death with a fearless heart. One thing troubles me, though: that my guilt is also brought down upon my son and my sister, who are both innocent of this father's crime.
- OLYNTHUS. I should willingly die if I could save my father, [1065] and if it helped to rescue your brother from death.
- CLITANDER. Illustrious princess, put an end to your grieving and see how you can save Adrastus. Go to the king; appease him for your brother's sake; move his wrathful heart for your sake and that of Olynthus, [1070] and change his hostile soul with tears and pleas. Croesus might lend a benign ear to your pleas, and you may be able to soften the king's threats and his wrath by weeping. Tarry no longer!

- MANDANA.  
1075 Ergo, Clitander, iunge te comitem mihi,  
Neposque, precibus addite et vestras preces,  
Ut ira Regis melius inflecti queat.  
Amate frater, abeo. Tu vale interim. (ABEUNT.)
- ADRASTUS.  
Mandana, dilecta soror, ah, vive et vale  
Fratremque me cineribus in meis ama!

## SCAENA V

ADRASTUS. POSTEA DATIS.

- 1080 ADRASTUS. Abiere. Adraste,<sup>78</sup> iam neci mentem para!  
Iam Regis ira veniat et nostrum caput  
Feriat, paratam<sup>79</sup> pectus exspectat necem.  
Quodcumque mortis me genus feriat, feram  
Lubens, morique pectori intrepido placet<sup>80</sup>.  
1085 Cruore fratris haec manus calens adhuc  
Effuso et Atys sanguine insuper rubet.  
Quid ergo mortem trepidus horrescam? Mori  
Cupio. Patratae caedis eluere nefas  
Est mihi statutum. Veniat, et meum<sup>81</sup> hauriat  
1090 Chalybs cruentus<sup>82</sup> sanguinem; intrepidus<sup>83</sup> dabo.  
O astra, vobis denuo reddo meum,  
Quem mihi dedistis, spiritum; vestro sinu  
Recipite diri<sup>84</sup> sceleris insontem quidem!  
Id obsecro unum: parcite o nato meo  
1095 Simul et sorori, quos scelus nullum premit.  
Vivat superstes natus et vivat soror.  
(ACCEDIT DATIS.)  
DATIS. Princeps,<sup>85</sup> relictum denuo repete specum!  
Nam tempus urget, quo meum regem petam.

<sup>78</sup> Σ] S: Abire Adraste!.<sup>79</sup> Σ] Σ: patratam.<sup>80</sup> S, Σ: raptum est.<sup>81</sup> Σ] S: mecum.<sup>82</sup> Σ] Σ: cruentis.<sup>83</sup> Σ] Σ: intrepidum.<sup>84</sup> Σ] S om.<sup>85</sup> Σ] S om.

- MANDANA. Therefore, Clitander, come along with me, [1075] and you too, my nephew. Add your pleas to my pleas, that we may be better able to change the king's wrath. Dear brother, I am leaving. Meanwhile, farewell! (EXEUNT.)
- ADRASTUS. Mandana, dearest sister, farewell and may you live! May you love your brother even in his ashes!

## SCENE V

ADRASTUS. THEN DATIS.

- ADRASTUS. [1080] They are gone. Now, Adrastus, prepare your mind for death. Now let the king's wrath come and strike my head. My heart expects the death that is intended for me. Whatever manner of death awaits me, I shall bear it willingly, and death will be joy to my fearless heart. [1085] This hand, still hot with my brother's blood, was reddened anew by the blood that Atys shed. Why should I therefore be afraid and fear death? I want to die. I am destined to atone for the crime of murder. Let it come, the bloody sword, [1090] and drink my blood as well. I shall offer it fearlessly. O stars, I hand back to you the spirit that I have received from you. Welcome me in your fold a man innocent of wicked crime. I ask one thing alone: do protect my son [1095] and likewise my sister. They bear no guilt. May my son and may my sister outlive me! (ENTER DATIS.)
- DATIS. My prince, return to the dungeon whence you have come! It is high time for me to go to my king.

- 1100 ADRASTUS. Dux inclute,<sup>86</sup> tuis annuo votis lubens.  
(CLAUDITUR SPECU.)
- DATIS. Quid audii? Mandana persuasit fugam?  
Cur fugiat, ullum ni premat<sup>87</sup> pectus nefas?  
Suspecta quin et certa res est, quod fiat<sup>88</sup>  
Reus nefandae caedis Adrastus? Dolus  
Patet. Docere tam impium dolum decet
- 1105 Regem. Moratus iam nihil Croesum peto.

## CHORUS II

*Oebalus, cognita Apollinis innocentia, hunc benigne recipit eique filiam coniugem tradit.*

OEBALUS. MELIA. APOLLO. HYACINTHUS.

HYACINTHUS. Non est.

OEBALUS. Quis ergo, nate, dic, si patrem amas,  
275 Quis te peremit?

HYACINTHUS. Zephyrus – heu me! – si – deus  
Adesset! –

OEBALUS. Heu, iam moritur! –

HYACINTHUS. O pater, pater! –  
Mors – est – acerba!

OEBALUS. Nate!

HYACINTHUS. Ge – nitor! – Ah! Vale! –

(MORITUR.)

OEBALUS. Hyacinthe! – Nate! – Vixit – exanimis iacet! – –  
'Apollo', dixit, 'innocens est, o pater!  
280 'Crede mihi, non est; Zephyrus est auctor necis.'  
Sic ergo mecum Zephyre ter mendax, agis?  
Sic numen ipsum sceleris et tanti reum  
Arguere, sic me fallere haud regem times?

<sup>86</sup> S] Σ: duc milite.

<sup>87</sup> Σ] S: inpremat.

<sup>88</sup> Σ] S: quo sciat.

- ADRASTUS. Noble officer, I gladly obey your orders. (HE IS LOCKED INTO THE DUNGEON.)
- DATIS. [1100] What is that I have heard? Mandana coaxed him to escape? Why should he escape if there is no guilt upon his heart? Can it be true what has been suspected, that Adrastus is guilty of the godless murder? There is obviously foul play here. I have to report this heinous treason [1105] to the king. I tarry no more and hurry to see Croesus.

## CHORUS II

*Oebalus recognizes the innocence of Apollo, receives him favourably and gives him his daughter in marriage.*

OEBALUS. MELIA. APOLLO. HYACINTHUS.

- HYACINTHUS. *He is not –*
- OEBALUS. *Who then? Speak, son, if you love your father! [275]*  
*Who has struck you?*
- HYACINTHUS. *Zephyrus – woe me! If only the god were here!*
- OEBALUS. *Woe, now he dies!*
- HYACINTHUS. *O father, father! Death is bitter.*
- OEBALUS. *My son!*
- HYACINTHUS. *My – fa – ther! Ah! Farewell! (HE DIES.)*
- OEBALUS. *Hyacinthus! My son! He has had his life! Here he lies, dead! He said, ‘Apollo is innocent, father! [280]*  
*Believe me, it was not he. Zephyrus is the perpetrator.’ So this is how you treat me, thrice deceitful Zephyrus! Are you brazen enough to blame a god of such a crime and to deceive me, your king? Blood-stained monster! You shall pay for this crime with your own [285] blood! Shall I bear my son’s death without revenge? As a ship on the open, swaying sea is thrown up and down the crests and troughs of the waves, once standing close to the clouds and then floating close to the underworld, [290] thus anger roams from my heart, which threatens war, throughout my*

- 285 *Cruente! Faxim crimen hoc proprio luas*  
*Cruore! Mortem Filii an inultus feram?*  
*Ut navis in aequore luxuriante*  
*Per montes, per valles undarum iactatur,*  
*Et iamiam proxima nubibus stat*  
*Et iamiam proxima tartaro nat:*  
290 *Sic bilis a pectore bella minante*  
*Per corpus, per venas, per membra grassatur.*  
*Furore sublevor,*  
*Dolore deprimor.*  
*Ira, vindicta conglomerant se,*  
295 *Atque quassare non desinunt me.*  
*MELIA. Quocumque me converto, crudelis dei*  
*Monumenta detestanda conspicio. Prius*  
*Perire Zephyrum videram, et fratrem modo*  
*Video natare sanguine insontem suo.*  
300 *OEBALUS. Quid comite nullo, filia, huc infers pedem?*  
*An latro iamiam fugit?*  
*MELIA. Hunc iussi ilico*  
*Vitare nostra regna, nam caedem improbus*  
*Nova gravare caede non timuit deus.*  
*OEBALUS. Quid loquere? Caedem, nata, quam narras novam?*  
305 *MELIA. O rex, amicum rapuit et Zephyrum quidem,*  
*Ventisque me vidente lacerandum dedit.*  
*OEBALUS. O iustus est Apollo, dum plectit scelus,*  
*Quod imputavit perfidus et atrox deo*  
*Zephyrus! Hic auctor, filia, est factae necis.*  
310 *Non est Apollo: Zephyrus in fratrem tuum*  
*Discum agere non dubitavit.*  
*MELIA. Unde autem, pater,*  
*Haec nosse poteras?*  
*OEBALUS. Natus hic retulit mihi,*  
*Nam vivus est inventus a nobis. Meis*  
*Extinctus est in manibus.*  
*MELIA. Heu me! Quid? Pater!*  
315 *Quid ergo regno exesse<sup>89</sup> iussisti deum?*

<sup>89</sup> s] a: exisse.



- body, my veins, and my limbs. I am aroused by fury and cast down by pain. Wrath and vengeance unite [295] and do not cease to torment me. (ENTER MELIA.)*
- MELIA. *Wherever I turn, I see the detestable handiwork of the cruel god. First I saw Zephyrus perish, and now I see my innocent brother drenched in his own blood.*
- OEBALUS. *[300] My daughter, why are you arriving here alone? Has the murderer yet fled?*
- MELIA. *I have ordered him to leave our kingdom at once, as the ruthless god had no qualms about aggravating one murder by adding new murder.*
- OEBALUS. *What are you talking about? Of what new murder are you speaking, daughter?*
- MELIA. *[305] O king, he has also taken my friend Zephyrus from me. He let him be wafted away by the winds before my very eyes.*
- OEBALUS. *Ah, Apollo is just, as he punishes the evil which the perfidious and wicked Zephyrus has foisted upon the god. For he has committed the crime, my daughter, [310] not Apollo. Zephyrus did not shun from hurling a discus at your brother.*
- MELIA. *How did you learn that, father?*
- OEBALUS. *My son told me. I found him still alive. He passed away in my arms.*
- MELIA. *Woe is me! What? My father! [315] Why did you order the god to avoid your kingdom?*

- OEALUS. *Filia, dolore motus et Zephyri dolis  
Delusus, id iussisse me memini. Impium  
Quis tale sibi timuisset a Zephyro scelus?*
- 320 MELIA. *O genitor, omnes perdit iami sumus!  
Discessit, heu, discessit a nobis deus!  
O crede, non inultus id probrum feret.*
- OEALUS. *Quid? Nata, discessisse iam numen putas?*
- MELIA. *Nil dubito; namque exire de regno tuo  
Apollinem ipsa, linquere et nostros lares  
Iussi. O ut hunc revocare nunc possem deum!*
- 325 OEALUS. *Heu, fata quam sinistra nos hodie obruunt!  
Natus cadit,  
Atque deus  
Me nolente,  
330 Nesciente  
Laesus abit.  
Regnum sine numine  
Iam non diu stabit:  
Numen, quaeso, flectere,  
335 Et ad nos revertere!*
- MELIA. *Frater cadit,  
Atque meus  
Te iubente  
Me dolente  
340 Sponsus abit.  
Sponsa sine complice,  
Quaeso, quid amabit?  
Noli sponsam plectere!  
Numen, ah, regredere!  
(ACCEDIT APOLLO.)*
- 345 APOLLO. *Rex, me redire cogit in Hyacinthum amor.  
Ignosce, quod numen ego tua regna audeam  
Praesens beare! Disce, quid numen queat!  
Hyacinthe, surge, funus et flore aemulo  
Nomenque praeferente defuncti tege!  
(SUBSIDENS CUM FUNERE TELLUS HYACINTHOS FLORES  
GERMINAT.)*
- 350 OEALUS. *Quid video? Surrexisse de nato meo  
Conspicio flores?*

- OEBALUS. *My daughter, if I remember correctly I ordered that moved by my grief for my son and deceived by the lies of Zephyrus. Who would have expected such a heinous deed of Zephyrus?*
- MELIA. *O father, now we are all lost! [320] The god has left us, alas, he has left us! Believe me, he will not bear this humiliation without vengeance.*
- OEBALUS. *What? My daughter, do you assume that the god has yet left?*
- MELIA. *I do not doubt it. I have myself ordered Apollo to abandon your kingdom and to leave our house. [325] If only now I could call back the god!*
- OEBALUS. *Woe, what evil fate strikes us today! My son is dead, and, against my will [330] and without my knowledge, the offended god leaves me. Without divine protection my kingdom will not stand much longer. Godhead, I implore you, let your mind be changed [335] and return to us!*
- MELIA. *My brother is dead, and, as you have ordered, although it causes me grief, [340] my betrothed leaves me. A bride without a partner, what shall she love, I ask? Do not strike your betrothed! Ah, godhead, return!*  
(ENTER APOLLO.)
- APOLLO. *[345] King, my love for Hyacinthus has caused me to return. I beg pardon that I, a god, dare bless your kingdom with my presence. Now you shall see what a god can do. Hyacinthus, arise and cover your grave with a flower that is patterned after you and that bears the dead boy's name.*  
(THE SOIL SUBSIDES WITH THE BODY AND BRINGS FORTH HYACINTH FLOWERS.)
- OEBALUS. *[350] What is this? Do I see flowers rising from my son?*

- MELIA. *Numen o nimium potens!*  
*Pudore me suffusa profiteor ream.*  
*Ad verba Zephyri, patris ad iussa omnia,*  
*Fecisse<sup>90</sup> quae me poenitet, feci.*
- OE BALUS. *Optime*  
 355 *Parce deus! Ignarus ego, quis fuerit necis*  
*Auctor patratae, pessimo Zephyro fidem*  
*Habui, meumque credidi natum tua*  
*Periisse fraude. Zephyrus o quanta improbus*  
*Induxit in regna mea, ni parcas, mala!*
- 360 MELIA. *O numen, haud fuisse contemptum putes,*  
*Abire quod te iusserim; imprudens fui*  
*Credulaque nimium, et ira mihi verba abstulit,*  
*Quae de dolore Fratris occisi meant.*
- APOLLO. *Confide, rex! Apollo non fugiet tua*  
 365 *Regna. Manet, et manebit heic tecum, fide*  
*Iam stare si promissa demonstres tua.*
- OE BALUS. *Intelligo. Ecce, nata, te sponsam deus*  
*Dignatur elegisse.*
- MELIA. *Num credam deum*  
*Amare posse Meliam?*
- APOLLO. *O crede! Ipsemet*  
 370 *Iupiter amare saepe mortales solet;*  
*Amare namque convenit tantum diis:*  
*Vobis amari.*
- MELIA. *Numen, en famulam, suo*  
*Quae pro parente pectus hoc offert tibi.*
- OE BALUS. *En, si placere sponsa mortalis potest,*  
 375 *Apollo, nostra filiam adductam manu*  
*Accipe meoque semper in regno mane.*  
*Hyacinthus obiit: alter Hyacinthus mihi*  
*Eris, manere filia hac factus gener,*  
*Regione si digneris in nostra.*
- APOLLO. *Oebale!*  
 380 *Accipio laetus Meliae oblatae manum,*  
*Rebusque semper placidus adsistam tuis.*

<sup>90</sup> s] a: om.

- MELIA. *O mighty god! I blush with shame as I admit my guilt. I did what I did at the words of Zephyrus and at my father's orders, and I am embarrassed to have done it.*
- OEBALUS. *Most excellent god, [355] spare us! I did not know who had committed the heinous deed; I trusted the wicked Zephyrus, and I believed that my son had died by your treason. How much evil will that wretch Zephyrus have brought into my kingdom, unless you spare us!*
- MELIA. *[360] O god, do not believe that I held you in contempt when I ordered you to leave. I was foolish and overly trusting, and anger made me say these words, which come from my grief over my brother's death.*
- APOLLO. *Trust me, O king. Apollo will not flee from your [365] kingdom. He will remain; he will remain here with you if you show him that trust which you have promised.*
- OEBALUS. *I understand. See, my daughter, the god deigns to choose you to be his spouse.*
- MELIA. *Should I believe that a god can love Melia?*
- APOLLO. *Believe it! Often enough [370] Jove himself loves mortals. It is seemly only for the gods to love. You have to be loved.*
- MELIA. *Godhead, here is your handmaiden. She offers you her heart for her father's sake.*
- OEBALUS. *Well! If a mortal wife can please you, [375] Apollo, receive my daughter in wedlock, as I give her, and remain forever in my kingdom. Hyacinthus is dead. May you be another Hyacinthus for me, becoming my son-in-law through my daughter, if you deign to remain in my country.*
- APOLLO. *Oebalus, [380] I happily accept Melia's hand from you, and I shall forevermore be with you in your affairs.*

- MELIA. *Iustitia sic tua, deus, elucet magis.*  
 OEBALUS. *Sic innocentem debita haud merces fugit.*  
 APOLLO. *Sic saecula te futura clementem sonent.*  
 385 *Tandem post turbida*  
*Fulmina,*  
*Nubila,*  
*Tonantis murmura,*  
*Pax alma virescit et explicat se.*  
 390 MELIA. *Post vincla doloris –*  
 OEBALUS. *Post bella furoris –*  
 APOLLO. *Post monstra pavoris –*  
 OEBALUS, *Nos/Vos iungit amabile pignus amoris.*  
 APOLLO, ET  
 MELIA.  
 OMNES. *Post fata –*  
 395 APOLLO. *Sperata –*  
 MELIA. *Beata –*  
 OEBALUS. *Optata*  
*Vos taeda coronat et excitat me,*  
 APOLLO ET *Nos taeda coronet et erigat te.*  
 MELIA.

## ACTUS V

*Rex ab Hystaspe mitior factus, novis autem per Pharnaspem et Datin facibus ad iram concitatus sorori, filio et ipsi denique Adrasto mortem decernit; a Megabaso tamen Pharnaspis dolum edoctus, Adrastum cum sorore et nato in gratiam denuo recepit.*

## SCAENA I

CROESUS. HYSTASPES.

CROESUS. *Potius, amice, subde pectoribus novas*  
*Faces furoris, corda quam demulceas*  
*Regis dolosis, perfidis patriae probris.*  
*Privare nunquid filio patrem unico*

MELIA. *Thus your justice shines even more brightly, o god.*  
 OEBALUS. *Thus an innocent does not forfeit his reward.*  
 APOLLO. *Thus future centuries will proclaim your clemency.*  
           *[385] At long last we have overcome raging thunder-*  
           *bolts, clouds, and the thunderer's noise, and gentle*  
           *peace is blossoming and revealing itself.*  
 MELIA. *[390] We have overcome the fetters of pain –*  
 OEBALUS. *We have overcome the turmoil of fury –*  
 APOLLO. *We have overcome the monsters of fear –*  
 OEBALUS, *And love's delightful pledge unites us/you.*  
       APOLLO,  
       MELIA.  
 ALL. *We have overcome the fates –*  
 APOLLO. *[395] And now long-expected –*  
 MELIA. *Joyful –*  
 OEBALUS. *Desirable wedlock glorifies you and comforts me!*  
 APOLLO, MELIA. *Wedlock may glorify us and console you!*

## ACT V

*The king is soothed by Hystaspes, yet new brands from Pharnaspes and Datis incite him again to wrath. He decrees death for the sister and the son of Adrastus and finally for Adrastus himself. Informed of the deceit of Pharnaspes by Megabasus, however, Croesus graciously receives Adrastus, his sister, and his son back into his grace.*

### SCENE I

CROESUS. HYSTASPES.

CROESUS. *Rather than softening the king's heart, my friend, you should hurl new brands of wrath at these hearts which are sly, perfidious, and a shame to their country. To deprive a father of his only son: [1110] is not that an*

- 1110 Immane scelus est, horrida et dignum nece?  
 Quid? Et nefandus insuper tentet throno  
 Deicere regem Olynthus, imberbis puer  
 Tantum patrare perfidus velit scelus!  
 Impune, credis, hoc quod abscedat nefas?
- 1115 HYSTASPES. Ignosce, princeps, corde quod tuo hactenus  
 Pellere furorem et fervidas irae faces  
 Delere<sup>91</sup> volui. Saepe nam nimius furor  
 Solet patrare, quod deinde nos piget  
 Patrasse.
- CROESUS. Sed cur mortis inflictae reis  
 1120 Me pigeat?
- HYSTASPES. Innocentis haud raro ferit  
 Caput furoris impetus, praeceps nimis  
 Vindicta saepe sanguinem innocuum premit.
- CROESUS. Nimio furore an actus hos rapi putas,  
 Infanda plectit scelera dum merita nece?
- 1125 HYSTASPES. Plectere scelestos,<sup>92</sup> crimen ubi constat satis  
 Aperte.
- CROESUS. Ergo crimen in dubium vocas?  
 HYSTASPES. Satis an probatum credis Adrasti scelus  
 Natique, rapere quod tibi voluerit thronum?
- CROESUS. Adrastus ipse nunquid hoc fassus prius?  
 1130 Natum fideli gemma delata a manu  
 Pharnaspis huius sceleris auctorem probat.
- HYSTASPES. Sed ipse moriens Atys Adrastum reum  
 Negavit esse caedis. Haud ergo amplius  
 Memori revolvīs mente morientis sonos!
- 1135 Non culpa Adrasti est, culpa sed nati est tui.
- CROESUS. Recordor, heu! Sed inde num innocuum putem?  
 HYSTASPES. Nato quis autem proximo morti fidem  
 Neget?
- CROESUS. Benignus usque quod fuerit nimis  
 Etiam in scelestos,<sup>93</sup> verba filii vindicant.

<sup>91</sup> S: debere.<sup>92</sup> S: Coelestos.<sup>93</sup> S: Coelestos.



immense crime that deserves horrid death? What? Moreover, the godless Olynthus plots to cast a king from his throne? The beardless youth — how perfidious! — wants to commit such a heinous deed! Do you believe that this crime should escape with impunity?

HYSTASPES. [1115] Forgive me, my lord, that I have desired to drive wrath from your heart and to extinguish the burning brands of wrath. Often too great anger does things we later find regrettable.

CROESUS. Yet why would sentencing the guilty to death [1120] be regrettable?

HYSTASPES. Not infrequently the blast of wrath strikes an innocent head, and all too swift vengeance often sheds guiltless blood.

CROESUS. Do you believe that this decision has been hastily made due to exceeding anger, although it punishes unspeakable crime with well-deserved death?

HYSTASPES. [1125] Punish the criminals if their evil deed is certain and manifest.

CROESUS. So you have doubts about the crime?

HYSTASPES. Well, do you believe that the crime of Adrastus is sufficiently proved, and also that of his son? That he wanted to take your throne from you?

CROESUS. Has Adrastus not confessed it earlier? [1130] The jewel that was delivered by the faithful hand of Pharnaspes proves the son of Adrastus to be the author of this crime.

HYSTASPES. Yet even as he was dying Atys himself denied that Adrastus was guilty of the murder. So you are no longer thinking of his dying words! [1135] It is not the fault of Adrastus; it is your own son's fault.

CROESUS. Alas, I remember. Yet should I therefore consider him innocent?

HYSTASPES. Would you not trust your own son in his dying hour?

CROESUS. My son's words prove only that he was far too kind even against criminals.

- 1140 HYSTASPES.      Fuerat ad iram segnis et iustus simul,  
                                  Scelus quod angue mordaci magis oderat<sup>94</sup>  
          CROESUS.      Saltem nefandum filii in patrem scelus  
                                  Redundat.  
          HYSTASPES.      Illud nunquid est fictum quoque?  
                                  Fuisse poterit.  
          CROESUS.      Ergo Pharnaspem doli  
 1145                           Putas capacem? Ludere et regem audeat?  
                                  Delusus ipse fors fuit dolo impio.  
                                  Persaepe turbae nutriunt mixtos dolos.  
          HYSTASPES.<sup>95</sup>      Sed enim Clitander ipse, rex, dixit tibi.  
                                  Solus docere poterit hic seriem rei,  
 1150                           Dum vidit ipse filii tui comes.  
          CROESUS.      Ephebe, fac Clitander ut regi ocus  
                                  Se sistat!  
          DIMNUS.      Hic, rex alme, quem petis, citus  
                                  Aderit. Petentes, rex, tuum alloquium Datin  
                                  Simulque Pharnaspem ut admittas, rogo.  
 1155 CROESUS.      Admitto. Uterque vera fors nobis dabit.

## SCAENA II

PRIORES. PHARNASPES. DATIS.

- DATIS.      Ignosce, rex, quod non petitus huc gradum  
                                  Moveam. Salutis cura quae tuae Datin  
                                  Tenet fidesque, regi alloquium ut petam,  
                                  Adegit.  
          CROESUS.      Anne Adrastus obscura specu<sup>96</sup>  
 1160                           Clausus catenis et gravis vinclis pedes  
                                  Manusque premitur, fugere nequeat satis  
                                  Absente te?  
          DATIS.      Rex, crede, sat tutus iacet  
                                  Custode milite. Ulla non patet via,  
                                  Eripere qua se posset oblatum fuga.

<sup>94</sup> S om.<sup>95</sup> S: Croes.<sup>96</sup> S: speculum.

- HYSTASPES. [1140] He was slow to anger and also just, and he hated crime more than a biting serpent.
- CROESUS. At any rate, the father's crime falls back upon the son.
- HYSTASPES. Is that not a slander? It might also have been.
- CROESUS. So you consider Pharnaspes [1145] capable of treason? Would he dare deceive his king? He too may have been tricked by godless deceit. Large crowds often further partial lies.
- HYSTASPES. Yet Clitander himself has told you, O king! He alone will be able to tell you the details of the matter, [1150] as he witnessed it as your son's companion.
- CROESUS. Go, page, and let Clitander swiftly present himself to his king.
- DIMNUS. Gracious king, he whom you desire will immediately be here. And, my king, I request that you grant an audience also to Datis and Pharnaspes, who desire to speak to you.
- CROESUS. [1155] I permit it. Perhaps these two will tell us the truth.

## SCENE II

THE SAME. PHARNASPES. DATIS.

- DATIS. Forgive me, my king, that I dared approach you without being summoned. Both faithfulness and anxiety for your well-being live in Datis, and they have moved him to request an audience.
- CROESUS. And Adrastus, locked in his dark dungeon, [1160] his hands and feet loaded with heavy chains, is he quite unable to escape now that you are not there?
- DATIS. Believe me, king, he lies there well-guarded, watched over by a soldier. There is no escape whatsoever open to him.

- 1165 PHARNASPES. Dubitare noli! Vincla sat firma alligant  
Reum specumque miles observat vigil.  
Tamen id, verende rex, te pie admonitum velim,  
Ut nil moratus filium et patrem simul  
Tradas cruentae ac horridae neci ocius.
- 1170 CROESUS. Cur ergo tam avidus sanguinem Adrasti sitis  
Natique?
- PHARNASPES. Rex, exposcat hoc salus tua.  
HYSTASPES. Quod ergo regi tam prave immineat malum?  
PHARNASPES. Mandana. Timeo, ne novum tentet scelus,  
Subtrahere fratrem studeat et merita neci  
Dolo nefando.
- 1175 HYSTASPES. Sed quid imbellis queat  
Femina nocere?
- PHARNASPES. Femina irata et furens  
Tentare quaevis audet, ut scelera tegat  
Reosque stulta, queis favet, morte eximat.  
CROESUS.<sup>97</sup> Sed fare nunc, sat constat Adrasti scelus?
- 1180 HYSTASPES. De scelere dubitas, rex? (Quid? An subolet dolus?)  
Numquid relata gemma sat reum indicat?
- CROESUS. Sed cur Clitander, filio datus comes  
Et dux fidelis, ipse non retulit mihi?
- PHARNASPES. Nimio dolore percitus tuum hactenus  
1185 Subire vultum timuit. Ast dubium tibi  
Eximere poteris, rex,<sup>98</sup> indicio novo.
- CROESUS. Quod illud? Edic, quo novo reum probas?  
DATIS. Mandana fratri quam fugam suasit prius,  
Suspecta valde res mihi est.
- CROESUS. Fugam soror  
1190 Suasura Adrasto! Perge, rem totam edoce.  
DATIS. Mandana subito petiit Adrasto loqui  
Admissa per me.

<sup>97</sup> S *om.*<sup>98</sup> S: *dux.*

- PHARNASPES. [1165] Have no doubts! Sufficiently strong shackles hold the criminal, and a watchful soldier is observing the dungeon. Yet there is one thing, worshipful king, that I should like to mention devoutly, namely that you ought to tarry no longer to subject both the son and his father to a cruel and horrid death quickly.
- CROESUS. [1170] And why do you so greedily thirst for the blood of Adrastus and his son?
- PHARNASPES. My king, your well-being demands it.
- HYSTASPES. So what is that foul evil which is threatening the king?
- PHARNASPES. It is Mandana. I fear that she may attempt new crimes and that she is conniving to save her brother from his deserved death [1175] with wicked cunning.
- HYSTASPES. Yet how can an unwarlike woman do any harm?
- PHARNASPES. A raging, angered woman will dare to attempt anything to cover up crimes, and, foolish though she may be, to save from death the criminals that are dear to her.
- CROESUS. Yet tell us now, are we certain that Adrastus is guilty?
- HYSTASPES. [1180] You doubt his guilt, king? (ASIDE.) What? Does he smell a rat? (ALOUD.) Does not the jewel that I have brought you sufficiently prove that he is the perpetrator?
- CROESUS. Yet why did Clitander not bring it to me? He had been appointed to be my son's faithful companion and guide.
- PHARNASPES. He was filled with such fear that he [1185] dared not appear before you. Yet you may dismiss your doubts on account of new evidence, my king.
- CROESUS. What is it? Tell me, how do you prove his guilt anew?
- DATIS. Mandana suggested that her brother escape. That seems highly suspicious to me.
- CROESUS. That his sister should [1190] suggest escape to Adrastus! Go on, tell the whole story.
- DATIS. Mandana wanted to speak to Adrastus immediately. I allowed her to.

- CROESUS. Iussa sic complex mea?  
Numquid prohibui?
- DATIS. Fateor errorem meum.  
Ignosce! Lacrimis pectus hoc cessit piis.  
1195 Sed simul iniquum nectere, ut nequeat dolum,  
Tacitus apertis foribus adstabam vigil  
Et, quid loquantur, aure cupida bibens.  
Quod mihi notare licuit, hoc unum fuit:  
Quod fugere fratrem iusserit, neci et caput  
1200 Subtrahere, ne cum prole quoque cadat<sup>99</sup> parens.  
PHARNASPES. Quid possit ultra? Constat an necdum scelus?  
Cur fugiat, insons sceleris ubi frater foret?  
HYSTASPES. Miserum iuvare quae queat fratrem soror,  
Sollicita tentat. Inde non reus mihi  
1205 Frater probatur.  
PHARNASPES. Crimen ast certum est mihi.  
Caveto, princeps, ne novos struant dolos!  
CROESUS. Quid autem Adrastus? Vota Mandanae audiit?  
DATIS. Fugere recusans promptus exspectat necem.  
DIMNUS. Clitander, o rex, ad tuos nutus adest.  
1210 Sed simul Olynthus comite Mandana tua  
Alloquia poscit.  
CROESUS. Huc citi veniant volo.  
(Saevas furoris indue opaci faces!)  
Nobis Adrastum siste mox captum, Datis!  
(ABIT DATIS.)

## SCAENA III

PRIORES PRAETER DATIN. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS. CLITANDER.

- CLITANDER. Ad iussa, princeps, sisto me celerem tua.  
1215 CROESUS. Quid vetuit ad nos ferre te citum gradum,  
Amice, nato cum datus fueras comes?  
Quae causa tantae, fare, quae fuerat morae?

<sup>99</sup> S: carcere.

- CROESUS. Is that how you carry out my orders? Have I not forbidden that?
- DATIS. I admit it was wrong. Forgive me! My heart surrendered to her pious tears. [1195] Yet, as giving in was wrong, I remained alert at the gates in order to prevent conspiracy. My ears absorbed everything that was spoken. I could only understand this one thing, that she ordered her brother to escape, to save himself from death, [1200] lest the father perish together with his son.
- PHARNASPES. What more do we need? Now is the crime not manifest? Why would her brother flee if he were innocent?
- HYSTASPES. A sister who seeks to save her brother in his misery will dare unusual things. To my mind, that does not yet [1205] prove her brother's guilt.
- PHARNASPES. Well, his crime is obvious to me. Careful, my lord; they may be plotting new evils.
- CROESUS. What about Adrastus? Did he follow Mandana's suggestions?
- DATIS. He refused to escape and is readily awaiting his death.
- DIMNUS. Clitander is here, as you have commanded, O king. [1210] Yet likewise Olynthus, accompanied by Mandana, requests to speak to you.
- CROESUS. I want them to come here quickly. (TO HIMSELF.) Now put on the savage brands of dark fury! (ALOUD.) Datis, hurry to bring in the prisoner Adrastus. (EXIT DATIS.)

### SCENE III

THE SAME SAVE DATIS. MANDANA. OLYNTHUS. CLITANDER.

- CLITANDER. As you have commanded, I am present, my lord.
- CROESUS. [1215] What prevented you from swiftly coming to me, my friend, when you were appointed to be my son's companion? Tell me, what was the reason that you waited so long?

- CLITANDER. Dolore, rex (pudore dixissem magis)  
Suffusus Atys ex nece haud ausus tuum  
1220 Subire vultum, longius traxi moras.  
MANDANA. Retinuit illum, rex, tuo a vultu dolor,  
Sed similis heic me sistit, o princeps, tibi.  
Iamiam statutum mente, rex, tua audii,  
Saeva, cruenta frater ut cadat nece.  
1225 CROESUS. Non solum Adrastus, quotquot<sup>100</sup> ast sceleris rei  
Fuerint nefandi, morte crudeli cadent.  
Non modo patrando crimen efficimur rei,  
Mandana, noris.  
MANDANA. Sceleris insontem gero  
Sinum.  
CROESUS. Clitander, regis attendas velim  
1230 Quaesita, seriem quoque rei absque fuco doce!  
CLITANDER. (Heu! Surgit imo corde iam gelidus timor.)  
CROESUS. Praesens an Atys haeseras lateri comes,  
Quando ille diro vulnere est laesus?  
CLITANDER. Procul  
Haud aberam. (Inique, vah, fides data!)CROESUS. Gemis?  
1235 Quid mente volvis? Potius auctorem indica  
Caedis nefandae. Culpa num natum premit,  
An vero Adrastum? Quid siles? Redde ocus  
Responsa!  
PHARNASPES. Rex, silendo iam prodit satis  
Reum esse Adrastum caedis.  
CLITANDER. (Impium caput!)1240 CROESUS. Eloquere!  
CLITANDER. Natum fata sustulerant tibi.  
PHARNASPES. Quid fata memoras? Caedis auctorem petit  
Croesus, cruenta morte qui pereat reus.  
HYSTASPES. (Pharnaspe cusum, vanis, hunc dolum auguror,  
Quid tantis urget? Quid sibi hic furor velit?)  
1245 CLITANDER. Est causa saevi vulneris ferox aper.

<sup>100</sup> S: quodquod.



- CLITANDER. O king! I was filled with grief — (ASIDE) I should rather say, with shame — (ALoud) at the death of Atys, so I dared not [1220] appear before your eyes, and I tarried.
- MANDANA. O king, it was pain which kept him far from you. Yet likewise I appear here before you, my lord. I have already been told, O king, that you are determined to let my brother die a harsh and cruel death.
- CROESUS. [1225] Not Adrastus alone. However many are involved in this godless crime, they shall all die a cruel death. We commit crimes not only by active involvement, Mandana.
- MANDANA. My heart knows no crime.
- CROESUS. Clitander, I want you to do what your king [1230] commands you. Tell us the details of the matter without glossing over them.
- CLITANDER. Woe! Icy fear is rising from my innermost heart.
- (ASIDE).
- CROESUS. So you were the companion of Atys and at his side when he received that terrible wound?
- CLITANDER. I was not far from him. (ASIDE.) Oh, the oath I have wrongly sworn!
- CROESUS. You are sighing? [1235] What is on your mind? You had better tell us who committed the unspeakable crime. Is my son at fault, or is it Adrastus? Why are you silent? Answer me at once!
- PHARNASPES. King, his silence shows full well that Adrastus is guilty of this murder.
- CLITANDER. What a godless man!
- (ASIDE).
- CROESUS. [1240] Speak up!
- CLITANDER. It was fated that your son died.
- PHARNASPES. Why are you talking about fate? Croesus wants to know the murderer, the criminal who must die a cruel death.
- HYSTASPES. I don't believe the treason that Pharnaspes complains about. Why is he pressing us with such vain matter?
- (ASIDE).
- CLITANDER. What is the purpose of this raging?
- [1245] A wild boar caused his savage wound.

- PHARNASPES. Non vulnus apri dente, sed telo impio  
Factum est.
- MANDANA. Olynthe, numquid, ut edixi prius,  
Nobis timendum rege Pharnaspem magis?
- OLYNTUS. Quis ista de Pharnaspe crediderit, cedo!
- 1250 CROESUS. Favere regem si velis tibi, ocius  
Rem pande totam.
- CLITANDER. Vulnus inflixit male  
Iacta cuspis.
- CROESUS. Cuius iacta est, edic, manu?
- CLITANDER. Rex, advolutum genibus,<sup>101</sup> en, cernis ducem.  
Quidquid furoris ira, rex, coquit tua,  
1255 Ferrum, catastas exsere et ratas quoque  
Ignes iniunge, quidquid est dirum insuper,  
In hoc nefandum fulmina, o princeps, caput,  
Silere sed permitte.
- PHARNASPES. Quid tentas rei?  
Pandere nefandae sceleris auctorem negas?
- 1260 CROESUS. Retege scelestum, aut vincla te miserum premant!
- PHARNASPES. Quis tela iecit?
- CLITANDER. (Numquid Adrastus? Caeli, dolor!  
Cogor fateri?)
- CROESUS. Vah, gemis? Satis reum  
Gemendo prodis.
- MANDANA. Perditi, heu, nepos, sumus.
- CROESUS. Sic ergo me<sup>102</sup> lusisse pessimis dolis,  
1265 Lues nefanda, non times, fratrem impium et,  
Mandana, regi scelere<sup>103</sup> insontem hactenus  
Dum facere tentares? Sed ulciscar scelus.  
Plecti cruenta morte pro meritis reum  
Stat mente fixum. Quisquis aut fraudis siet  
1270 Dolique reus, is horrida cadat nece.  
Cruore Adrastus proprio eluat scelus.  
Olynthe, poena, crede, perfidiae dabitur,  
Mandana quoque, quos struxit in regem dolos,  
Luet.

<sup>101</sup> S: genitus.<sup>102</sup> S *om.*<sup>103</sup> S: scelus.

- PHARNASPES. The wound was not inflicted by a boar's tusk but by a wicked projectile.
- MANDANA. As I said earlier, Olynthus, have we not more reason to fear Pharnaspes than the king?
- OLYNTHUS. Tell us, who shall believe these words of Pharnaspes?
- CROESUS. [1250] If you wish to be your king's loyal servant, tell the whole story at once.
- CLITANDER. The wound was caused by a clumsily hurled spear.
- CROESUS. Tell us whose hand hurled it!
- CLITANDER. King, see here your officer on his knees. Whatever, king, your wrath is devising, [1255] be it the steel or the slave cage, or more than that, be it firebrands destined for me and all things painful, my king, thunder it all against my wretched head — yet permit me to be silent.
- PHARNASPES. What manner of things are you attempting? Are you refusing to give away him who devised this heinous crime?
- CROESUS. [1260] Reveal who the criminal is, or you shall be dreadfully burdened with chains!
- PHARNASPES. Who threw the spear?
- CLITANDER. Well, was it Adrastus? Heavens, what pain! Am I forced to speak?
- (ASIDE).
- CROESUS. Woe, you are sighing? With your sighs you clearly give away the perpetrator.
- MANDANA. Alas, my nephew, we are lost.
- CROESUS. Thus you have no qualms about tricking me, [1265] Mandana, you nefarious plague, as you would try to present your godless brother to the king as free from guilt? Yet I shall reward his crime. I am determined that the criminal shall be punished with cruel death according to his deeds. Whoever is guilty of fraud [1270] or treason, let him perish in a horrible way. Let Adrastus pay for his deed with his own blood. Believe me, Olynthus, perfidy will have its punishment, and Mandana, too, will pay for the treason she has plotted against her king.

MANDANA. Verende rex, mihi adscribis dolum?  
 1275 CROESUS. Latere me quam suaseras fratri fugam  
 Putas? Inultus ista nec patiens feram.  
 MANDANA. Amore fratris quidquid est actum puta!  
 Ah, parce, rex! Mandana fac sola eluat  
 Suo cruore, quem lubens dabit, scelus  
 1280 Quodcumque fuerit impie admissum mihi<sup>104</sup>.  
 Ast parce fratri morteque absolve horrida!

## SCAENA IV

PRIORES. ADRASTUS. DATIS.

DATIS. Ad iussa, princeps, sisto captivum tibi.  
 CROESUS. Probaris.  
 MANDANA. Heu, cor trepidat.  
 OLYNTHUS. Ah, miserum patrem!  
 CROESUS. (Iam nunc furoris pectus arripiant faces.  
 1285 Nunc, nunc severum, Croese, iudicem indue.)  
 Adesto, Adraste, patriae nostrae lues,  
 Perfide rebellis filii o latro mei,  
 Busiride ipso saevior, ferior Scytha!  
 An ista sit, quam principi addixti, fides?  
 1290 Hic ille, quem fovere dicebas, amor?  
 ADRASTUS. Excelse rex, quem poplite inflexo colo,  
 En me paratum perferam ut diram necem  
 Mihi aestimatam. Mortis haud quoddam genus  
 Horresco. Guttam sanguinis dabo ultimam.  
 1295 Sed parce, fractae fidei ut accuses reum.  
 Nunquam recedet corde sacratus tibi  
 Noster amor.  
 CROESUS. An, nefande, sic nobis tuum  
 Probas amorem, cum dolos cumulas dolis?  
 ADRASTUS. Nunquid fovere pectus hoc didicit dolum?  
 1300 MANDANA. Omni carere fraude, rex, fratrem scio.

<sup>104</sup> S: me.

MANDANA. Worshipful king, are you accusing me of treason?  
CROESUS. [1275] Do you believe I have not heard how you tried to coax your brother to escape? I shall not let that go with impunity.  
MANDANA. You must believe me that I did all this only for the love of my brother. Ah, spare us, O king! Allow Mandana to pay with her own blood alone — I shall willingly give it — [1280] whatever godless crime I have committed. Yet spare my brother, and save him from horrid death!

## SCENE IV

THE SAME. ADRASTUS. DATIS.

DATIS. As you have commanded, my lord, I present the prisoner.  
CROESUS. I approve of you.  
MANDANA. Woe, my heart is trembling.  
OLYNTHUS. Ah, my poor father!  
CROESUS (ASIDE). Now the brands of wrath are stirring up my heart. [1285] Now, Croesus, now be a severe judge! (ALoud.) Come to me, Adrastus, you plague of my country, you perfidious and rebellious murderer of my son! You are more savage than Busiris and wilder than a Scythian! Is this the love that you have sworn to me, your monarch [1290] and that you have sworn to maintain?  
ADRASTUS. Illustrious king, whom I worship on bent knees, see, here I am, ready to suffer the harsh death that I have been sentenced to. I fear no manner of death. I shall give the last drop of my blood. [1295] Yet pray do not accuse the prisoner of breach of loyalty. Never shall the love I have vowed to you flee from my heart.  
CROESUS. Villain, is this how you prove your love for me, piling treason upon treason?  
ADRASTUS. Surely my heart cannot be capable of treason!  
MANDANA. [1300] I know, king, that my brother is free from all cunning.

- CROESUS. Te quoque sororem fratris involvit dolus  
Natumque.
- CLITANDER. (Vah, quid lingua fecisti impia!)
- CROESUS. Perimere natum nunquid haud fuerat satis,  
Exuere regem ut spiritu et patrio simul  
1305 Throno pararis, regium ut Lydiae decus  
Me, me perempto perfido adicere tuo  
Nato queas? Hoc ergo promeruit meis  
In te favor, quem corde nutrivi hactenus?  
Ingrate, regi sic datam servas fidem?
- 1310 ADRASTUS. Rex, Adrastum scelere tu reum facis.  
Haec astra testor conscia, insontem feris.  
Abest nefandum corde perfidiae scelus,  
Quod Phoebus orbe distat et terra polus.  
Olynthe, fare, sceleris an tanti ducem  
1315 Habuisti Adrastum? Perfidum an docuit parens  
Natum esse regi? Regnum anne de his tibi  
Unquam paravi scelere quaesitum impio?
- OLYNTUS. Amate genitor, sceleris haud quidquam tuo  
Ab ore didicit natus, et praeter pium  
1320 In Croesum amorem didicit hoc pectus nihil.  
Hunc me fovere semper imposuit parens,  
Istum et fovebam corde constanti hactenus,  
Nec ulla me cupido rapiendi throni  
Tenuerat unquam. Crimen affictum latet.
- 1325 PHARNASPES. Scelus negari pessimum haud ultra potest,  
Ubi luculento iam constat indicio satis  
Et teste.
- ADRASTUS. Testem prode et indicium simul!
- PHARNASPES. En hic Clitandrum.
- ADRASTUS. Care, quod fingis scelus?
- CLITANDER. (Heu me, silere nequeo. Sed me trahit fides  
1330 Male data.)
- PHARNASPES. Tacitus crimen, en, probat tuum.  
Ne patere, princeps, te novo ludi dolo!  
Satis probatum constat Adraستي scelus  
Dira piandum morte. Cum patre et soror luat  
Natusque, quos involvit admissum scelus.

- CROESUS. You are also involved in your brother's treason, and so is his son.
- CLITANDER  
(ASIDE). Alas, my wretched tongue, what have you done!
- CROESUS. Was it not enough to kill my son? Did you plot also to deprive the king [1305] of the throne of his forefathers to be able to render the royal honours of Lydia to your own perfidious son after killing me? Is this what my kindness towards you, which I have so far nourished in my heart, has deserved for my own kin? Ungrateful man, do you thus show loyalty towards your king?
- ADRASTUS. [1310] My king, you are accusing Adrastus of a crime, yet you are striking an innocent man. That I swear by the all-knowing stars. The wicked crime of perfidy is as far from my heart as Phoebus is from the globe and the earth from the sky. Tell me, Olynthus, has Adrastus guided you to such great crimes? [1315] Has your father taught his son to be treacherous towards the king? Have I ever offered you kingship to be obtained by means of heinous crime?
- OLYNTHUS. Dearest father, your son has never learned any evil from your mouth, and apart from devout [1320] love for Croesus this heart has learned nothing. My father has always instructed me to nourish that love, and so far I have nourished it with a steadfast heart. Never have I felt a desire to usurp the throne. There is slander hiding here.
- PHARNASPES. [1325] This wicked crime cannot be denied any more. After all, it has been proved by manifest evidence and by a witness.
- ADRASTUS. Let us have that witness and also the evidence.
- PHARNASPES. Here. It is Clitander.
- ADRASTUS. Good man, what crime are you feigning?
- CLITANDER Woe me, I cannot be silent. Yet I am bound by the oath I have [1330] wrongly sworn.
- PHARNASPES. There! He is silent and thus proves your guilt. My lord, do not allow yourself to be tricked by new deceit! The guilt of Adrastus has been sufficiently proved and must be atoned by a grim manner of death. And together with the father let also the son and the sister pay for the crime in which they are involved.

- 1335 HYSTASPES. (Quam timeo regem ne ipse Pharnaspes dolo  
Ludat nefando.)
- CROESUS. Crede, vindictae satis  
Mox fiet. Ira, quam sinus iuste coquit,  
Perfidia poenas tanta pro meritis dabit.
- MANDANA. (Heu fulmen! Ergo perdita est nostrum omnium  
1340 Salus.)
- CROESUS. Adesto, perfida et tetrica lues!  
Patente vestro scelere iam poenas date  
Dolosque luite, queis pium regem hactenus  
Decipere placuit!
- PHARNASPES. (Sic brevi attingam scopum.<sup>105</sup>)
- CROESUS. Ergo cruenta morte commissum scelus  
1345 Punire mente constat inflecti inscia.  
Iamiam migrandum noris e vita tibi,  
Adraste, simul et natus et soror cadat.
- OLYNTHUS.<sup>106</sup> Excelse princeps, Croese, feralem preme  
Sententiam! Me tantum hic infandum petat  
1350 Furor. Parenti parce! Me solum premat  
Vindicta; da, pro patre solus ut cadam!  
O rex, benignum te pium et monstra mihi  
Facilemque praebe: ah obsecro, serva patrem!
- MANDANA. En provolutam pedibus, o princeps, tuis  
1355 Mandanam. Iniquam mortis, ah, sententiam  
Revoca; madentes imbre candenti genas  
Cerne, innocenti ex corde quae veniunt preces.  
Admitte, quaeso, vivere ut frater queat.  
Concede, sola fratre pro meo cadam!
- 1360 Vah, sanguis iste crimen admissum eluat!  
DATIS. (Heu pectus hisce precibus inflexum labat.)
- CROESUS. Cessate: vestras funditis frustra preces.  
An patiar ultra me dolis ludi impiis?
- MANDANA. Vos, o amati et incluti duces, rogo,  
1365 Servate fratrem, filium et simul patri!

<sup>105</sup> S: scapum.<sup>106</sup> S: Clit.



- HYSTASPES [1335] How I fear that Pharnaspes may be able to trick the king with this heinous deceit.  
(ASIDE).
- CROESUS. Believe me, we shall soon carry out revenge to the full. The wrath which my heart is justly brewing will mete out the punishment that this great perfidy deserves.
- MANDANA Woe, thunder! So we are all [1340] lost.  
(ASIDE).
- CROESUS. Come here, you perfidious and shameful plague! Your crime is manifest; now receive your punishment and pay for your treason, with which you have tricked a compassionate king.
- PHARNASPES Thus I shall soon obtain my goal.  
(ASIDE).
- CROESUS. Therefore I am determined to punish with cruel death [1345] the crime that has been committed, and nothing can change my mind. You know, Adrastus, that now you have to pass from this life, and with you also your sister and your brother will fall.
- OLYNTUS. Sublime monarch, Croesus, suppress this sentence of death. May your wrath strike me, wretch that I am. [1350] Yet spare my father! Let me alone be struck by your vengeance; grant that I alone perish for my father. O king, show yourself kind and gracious, and prove that you are forgiving. Ah! I implore you, spare my father.
- MANDANA. See Mandana crouching at your feet, my lord. [1355] Revoke this unjust death sentence. Consider my cheeks, moist from sparkling drops, and the pleas that come from an innocent heart! Allow my brother to live, I beg you. Grant me to die instead of my brother. [1360] Woe, let my blood pay for the crime that has been committed.
- DATIS (ASIDE). Ah, my heart is moved by such pleas!
- CROESUS. Put an end to your pleas. They are in vain. Should I allow myself to be tricked further by wicked deceptions?
- MANDANA. I implore you, dear, noble officers, [1365] save my brother, and save also a son for a father's sake!

- ADRASTUS. Non parce, rex, Adrasto! Hic unicus cadat.  
 Salvam sororem redde cum<sup>107</sup> nato meam!  
 Utrumque, testor astra, non culpa impia  
 Premit, ego solus sceleris exsisto reus.
- 1370 Hac, hac nefanda cecidit natus manu,  
 Haec sola morte digna, qua crimen luat.  
 Quaecumque demum scelera, rex, mihi obicis,  
 Haec esse ficta crede, contestor polum.  
 Parce ergo nato, vivat et soror mea!
- 1375 MEUM ira regis feriat indignum caput.  
 HYSTASPES. Dixisse si quid liceat Hystaspi tuo:  
 Rex alme, sontes plectere est regum quidem,  
 Sed propria quoque sit principi clementia.  
 Parcere scelestis postulat regum indoles.
- 1380 Rex, parce Adrasto, parce Mandanae simul  
 Natoque, melius fac fidem posthac probent  
 Bonitate docti, rex, tua clementia.
- DATIS. Maculare noli regias horum manus  
 Cruore!
- PHARNASPES. At ipsa postulat mortem aequitas.
- 1385 CROESUS. Revocare latam non licet sententiam.
- PHARNASPES. Si poena brevi precibus averti queat,  
 Impune semper crimen et scelus foret.
- CLITANDER. Verende rex, en genua complector tua.  
 Cruore si tamen opus, ah, liceat meum
- 1390 Dare, promptus ipse sanguinem et vitam immolo.  
 Sed tantum Adrasto parce! Vivat et simul  
 Natus sororque. Morte fac ego ut cadam!
- CROESUS. Assurge. Potius nostra te norit manus  
 Remunerari praestitam et fidem mihi.
- 1395 OLYNTHUS. Per sceptrum, perque regium rogo thronum,  
 Et per coronam quae tuum cingit caput,  
 Per quidquid esse gratum et acceptum potest,  
 Rogo, rex: Olynthi fervidas audi preces.
- CROESUS. Frustra estis. Haud quid lacrimae aut preces valent.
- 1400 Mandana, frater, natus occumbant simul.  
 I, perge, miles, ad necem sontes rape!

<sup>107</sup> S: dum.

- ADRASTUS. Do not spare Adrastus, O king. Let him alone die. Yet keep my sister alive with my son! Both are free from heinous guilt, I swear it by the stars; I alone am guilty of a crime. [1370] This, this is the treacherous hand that killed your son, and this alone has deserved death to atone for its guilt. Yet, king, any other crimes of which you accuse me are fictitious, believe me. I swear it by the heavens. Therefore spare my son, and allow my sister to live! [1375] May the king's wrath strike my worthless head.
- HYSTASPES. If your servant Hystaspes is allowed a word, gracious king: it is the duty of kings to crush the guilty, yet clemency also behooves a monarch. It is the nature of kings to spare criminals. [1380] King, spare Adrastus, and spare Mandana and his son as well! Let them show better faithfulness hereafter, taught by goodness, king, and your clemency.
- DATIS. Do not defile your royal hands by shedding their blood.
- PHARNASPES. Yet equity demands that they die!
- CROESUS. [1385] I cannot revoke the sentence that I have passed.
- PHARNASPES. If punishment could swiftly be averted by pleading, then crime and malice would go forever unpunished.
- CLITANDER. Worshipful king, see, I am clasping your knees. If blood has to be shed, ah, let me give mine. [1390] Readily I offer my own blood and my life. Yet merely this: spare Adrastus! May he live, and likewise his son and his sister. Command me to die.
- CROESUS. Rise! Much rather, my hand should reward you and the loyalty you have shown me.
- OLYNTHUS. [1395] By your sceptre, by your royal throne, and by the crown that clasps your head, indeed by everything that can be worthy and valuable, I implore you, O king. Hear the fervid pleas of Olynthus.
- CROESUS. What you do is in vain. Neither tears nor pleas can achieve anything. [1400] Mandana shall perish together with her brother and his son. Up, soldier, go and lead the guilty in for execution.

## SCAENA V

OMNES.

- MEGABASUS. Quo rapis Adrastum, miles?  
 PHARNASPES. Ad mortem ocius.  
 MEGABASUS. Desiste, princeps, mortis et sententiam  
 Revoca!  
 CROESUS. Statutam, fare, quid prohibet necem?  
 1405 ADRASTUS. Quid a te servor?  
 PHARNASPES. Miles, abstrahito reos!  
 MEGABASUS. Recede, rex! Ne patere Pharnaspis dolo  
 Te ludier.  
 PHARNASPES. (Vah, perfidum invisum caput!)  
 OLYNTHUS. Afferte, superi, morte plectendis opem!  
 PHARNASPES. Quid? Me nefandi, pessime, incusas doli?  
 1410 MEGABASUS. Dolus patebit ilico regi tuus,  
 Crudelis, urges dum necem Adraști, simul  
 Et natum Olynthum scelere perfidiae premis,  
 Es ipse nostro perfidus regi magis.  
 CROESUS. Megabase, pectus quid tuum accendit furor?  
 1415 MEGABASUS. Sat iustus, o rex. Namque quis regem suum  
 Pateretur aequo corde deludi dolo?  
 HYSTASPES. (Quam vanus augur non fui, dum quid doli  
 Latere sub furore Pharnaspis prius  
 Existimabam.)  
 CROESUS. Fare, quem struxit dolum?  
 1420 MEGABASUS. Quaecumque Adrasto perfidus scelera imputat  
 Natoque, ficta<sup>108</sup> haec esse, rex, certus tene.  
 PHARNASPES. (Fulmine trisulco feriat hunc Diespiter!)  
 MANDANA. (Tentata sic fraus proprium in auctorem redit.)  
 CROESUS. Sed unum, amice! Constat hic dolus tibi?

<sup>108</sup> S: victa.

## SCENE V

ALL.

MEGABASUS. Where are you dragging Adrastus, soldier?  
 PHARNASPES. To his death, and that fast.  
 MEGABASUS. Halt it, my lord, and revoke the death sentence!  
 CROESUS. Tell me, what prevents the execution as I have decreed it?  
 ADRASTUS. [1405] Why am I rescued by you?  
 PHARNASPES. Soldier, drag the criminals away!  
 MEGABASUS. Back, king! Do not permit the cunning of Pharnaspes to jest with you.  
 PHARNASPES. Woe to the hateful traitor!  
 (ASIDE).  
 OLYNTHUS. Gods, render help to those who will be crushed by death!  
 PHARNASPES. What? You wretch, are you accusing me of nefarious treason?  
 MEGABASUS. [1410] The king will presently discover your cunning, you cruel monster. You are calling for the death of Adrastus and are likewise charging his son Olynthus with the crime of perfidy, while in fact you are most treacherous towards our king.  
 CROESUS. Megabasus, what frenzy is burning in your heart?  
 MEGABASUS. [1415] It is well justified, my king. Who would calmly suffer his king to be tricked and deceived?  
 HYSTASPES. How accurate my analysis was when I assumed first  
 (ASIDE). that there was some trick lurking behind the rage of Pharnaspes.  
 CROESUS. What was he plotting? Speak!  
 MEGABASUS. [1420] Whatever crimes this traitor accused Adrastus and his son of, my king, rest assured that these are fictitious.  
 PHARNASPES. May Jove strike him with a three-pointed thunder-bolt!  
 (ASIDE).  
 MANDANA. Thus attempted deceit falls back upon him who devised it.  
 (ASIDE).  
 CROESUS. Yet one thing, my friend. Are you certain of his treason?

- 1425 MEGABASUS. Ex ore proprio. Gemma non missa a patre,  
Sed ipso ab Aty tradita, ut ferat tibi,  
Duci Clitandro est. Ut<sup>109</sup> inaequae culpa reum  
Nullius habeas, natus hoc signo tibi  
Aperire<sup>110</sup> voluit. Caedis est insons parens,  
1430 Nec rapere natus voluit unquam thronum.  
CROESUS. Num vera loqueris? Principem ludas cave!  
MEGABASUS. Me regis ira feriat, ubi falsa eloquor.  
Clitander ipse iureiurando licet  
dare sit adductus ense districto fidem.  
1435 Hoc iam solutus<sup>111</sup> poterit effari dolum.  
PHARNASPES. (Vah, proditus<sup>112</sup> sum! Quid negare iam iuvat?)  
DATIS. Quae subita rerum, non capio, mutatio!  
PHARNASPES. En, rex, fatentem me tenes coram reum.  
Adeo in Adrastum, satis<sup>113</sup> et natum simul  
1440 Atque in sororem pessimum hunc struxi dolum:  
Perdere cruenta morte tentaram exteros,  
Quos tam benignus foverat regis favor.  
Clitandrum adeg, sed pudor prohibet loqui.  
Dux, loquere! Me, me iam furor Croesi petat.  
1445 CROESUS. Quae scaena sese pandit?  
MANDANA. O superi boni!  
CROESUS. Innocuus an sit caedis Adrastus?  
ADRASTUS. Manu  
Dum cecidit ista natus, o princeps, tuus,  
Innocuus esse quis queat?  
CROESUS. Nunc<sup>114</sup> explica  
Nobis, Clitander!  
CLITANDER. Iugis haerebam comes  
1450 Aty, verende rex, simul Adrastus quoque.  
Canibus adductus prosilit ferox aper,  
Necem ore spumans horrido in natum ilico  
Prorumpit. Ecce, cuspis in feram volat<sup>115</sup>

<sup>109</sup> S om.<sup>110</sup> S: operire.<sup>111</sup> S: solutus sum.<sup>112</sup> S: providus.<sup>113</sup> S: datis.<sup>114</sup> S: nondum.<sup>115</sup> S: vocat.

- MEGABASUS. [1425] I have heard it from his own lips. The jewel was not sent by Adrastus, the father, but handed by Atys himself to Duke Clitander so that he could hand it to you. Consider him free from all guilt. That is what your son wanted to reveal to you by this token. The father is not guilty of murder, [1430] and the son never wanted to usurp your throne.
- CROESUS. Are you speaking the truth? Do not jest with your king!
- MEGABASUS. May the king's wrath strike me if I tell lies. Although Clitander himself was forced at sword's point to take an oath, [1435] once he is absolved from it he will be able to reveal the trick.
- PHARNASPES  
(ASIDE). Woe, I am lost! What can it help now to deny it?
- DATIS. What a swift change of things! I do not understand it.
- PHARNASPES. See, king, here I am, announcing my guilt. Particularly against Adrastus, but also against his son [1440] and his sister I devised this wicked plot. I tried to crush these foreigners with cruel death as your grace, king, was bestowed on them too abundantly. I forced Clitander into it, yet shame prevents him from speaking. Speak, officer. Let the wrath of Croesus strike me, me alone.
- CROESUS. [1445] What spectacle is unfolding here?
- MANDANA. O good gods!
- CROESUS. Is Adrastus not guilty of the murder?
- ADRASTUS. How could he claim to be not guilty, my lord, from whose hand your son died?
- CROESUS. Now explain yourself, Clitander!
- CLITANDER. I was at the side of Atys, [1450] worshipful king, as his companion, and so was Adrastus. Flushed by our dogs, the wild boar started up. Its horrid mouth was frothing with bloodthirst, and at once it assaulted your son. Right then a spear flew at the beast. Your son had thrown it. Yet the wound was light, [1455] and the raging beast began to attack your son. Adrastus, to avoid any mishap, shot his arrows, yet grievous fate

- 1455 Vibrata nato. Vulnere ast tantum levi  
Violata furere et petere filium fremens  
Incipit. Adrastus, omne ut avertat malum,  
Sua tela vibrat, fata sed nimium aspera:  
Emissa ab arcu cuspis in saxum involat,  
Repulsa ab ipso pectus, ah, Atys ferit
- 1460 Dirumque vulnus fingit.  
CROESUS. Ah, renovas patri  
Miseros dolores.  
CLITANDER. Abeo quaesitum ilico,  
Qui vulnus Atys curet, ast revocor citus,  
Atysque gemmam, quae data est, princeps, tibi,  
Mihi tremante reddidit dextra, simul
- 1465 Et dixit: 'Hanc in patris, ubi fueris redux,  
'Manus referto. Capiat hoc signo parens,  
'Esse innocentem et omnis immunem quoque  
'Sceleris Adrastum. Simul et ultimum patri  
'Ex ore nati redde morientis vale.'
- 1470 CROESUS. Ah, cessa, amice! Me novo luctu necas.  
MANDANA. Sic, astra, tegitis sceleris insontes pio  
Favore.  
CROESUS. Adrastum sat mihi innocuum probas,  
O nate. Solus sum nocens culpae parens,  
Cum te paterno facile dimisi sinu.
- 1475 O fata acerba, vos mihi natum meum  
Rapuistis! Ast cur ista tam diu silens  
Patrem ludebas?<sup>116</sup>  
CLITANDER. Tribue, rex, veniam mihi!  
Redux prohibeor arte Pharnaspis mala  
Te petere regem, cogor et gemmam quoque  
Prolapsus in terram ense districto dare  
Manui nefandae, iureiurando insuper  
Spondere iussus, omnia ut tacitus tegam.
- CROESUS. Satis est, amice! Iam patet doli artifex.  
Sic tu, cruenta, tigride et saevus magis,  
Lusisse tanto Principem haud metuis tuo  
Dolo! Quis ima cordis invasit furor,  
Perdere quod omnis sceleris insontes velis?

<sup>116</sup> S: legebas.



willed it to fly off the bow and hit a rock. Deflected by that, ah, it hit the chest of Atys [1460] and caused a lethal wound.

CROESUS. Ah, you renew a father's miserable suffering.

CLITANDER. I left at once to search for one who could treat the wound of Atys, yet quickly I was called back. With trembling hands, Atys gave me the jewel which has been brought to you, my lord. [1465] His words were, 'When you come back, hand this to my father. This token shall prove to him that Adrastus is innocent and free from all guilt. Likewise, tell my father a last farewell from his son's lips.'

CROESUS. [1470] Ah, stop it, my friend! You are killing me by renewing my pain.

MANDANA. Thus you are protecting the innocent with compassionate favour, O stars!

CROESUS. You have proved full well that Adrastus is innocent, my son. I alone, your father, I am guilty, as I have let you leave my fatherly protection all too willingly. [1475] O cruel fate that has taken my son from me! Yet you, why did you keep silent of this matter so long, deceiving your king?

CLITANDER. Forgive me, my king! As I was returning, the wicked craft of Pharnaspes prevented me from seeking you out, O king, and I was even forced, [1480] thrown to the ground at a sword's point, to render the jewel into his wicked hand, and, what is more, to swear an oath that I would keep silent and conceal the matter.

CROESUS. Enough said, my friend! Now we know the traitor. Thus you, more savage than the bloodthirsty tiger, [1485] had no qualms about cunningly deceiving your king! What wrath had entered your heart that you wanted to destroy these completely innocent people?

- PHARNASPES. En, rex, furorem in istud exseras caput,  
Perime nefando scelere Pharnaspem reum!
- 1490 Lubens cruorem, corde qui bullit, dabo.
- CROESUS. Lues cruenta morte, ne dubita, scelus.
- PHARNASPES. Non horreo ullum mortis infandae genus.
- CROESUS. Accede, miles. Vincula indigne manus  
Quod tibi gravarint, lusus est Croesus dolo.
- 1495 ADRASTUS. Iniusta, princeps, vincla non nostram  
Dextram premebant. Latro sum nati tui.
- CROESUS. Licet ceciderit Atys a manu tua,  
Quod doleo, culpa sed reum quis te arguat,  
Dum natus ipse sceleris insontem probat?
- 1500 Sunt fata, quae rapuere male cauto patri  
Natum. Hinc, amice, regis in sinum vola!  
Habebis in me semper addictum tibi  
Regem. Favore fruire, dum vivas, meo!
- ADRASTUS. Est nimius, o rex, tuus in indignum favor.
- 1505 CROESUS. Mandana! Olynthe! Vos quoque in patris scelus  
Delusus ipse, quod dolet, traxi. Ast suo  
Posthac favore tegere vos Croesus sciet.
- MANDANA. Hoc pro favore qui satis queam \* \* \*  
Tibi esse, princeps, dum mihi fratrem, patrem
- 1510 Natoque reddis, et neci cunctos ferae  
Eripis et omnes denuo beas tuo  
Favore?
- OLYNTUS. Quantos unica adcumulas die,  
Princeps, favores! Refero ego immensas tibi,  
Reddo grates. Vivam in aeternum tuus.
- 1515 ADRASTUS. Quas nos nequimus gratias, reddat polus  
Iovisque numen. Vive, quam potes, diu,  
Tuosque, princeps, rege, delictum soli!
- CROESUS. Iam vive amata regis in sinu trias!  
Megabase, regis gratiam in munus tibi
- 1520 Recipe, nefandi dum doli artificem impium  
Mihi indicasti. Quam tuam laudo fidem!  
Remunerari hinc nostra te norit manus.

- PHARNASPES. Here, my king, cast your wrath upon my head and quash Pharnaspes, who is guilty of a heinous crime. [1490] I shall readily give all the blood that is boiling in my heart.
- CROESUS. No doubt you will pay for your crime with a cruel death.
- PHARNASPES. I fear no manner of unspeakable death.
- CROESUS. Come to me, soldier. Chains have been shamefully burdening your hands. This was caused by treason against Croesus.
- ADRASTUS. [1495] Those chains did not unjustly weigh down my hand, my lord. I am your son's murderer.
- CROESUS. Atys may have died by your hand. I regret that. Yet who may call you guilty as my son himself is claiming that you are innocent of the crime? [1500] Fate has robbed a careless father of his son. Therefore, my friend, fly into a father's arms. In me you will have a king ever devoted to you. As long as you live, enjoy my protection!
- ADRASTUS. You are far too kind to a worthless man, my king.
- CROESUS. [1505] Mandana! Olynthus! You too I have involved in your father's guilt, as I have been cheated. That grieves me. Yet after these events Croesus will know how to cover you with his protection.
- MANDANA. If only I could be [grateful] enough to you for this protection, my lord! You give my back my brother, and a father [1510] to his son, and you rescue us all from violent death and favour us anew with your protection.
- OLYNTHUS. How many favours you are granting on one single day, my lord! I render you endless thanks, and I shall eternally be devoted to you.
- ADRASTUS. [1515] May the heavens and the power of Jove show you the thankfulness that we cannot show. Live as long as you can, lord and joy of your land, and reign over your people!
- CROESUS. Beloved three, live at the bosom of your king! Megabassus, receive the king's gratitude as a gift [1520] as you have shown me the godless originator of this nefarious treason. How I praise your faithfulness! For this my hand will know how to reward you.

- MEGABASUS. Placere regi gratiae est summae loco.  
 CROESUS. Ast tu, nefande perfide et doli artifex,  
 1525 Pro fraude diras morte iam poenas dabis.  
 Abripe nocentem miles, ad mortem trahe!
- ADRASTUS. Ah parce, princeps, parce Pharnaspi quoque!  
 Haud videat ista sanguinem effusus dies.  
 1530 Omnisque Croesum resonet in sontes pium  
 Tellus. Remitte crimen, o princeps, precor!  
 CROESUS. Id ergo,Adraste, precibus addicam tuis.  
 Remitto culpam, sed tu posthac magis  
 Fidelis esse principi discas velim.
- PHARNASPES. Ignosce, rex! In posterum servi vices  
 1535 Explebo fidus principi nostro magis.
- HYSTASPES. Sic te, verende rex, tuam et clementiam  
 Stupebit orbis semper et dicet pium.
- MEGABASUS. Benignus usque te favor superum tegat,  
 Servetque semper patriam incolumem polus!
- 1540 CLITANDER. Sic et benigni nomen et iusti feres.  
 CROESUS. Ergo agite, amici, iam frui vobis<sup>117</sup> licet  
 Nostro favore. Corde vos semper colam  
 Croesus benigno.
- MANDANA. Principe in tanto inclutum  
 Benignitatis mundus exemplum colat!

**FINIS**<sup>117</sup> S: dolis.

- MEGABASUS. The king's pleasure serves as supreme gratitude.
- CROESUS. And you, godless, perfidious originator of this treason, [1525] you will be severely punished with death for your betrayal. Soldier, take this criminal away and deliver him to be executed.
- ADRASTUS. Ah, spare him, my lord, spare Pharnaspes as well! Let not this day see any bloodshed. Let the whole earth proclaim how compassionate Croesus is towards the sinful. [1530] Forgive his deed, my lord, I implore you.
- CROESUS. I shall then ascribe this to your pleas, Adrastus. [(TO PHARNASPES.)] I forgive your guilt, yet I wish you henceforth to learn better loyalty towards your king.
- PHARNASPES. Forgive me, my king! From now on I shall carry out a slave's duties [1535] and show greater loyalty towards our ruler.
- HYSTASPES. Thus, worshipful king, the world will forevermore be astonished at you and your clemency and will call you compassionate.
- MEGABASUS. May the benign favor of the gods ever protect you, and may heaven always keep our country unharmed!
- CLITANDER. [1540] Thus you will forever be known as good and gracious.
- CROESUS. Well then, my friends, may you enjoy my protection. I, Croesus, shall ever hold you dear with a benign heart.
- MANDANA. May the world in such a monarch behold a noble paragon of clemency!

**THE END**

Dirk SACRÉ

FRANCESCO SOFIA ALESSIO (1873-1943):  
SOME OVERLOOKED POEMS

During his lifetime, Francesco Sofia Alessio from Radicena, now Taurianova, in the province of Reggio di Calabria, was for many years a celebrated Neo-Latin poet.<sup>1</sup> His fame was due to an impressive number of victories (three gold medals — in 1917, 1920 and 1921 — and seventeen *magnae laudes* — between 1907 and 1936) at the *Certamen Hoeufftianum*, the Amsterdam international contest of Latin poetry. Moreover, the fact that Sofia Alessio, who had not had the privilege of attending university, was a self-declared autodidact of Latin, not only caused the poet to be proud of his achievements: it was also a source of admiration for his countrymen that this modest schoolmaster should prove capable of competing with the best Latinists of his days. Sofia Alessio wrote quite simple and sometimes naively romantic, if not sentimental, poems characterized by strong and candid religious feelings and a profound affection for ancient Rome as well as for the unpretentious country life of Southern Italy. From the middle 1920s on, his glory began to fade somewhat, at least in the inner circles of Neo-Latin poetry: he became less successful in the Amsterdam contest and fellow poets such as Giuseppe Morabito (1900-1997) and Alfredo Bartoli (1872-1954) became increasingly aware of Sofia Alessio not only copying entire lines or half lines from the Roman poets<sup>2</sup>, but also appropriating words, poetical

<sup>1</sup> In this article I refer simply to 'Sofia I, II, III' for the three volumes of his poetry published over the last two decades: Francesco Sofia Alessio, *Musa Latina. Poemetti latini*, Traduzione italiana di Francesco Sofia Alessio, Carlo Luigi Torelli, Paolo Fabbri (...). Prefazione di Antonino Anile. Introduzione di Ugo Verzi Borgese (Varapodio: De Pasquale, 1993); Francesco Sofia Alessio, *Musa alessiana. Carmi odi epigrammi latini*. Traduzione italiana di Ugo Verzi Borgese. Introduzione di Mimi Paparatti. Testimonianze di Isabella Loschiavo e Antonio Orso, 2 vols. (Taurianova: Tauroprint – Gioia Tauro, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> The judges of the *Hoeufftianum* themselves were not always too happy with that: Jacobus Johannes Hartman – Jacob van Wageningen – Albert Kluyver, 'Verslag van den wedstrijd in Latijnsche poëzie krachtens het legatum Hoeufftianum gehouden in het jaar

images, concepts and entire plots from the then *primus inter pares* Giovanni Pascoli (1855-1912), of whom Sofia Alessio was undoubtedly an epigone. On top of that there was his not infrequent borrowing from other Italian Neo-Latin poets whose works had appeared either in book form or in the elegant volumes containing the prize-winning poems issued by the Royal Academy at Amsterdam. One might add that Sofia Alessio not infrequently recycled his own occasional poems, a fact which to me seems an indication of a poetic vein that did not flow unboundedly.<sup>3</sup> For the general Italian public, however, this Latin poet, productive in an Italian atmosphere dominated by the nationalistic ideology of the 1920s and 1930s, remained the illustrious compatriot who successfully defended the honour of the country at the prestigious Latin competition organized in the Low Countries, and on occasion Sofia Alessio was hailed as a kind of new Tibullus. He himself tended to create a myth around his own person, as if he were predestined to obtain the gold medal at Amsterdam;<sup>4</sup> and the fact that one of his children had married a distant relative of Diego Vitrioli (1819-1898), the illustrious and aristocratic Latin poet from Reggio di Calabria and above all the first winner of the *Hoeyff-tianum*, to him seemed like a coincidence that could hardly be fortuitous. In the end, the somewhat penurious schoolmaster, thanks to the celebrity his Latin poetry had earned him in Southern Italy, was granted a sinecure with an ample income, holding a position as a librarian in Reggio. Apart from the poems issued in the Amsterdam booklets and in local or Neo-Latin periodicals, Sofia Alessio published two collections of poems, his *Carmina Latina. Poesie latine con traduzione in italiano* (Messina: Trinchera, 1905) and his *Musa Latina. Poemeti con traduzione italiana* (Napoli: Elpis, 1920). These books firmly established his standing as a Latin poet, which continued in spite of the fact that the Amsterdam jury from the middle 1920s on was less captivated by his work — an attitude Sofia Alessio attributed to the disappearance of the Dutch professor

1922', in *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen gevestigd te Amsterdam voor 1921-22* (Amsterdam, 1923), pp. 129-135 (p. 131 on Sofia Alessio's poem *Spes Vergiliana*): 'Men vraagt zich echter wel eens af of de reminiscenzen uit Virgilius niet wat te veelvuldig, ja te gewild zijn'.

<sup>3</sup> An extreme case seems to me *In funere Raphaelis Sammarco de litteris et bonis artibus optime meriti* (1932) (Sofia III, 515-519), which is almost a copy of *In funere Vincentii de Cristo ex Civitate Nova* (1928) (Sofia III, 503-507).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. a dream of his, mentioned in Ugo Verzi Borgese, 'Biografia di Francesco Sofia Alessio', in Sofia II, 37-46 (p. 43).

Jacobus Johannes Hartman (1851-1924) as the president of the jury<sup>5</sup> and his replacement by judges he deemed rather incompetent<sup>6</sup>, whereas some other Italian Neo-Latin poets, feeling equally suspicious about the diminishing number of Italian victories at Amsterdam, imputed it to a kind of animosity towards Italy.<sup>7</sup> Anyhow, after 1920 Sofia Alessio did not care too much about collecting his Latin verse. After his death, the poet's works, like those of so many Latin poets from the period, sank into oblivion. In his native region, however, he was never forgotten. Along the sea front of Reggio, the city where he had died, a monument in his honour was erected in the neighbourhood of similar monuments for Vitrili and Pascoli. In his native Taurianova, a bronze bust was inaugurated in the 1980s, and a school, a square and a street were named after him. In recent years, especially since the commemorations on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his decease, new life was breathed into his Latin poetry and a reappraisal of his Latin output attempted.<sup>8</sup> Noteworthy is Patrizia Paradisi's 2006 article: she aims to reevaluate Sofia's poetical assimilation of the works of his contemporary or slightly older Neo-Latin colleagues, and with a remarkable benevolence towards the poet, she regards what Morabito and Bartoli had labelled plagiarism as

<sup>5</sup> He died in January 1924. According to Albert Kluyver – Carl Wilhelm Vollgraff, 'Verslag van den wedstrijd in Latijnsche poëzie krachtens het legatum Hoeufftianum gehouden in het jaar 1923', in *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1923-1924* (Amsterdam, 1924), pp. 103-109 (p. 103) Hartman had been able to read and roughly express his opinions about the poems that had been sent in for the 1924 contest (the deadline for submission was 1 January 1924), though he had not made a written report. That year, the gold medal was awarded to Hermann Weller (1878-1956), whereas Sofia Alessio's poem *Pauperrimus bonorum* obtained the *magna laus*.

<sup>6</sup> See Sofia Alessio's poem *In Ioannem Iacobum Hartman*, reedited i.a. by Vincenzo Fera in an article that also excellently evokes the atmosphere of those years: 'Giuseppe Morabito e Hermann Weller', in Dirk Sacré – Joseph Tusiani, iuvante Thoma Deneire (eds.), *Musae saeculi XX Latinae. Acta selecta Conventus patrocinantibus Academia Latinitati Fovendae atque Instituto Historico Belgico in Urbe Romae in Academia Belgica anno MMI habiti*, Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, Bibliotheek, 58 (Brussel – Rome: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 2006), pp. 133-209 (Sofia Alessio's poem on pp. 155-157).

<sup>7</sup> Between 1907 and 1924, he obtained the *magna laus* twelve times and the gold medal three times. Between 1924 and 1930, none of his poems had success. The last *magnae laudes* occurred in 1931 with *Ultimi Ovidii dies* and in 1936 with *Feriae montanae*.

<sup>8</sup> See especially Francesco D'Agostino – Domenico Agostini – Maria Virdia (eds.), *Omaggio al latinista "Radicenensis" in occasione del cinquantesimo anniversario della morte. Ricordi e testimonianze con biografia e bibliografia* (Taurianova: Comune, 1993); and a special issue of a local journal, *Questacittà. Periodico di politica, cultura e attualità*, 8 (1993), num. 49, almost entirely devoted to the Latin poet.



fundamentally ordinary and traditional forms of both conscious and unconscious *imitation* of the classical and the contemporary poets that constituted the Latin background of this remarkable autodidact poet.<sup>9</sup> The best general portrayals of the Calabrian Neo-Latin poet are Giuseppe Morabito's 'Testimonianza su Francesco Sofia Alessio', issued in the 1993 commemorative booklet<sup>10</sup>, and above all Vincenzo Fera's 'Microcosmo letterario meridionale: Morabito tra Francesco Sofia Alessio e Alfredo Bartoli'.<sup>11</sup>

Also on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Sofia Alessio's death, the municipality of Taurianova decided to honour its great citizen with an edition of all his known Latin poetry, accompanied by Italian translations. The work was entrusted to Ugo Verzi Borgese, a former pupil of Giuseppe Morabito, who did an excellent job in gathering, editing, translating, and illustrating Sofia Alessio's works in three volumes, amounting to more than 870 pages and published between 1993 and 2002.

Verzi Borgese was conscious of the fact that a close scrutiny of 'vecchie riviste calabresi e nazionali' would probably unearth more Latin poems than he had been able to gather with the help of Sofia Alessio's former friend Morabito.<sup>12</sup> Reviewing my own documentation on 20<sup>th</sup>-century Latin poets, I did indeed find some additional poems, which it seemed worthwhile to call attention to.

### 1. A poem on the earthquake of Messina and Reggio (1910)

Sofia Alessio wrote two poems on the disastrous earthquake (December 1908) of Messina and Reggio di Calabria — which indeed affected him personally: for several years he lived in a shed belonging to the temporary shelter camp the English built in the region. One of these poems is well-known: it is a long description of the cataclysm, written a year

<sup>9</sup> 'Sofia Alessio e Pascoli', in Vincenzo Fera – Daniela Gionta – Elena Morabito (eds.), *La poesia latina nell'area dello Stretto fra Ottocento e Novecento. Atti del Convegno di Messina, 20-21 ottobre 2000, nel centenario della nascita di Giuseppe Morabito (1900-1997)*, Percorsi dei classici, 7 (Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici, 2006), pp. 241-291.

<sup>10</sup> In D'Agostino – Agostini – Virdia (eds.), *Omaggio al latinista*, pp. 17-25.

<sup>11</sup> In Fera – Gionta – Morabito (eds.), *La poesia latina nell'area dello Stretto*, pp. 311-335.

<sup>12</sup> Sofia II, 11 (note 2).

afterwards and sent to the Amsterdam competition without success, not in the late 1920s, as is generally believed,<sup>13</sup> but at the end of 1909 for the 1910 contest.<sup>14</sup> Having put it aside, he reworked it many years later, perhaps with an eye on Giuseppe Giannuzzi's poem on the same issue<sup>15</sup>, which had obtained the *magna laus* at the same competition and had been published by the Royal Dutch Academy; in any case, he had it printed only in 1930. The other poem does not depict the dramatic events, but concentrates on their effects more than a year after the disaster; the schoolmaster pays special attention to the miserable conditions of the youth, many of which are orphans now, and the problems the school system is experiencing. The lines are dedicated to Pasquale Aldinio, a headmaster at Reggio.<sup>16</sup> Hitherto, this second, rather elegant poem has remained unnoticed; apart from two lines bearing a close resemblance to the long poem,<sup>17</sup> this was clearly an independent and autonomous composition; it was published early in 1910 in the (entirely Latin) Roman journal *Vox Urbis*, 13 (1910), 9:

*Rheginae post annum ruinae. Amplissimo viro Pascali Aldinio,  
studiorum curatori, Rhegii Iulii*

Omnia strata iacent desertaque litora ponti

Squalent et nudo luget arator agro.

A Calabris Siculos potuit seiungere montes

Aspera vis olim; nunc ruit illa domos.

<sup>13</sup> Sofia II, 287 (and II, 44).

<sup>14</sup> For more information on Sofia Alessio's participation at the *Hoeufftianum* and bibliographical additions concerning his poetry, see the appendix.

<sup>15</sup> Cp. Dirk Sacré, 'De Siciliae et Calabriae excidio carmen: Giuseppe Giannuzzi's Neo-Latin Poem on the Italian Earthquake of 1908', in Stefan Freund – Meinolf Vielberg in Verbindung mit Volker Michael Stročka und Raban von Hähling (eds.), *Vergil und das antike Epos. Festschrift für Hans Jürgen Tschiedel*, Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium, 20 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag, 2008), pp. 525-544. Sofia Alessio's poem can be found in Sofia II, 285-305 (on p. 287, references to earlier editions and translations).

<sup>16</sup> To the same person, as 'regio provveditore agli studi', is dedicated Sofia Alessio's poem *Petronius* from 1911 (Sofia I, 43). Later on (but before 1932-1933), Aldinio was headmaster at a liceo-ginnasio in Milan.

<sup>17</sup> With lines 7 and 9, one can compare Sofia II, 302 (*Terrae motus ad Fretum Siculum*, 210-211): 'Non resonant dulci Sirenum litora cantu, | Non Calabro rident ponto Morgania Fata'. In his poetry Sofia Alessio often refers to the fata morgana, the optical phenomenon which is especially known from the Strait of Messina (see Sofia II, 388 [*De deliciis ad Fretum Siculum*, 3-4], and Sofia II, 396 [*Deliciae Rheginae*, 5-6]). Cp. also Alfonso Traina, 'Pascoli, Vitrioli e la Fata Morgana', in Id., *Poeti latini (e neolatini). Note e saggi filologici*, 2 (Bologna: Pàtron, 1981), pp. 213-216.

Urbes ingentem vicique dedere ruinam,	5
Infremuit rabie per vada Scylla truci.	
Non resonant dulci viridaria carmine blanda:	
Fugerunt nymphae; tristis Erinnys adest.	
Non fulget Calabris antris Morgania Fata:	
Turbatum Furiis horret adire fretum.	10
Spectantur tumuli praeuptaque tecta domorum;	
Infelix sparso sanguine terra rubet.	
Iam dilapsa iacent sine nomine corpora multa	
Multaque sub foveis gaza sepulta iacet.	
Heu cives lugent et tristia funera ducunt;	15
Pupilli matrem nocte dieque vocant.	
Agmina densa stipem coguntur quaerere passim;	
Hinc alio migrant agricolae miseri.	
Eversas miramur opes ac templa scholarum	
Diruta dum puerûm turba tenella vacat.	20
Caedis inassuetos oculos nunc pascit inani	
Prospectu puer et luctibus obruitur.	
Nunc age, curator studiorum, coge magistros;	
Iam pateant pueris ostia sacra scholae.	
Afflictos recreant animos bona verba magistri;	25
Rebus in adversis corda pusilla vigent.	
Heu iuvenes, Calabrae perierunt robora pubis:	
Grandia praeuptus contegit ossa lapis.	
Rara quidem superest pubes, spes una parentum;	
Custodes doceant quidquid adest puerûm.	30
Agmina, clare pater, patriae puerilia serva:	
Te duce florescat Graecia Magna scholis.	

Radicenae in Calabris

## 2. In memoriam of Gennaro Aspreno Rocco (1922)

On 11 January 1922, the Latin poet Gennaro Aspreno Rocco died in Afragola (province of Naples) in the house where he had been born in 1853.<sup>18</sup> Some months later, Can. Vincenzo Marseggia, the vicar of the

<sup>18</sup> See on him i.a. Gennaro Aspreno Rocco, *Carmi latini editi e inediti scelti e pubblicati con un saggio introduttivo su l'autore* a cura di Nunzio Coppola e con prefazione

parish of San Giorgio martire, issued a booklet to commemorate the deceased: *A Gennaro Aspreno Rocco* (Napoli: Tipografia Pontificia 'Artigianelli', 1922; 103 p.).<sup>19</sup> On p. 19, there is a poem by Sofia Alessio, which has hitherto escaped notice.

Afragola is still proud on its Latin poet who in 1909 faced the competition of Giovanni Pascoli in the Amsterdam *Certamen Hoeufftianum*.<sup>20</sup> It named a street and a school after him, and in 1949 honoured him with a marble bust, placed on a public square. In his poem, Sofia Alessio stresses the elegance and piety of Rocco's verse, referring to his epic vein and his poetical descriptions of modernity, as exemplified in his poem *Ad Christum Servatorem* (Neapoli, 1900), his extensive epic poem *Africa* (Neapoli, 1908), or in his *Aeronavis* which earned him the *magna laus* at the international Hoeufft poetry contest of Amsterdam — *Amstell* refers to the river that gave its name to that Dutch city.

*In funere Ianuarii Rocco humanissimi poetae*

Heu Charites, cessit venerandus vester alumnus,  
Cantus qui dulces fudit ab ore pio.

di Nicola Festa (Milano – Genova – Roma – Città di Castello: Società editrice Dante Alighieri, 1929); Gaetano Capasso, *Gennaro Aspreno Rocco, il Virgilio cristiano* (Napoli, 1956); J. IJsewijn-Jacobs, *Latijnse poëzie van de twintigste eeuw* (Lier: De bladen voor de poëzie, 1961), pp. 69-70; Id., 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum saeculi vicesimi', *Euphrosyne*, 3 (1961), 149-190 (p. 182); Giuseppe Giacco, *Cultura classica e mondo subalterno nei Pediculi di Gennaro Aspreno Rocco: testo integrale in latino e traduzione in vernacolo afragolese*, Paesi e uomini nel tempo, 4 (Sant'Arpino: Istituto di Studi Atellani, 1985); Dirk Sacré, 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum 1900-1960: supplementum', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 39 (1990), 328-339 (p. 337); Id., 'Conspectus poetarum Latinorum 1900-1960: supplementum alterum', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 51 (2002), 301-310 (p. 308); internet: <http://www.afragolaweb.it>.

<sup>19</sup> This rather rare book contains: a biographical sketch by Nicola Pitta; some reactions to the death of Rocco (including some Latin poems by Marco Galdi, Francesco Sofia Alessio, Alfredo Bartoli, Gennaro Aspreno Galante); a chronicle of the funeral of Rocco and a discourse held at his house on the occasion of the inauguration of a commemorative tablet (25 February 1922); an essay on Rocco's Latin poetry by 'N.C.' (probably Nunzio Coppola); some judgements on Rocco's Latin poetry (including a Latin poem by the Jesuit Josephus M. Broia); a survey of inedited Latin poetry presented by Rocco as a candidate member of the ecclesiastical Academy of S. Pietro in Vinculis (Naples).

<sup>20</sup> That year, Rocco's poem *Aeronavis* obtained the *magna laus*, as did, for instance, Pascoli's *Ecloga XI sive ovis peculiaris*. Pascoli's poem, however, was judged the best one, and Rocco's came fifth. The gold medal was not awarded in 1909. Cp. P.D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, 'Programma certaminis poetici in Academia regia disciplinarum Neerlandica ex legato Hoeufftiano in annum MCMX indicti', in *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen gevestigd te Amsterdam* [henceforth: *Jaarboek*] voor 1909, 67-68.

Ille quidem vobis posuit florentia sarta  
 Succiduoque genu mascula tura dedit.  
 Nam cecinit sanctos patres et fortia facta 5  
 Aeternamque piis stravit ad astra viam.  
 Quin hodierna modis vates inventa canoris  
 Descripsit, rapidum curriculumque poli.  
 Laudibus ornavit sapiens Amstella poetam,  
 Qui nitet egregio nobilis ingenio. 10  
 Vos maestum, dulces Charites, ornate sepulcrum  
 Ac plenis calathis alba ligustra date.

Radicena in Calabria.

Die 2 m. Februarii 1922

Prof. Franciscus Sofia Alessio

The poem is preceded by a small letter, written to the vicar who was assembling the commemorative volume. Its text runs as follows:

Rev.mo Canonico,  
 Apprendo con profondo dolore dell'animo mio la perdita del vene-  
 rando Sacerdote ed insigne latinista, mio collega, Gennaro Rocco.  
 Accludo qui alcuni distici latini, tenue omaggio all'illustre umanista  
 estinto.  
 I versi elegantissimi e l'ingegno fecondo lo resero immortale.  
 Presento le mie condoglianze e La riverisco.

### 3. A poem on the canonization of Don Bosco (1934)

These sapphic stanzas, written on the occasion of the canonization of Don Giovanni Bosco (1815-1888) on 1 April 1934 and ending with a hymn or prayer to Don Bosco, are absent from Verzi Borgese's edition. They appeared in the Roman Journal *Alma Roma*, 21, 3 (Rome, March 1934), p. 45.<sup>21</sup> The poet recounts the well-known facts about Don Bosco's life and activities (his vocational dream as a nine-year-old boy,

<sup>21</sup> With this note, most probably by *Alma Roma*'s editor Giuseppe Fornari: 'Proximis Kal. Aprilibus et Ioannes Bosco in sanctorum numerum a Pio PP. XI referetur. Ad tantum virum celebrandum auctor clarissimus Carmen hoc scripsit, quod pro sua humanitate, de qua debitas gratias reddimus, nobis tradidit edendum.'

ll. 14-17; his endeavours for the education and formation of the uncared-for children, culminating in the founding of the Salesian congregation, which in 1859 officially started as the *Società di S. Francesco di Sales*; the building and consecration of a large church for *Maria Ausiliatrice* or *Maria auxilium Christianorum*, followed by the institution of the congregation of the *Figlie di Maria Ausiliatrice* in 1871-1872, ll. 34-37; the international diffusion of the Salesians of Don Bosco).<sup>22</sup> In the final stanzas, the poem bears a striking resemblance to similar compositions written by Sofia Alessio in sapphic lines, especially his 1927 *Hymnus in honorem Beatae Iohannae Antidae Thouret* (Sofia III, 407-415) and his 1925 *Hymnus in honorem S. Reynaldi Nuceriae episcopi* (Sofia III, 431-437).

*In Ioannem Bosco*

Nunc pium servum Domini Ioannem  
Atque praeclarum fidei magistrum,  
Multa qui fovit face Caritatis,  
Ore canamus.

Multiplex illi variusque sensus, 5  
Cor fuit caelum veluti serenum,  
Christus in quo sol micuit benignus  
Lunaque virgo.

Ecce de parvo pecoris magistro 10  
Ille fit sancti gregis administer  
Atque custodit vigilans capellas  
Laeta per arva.

Vidit in somnis recubans futura:  
Bestias multas, dociles in agnos  
Protinus versas, quibus est Maria 15  
Inclita custos.

<sup>22</sup> On Don Bosco, see e.g. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 55 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2000), pp. 734-740 (by P. Stella), sub nom. 'Giovanni Bosco, santo'.

En amans magnus pater orphanorum  
Ardet: errantes pueros in urbe  
Quaerit et cunctos vocat angiportis  
Usque relictos. 20

Stringit ad pectus miseros fovetque  
Et docet leges pietatis illos  
Ac viam blandus per amoena ludi  
Sternit ad astra.

At palaestras iam bene litteratas 25  
Condit et fabris parat officinas  
Edit et sacros sapiens libellos  
Ac colit agros.

Candidum tamquam latitans rubetis  
Lilium crescit redoletque Christum, 30  
Iamque virtutum virides recessus  
Mulcet odore.

Ponit Augustae pius ille templum,  
Unde vis aegris oritur salusque,  
Aedibus sacris vigiles sorores 35  
Addit et artes.

Ecce per sudum vario colore  
Iam micant orbis referunt et Irim,  
Plaudit e caelis operi Ioannis  
Christus amicus. 40

En sacerdotes reserare doctos  
Ianuam caeli comitesque multos  
Advocat: gaudet documenta divi  
Spargere verbi.

Mittit in terras socios remotas, 45  
Qui ferunt fruges operum piorum  
Ac levant aegros animos, recluso  
Fonte salutis.

Quanta nunc latum legio per orbem  
 Tendit ad Christum populos referre! 50  
 Quanta nunc florum seges! Utque rident  
 Poma per agros!

Adiutrix perpes vigilat Maria;  
 Sanctitas morum nitet et remotis  
 Caritas terris operosa fervet 55  
 Ac beat omnes.

Ut volat verbum per inane vectum  
 Aetheris fluctu, pia Caritatis  
 Profluit sic vis rapido volatu,  
 Corde micante. 60

Perge de caelis, pater alme, prolem  
 Hanc tuam vultu placido tueri  
 Tuque fac nobis pateat supremi  
 Gratia regis.

Laus sit excelsae triadi, Ioannem 65  
 Quae pium nobis dedit et potentem,  
 Cuius oratu mereamur astra  
 Scandere caeli.<sup>23</sup>

Radicens in Bruttiiis, mense Martio MCMXXXIV

#### 4. A Latin Translation of Raffaele Cotugno's *I fiori della ricordanza* (1933-1934)

Ugo Verzì Borgese seems to have been aware of the existence of this translation<sup>24</sup>, but to have been unable to find a copy of it; he did not know that three of these Latin translations had been published in the Torinese journal *Il Mondo Classico*, 4 (1934), 274-277. Sofia Alessio

<sup>23</sup> Compare lines 61-68 with the two final stanzas of the hymn to Sister Thouret (Sofia III, 414) and the two last stanzas of the hymn to San Rinaldo (Sofia III, 436).

<sup>24</sup> Sofia III, 625 (with date 1931).



translated into Latin elegiac couplets a cycle of Italian sonnets written by Raffaele Cotugno (1860-1939), an Apulian jurist, parliamentary deputy (until 1924), and subsequently a member of the Italian fascist party. Cotugno, a strong supporter of the culture of Southern Italy, spent the last two decades of his life devoting himself mainly to the historical studies that had fascinated him since his youth (he published i.a. on Giordano Bruno, Giovanni Battista Vico and the Risorgimento); he lived in Trani.<sup>25</sup> On 12 March 1933, Cotugno had lost his beloved granddaughter Rosa Stea; soon afterwards he wrote fifteen sonnets on her disappearance, entitled *I fiori della ricordanza*, and sent manuscript copies to some friends and acquaintances. When people like Benedetto Croce<sup>26</sup> lauded these poems and urged Cotugno to have them printed, the latter published them in Trani around the end of May 1933.<sup>27</sup> A copy of the booklet came in the hands of Cotugno's friend Sofia Alessio<sup>28</sup>, who was charmed by the sonnets, rendered three of these into Latin verse, and dispatched his translations to Cotugno on 23 August 1933.<sup>29</sup> Subsequently Sofia Alessio translated the twelve other sonnets. Hence the project was formed to reissue the Italian work, this time with Sofia Alessio's translations.<sup>30</sup> That second edition came out on the occasion of

<sup>25</sup> See on him *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 30 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1984), pp. 483-486 (by L. Agnello).

<sup>26</sup> His letter to Cotugno (Naples, 20 May 1933), stating i.a. 'Credo che, mettendoli in stampa, compirete un atto gentile in memoria della cara perduta', was published in the second edition which has no proper title page: [Raffaele Cotugno], *I fiori della ricordanza* (Molfetta: Scuola tipografica per sordomuti nell'Istituto prov. Apicella, s.a. [but 1934]), p. 53.

<sup>27</sup> The existence of that first edition, of which I have not seen a copy, is confirmed by the letters appearing in [Cotugno], *I fiori*, and its year of publication by Leonardo D'Addabo, 'Per la morte di Raffaele Cotugno', published in the journal *Japigia* of 1940 (which I found on Internet) and containing a bibliography of Cotugno, n° 41 of which is '*I fiori della ricordanza* (Trani 1933), pp. 31'.

<sup>28</sup> To Cotugno Francesco Sofia Alessio had dedicated his 1912 poem *Plotinus* (Sofia I, 61-85).

<sup>29</sup> Cp. Sofia Alessio's letter to Cotugno, published in [Cotugno], *I fiori*, p. 8: 'Radicena, 23 agosto 1933: Il vostro dolore e la vostra sventura mi hanno commosso tanto che a leggere "I Fiori della Ricordanza" mi accinsi subito a tradurre in latino i tre primi sonetti, ed ho cercato d'interpretare nel miglior modo possibile il vostro pensiero e rivestire la vostra sentita ed elegante poesia con le note armoniose ed espressive della lingua latina. Questo sia di conforto al vostro dolore e di omaggio alla cara memoria della vostra colta e gentile nipote Rosa. Vi stringo affettuosamente la mano. Vostro Francesco Sofia Alessio.'

<sup>30</sup> Cp. Cotugno's hyperbolic acknowledgement of Sofia Alessio's translations ([Cotugno], *I fiori*, pp. 7-8: 'Il Poeta Francesco Sofia Alessio ha voluto aggiungere l'incanto della sua arte mirabile in questa gara di pietà e d'amore. Egli ha volto in latino i quindici sonetti che io composi in memoria della lacrimata fanciulla. La sua è riuscita

the first anniversary of the death of Cotugno's granddaughter.<sup>31</sup> Copies of that edition are rare; I used the one kept at the Biblioteca Provinciale S. Teresa dei Maschi — De Gemmis at Bari.<sup>32</sup> An extract from the book can be found in the Torinese journal *Il Mondo Classico*, 4 (1934), 274-277 — it contains the three first sonnets and their Latin translations, written in distichs which keep the strophic structure of the sonnet.<sup>33</sup> For the sake of brevity I have omitted the Italian originals; there are no variants between the two editions of the Latin versions of the three first sonnets. Number 9 (Latin translation and Italian original) was reissued in the journal *Musa perennis*, 4 (autunno 1963), 11.

*I fiori della ricordanza*

I.

Clamavi gemuique simul graviterque dolebam,

Nuntius ut mortis perculit auriculas.

O et praesidium vetuli columeque cadentis,

Castus amor, princeps sis in amore meo.

Usque fleo, dum me tristis dolor urit et angit,

Nec gemitus sentis tu neque, cara, vides.

Quae te caeca premens sors, o mea vita, gubernat?

Tu bene promittis, mox neque stas fidei.

un'opera geniale di creazione, capace di sopravvivere alle ingiurie del tempo e della fortuna. Di Sofia Alessio, vincitore ripetute volte, tra concorrenti di tutte le nazioni, nella gara di poesia latina ad Amsterdam, dell'umanista sommo, in cui non sai che più lodare, se la bellezza virgiliana della forma o la dignità del pensiero dedito alla esaltazione dei più nobili ideali, non è qui il luogo di tessere le giuste lodi. Io voglio, però, da queste pagine ch'egli riscaldi del suo afflato dirgli tutta la mia riconoscenza per il nobile gesto compiuto ed augurargli vita lunga e rigogliosa per nuove opere che io son sicuro egli darà a maggior gloria della patria e della repubblica letteraria di cui è così fulgido ornamento.'

<sup>31</sup> So around 12 March 1934. The letters to Cotugno, published in this volume, go to 4 February 1934 (pp. 66-68).

<sup>32</sup> My warmest thanks to the librarian, Dott.ssa Eleonora Pomes, who sent me a photocopy of the entire booklet.

<sup>33</sup> Cp. the editor's note there (pp. 274-275): 'E Francesco Sofia Alessio, l'umanista squisito a lui [i.e. Cotugno] legato da teneri vincoli di salda e antica amicizia, con la sua facile e armoniosa vena e con fraterno affetto, voltò in latino quei versi. Sono quindici sonetti in tutto; così pieni di sentimento e di passione di un lato e così naturalmente fluenti dall'altro, tanto nel dettato italiano, quanto nella versione Latina, che se troppi altri valorosi non reclamassero insistentemente il poco spazio della nostra rivista, proprio vorremmo riprodurli qui tutti. Ci limitiamo ai tre primi, senza scegliere, perchè crediamo che scegliere non sapremmo nè si potrebbe.'

Sed si tu dormis gelido tumulata sepulcro,  
Si splendore iaces nunc spoliata tuo,  
In mentem revocare iuvat te nocte dieque.

Iamque subit tempus, quod mihi dulce fuit,  
Visere, cara, meum cum tu conclave solebas  
Teque tuens fovi pectore spem roseam.

## II.

‘O pater’, illa mihi dixit, ‘me denique raeda  
Ad matrem defer: nunc genitrice fruar  
Inque sinu foveam dulci caput, oscula iungam:  
In teneris ulnis est mihi dulce mori’.

Haec in verba tremens mulier vepallida stabat,  
Dum coit in gelido pectore sanguis iners.  
Victa velut cursu letali parvula dama  
Heu! sentit summam iam properare diem!

Ignari sortis pueri duo, dulcis amoris  
Fructus, vivebant, sed dolet illa magis.  
Luminibus claris penetrat vaga lumina prolis,

Quam premit ad carum iam moribunda sinum.  
Immoritur natis! Amor est maternus imago  
Digna quidem sacris aedibus et tabulis.

## III.

Pascha micat! Resonant simul aera micantia: Christus  
Ecce resurrexit, tuque sepulta iaces!  
Iam Pax in terram caelo descendit ab alto,  
Sed quis corde queat tollere bella meo?

At mecum reputo iam gaudia temporis acti,  
Sed magis atque magis nunc miser excrucior.  
Et memini loca, quae vivens lustrare solebat,  
Quae repeto maerens corde dolente meo.

Odi me, potius cupio finire dolorem  
Ac miseram vitam: tu, Libitina, veni:  
Ut iam corporeo posito velamine tandem,

Sensibus ereptis, sim levis umbra volans:  
 O utinam clari factus novus incola caeli  
 Deliciis tecum tempus in omne fruar!

## IV.

Annus erat, pater ex quo vita cesserat aeger,  
 Quem manibus teneris illa fovebat amans.  
 Maesta dies semper tenebris luctuque trahebat,<sup>34</sup>  
 Et lacrimis vultus saepe rigabat inops.

Occidit obscuro correptus turbine dulcis  
 Heu genitor, veluti testula fracta cadit.  
 Oppressum vidi morbo graviterque dolentem  
 Illum iam miserans morte perire pia.

Quis durum fati gladium perrumpere nobis  
 Laetitiaeque fores nunc reserare queat?  
 Ad quae lux nova nos incerta pericla lacescit?

In terris fera sors pectora iuncta scidit.  
 Sed texens occultus amor sua stamina tandem  
 Ambos coniunxit denique morte simul.

## V.

Fausta dies, qua iam duxi iucundus ad aram  
 Te niveam sponsam delictumque Dei!  
 Ipse rosam numquam vidi viridantibus hortis,  
 Quae te rore madens esset odora magis;

Tuque tremens iam candenti velamine tecta  
 Haerebas lateri, casta puella, meo:  
 Namque pudor sanctus non te prodire sinebat.  
 Somnia tunc animo laeta ferebat Amor.

Tempus erat tandem, neptis, tua solvere vota:  
 Praebeat speciem ritus in aede tibi.  
 Tum vero dulcem vidi pallescere vultum,

<sup>34</sup> *Maesta* refers to Cotugno's granddaughter, *dies* is the object of *trahebat*.

Dum suavi resonant carmine templa Dei.  
Conciliat Dominum nobis modulamen et ingens  
Iam fletus studium, corde micante, subit.

## VI.

Ipse fidem cupio magnam, quae temperet acres  
Curas et mulcens tristia corda levet,  
Et sordes omnes putri de pectore pellat,  
Ac simul auxilio prompta sit usque mihi.

Credo corporeo posito velamine caeli  
Per tractus animam posse volare meam  
Et simul immemorem sceleris vitaeque prioris  
Tangere iam placidi sidera blanda poli.

Sic pia mors tandem vitam nos ducit ad altam,  
Quam nec spectra movent nec levis umbra premit,  
Atque viam nobis sternit dux fida salutis.

Si tu, cara mihi, dum tua fata gemo,  
A Domino simul auxilium veniamque benigno  
Impetrare queas, gaudia multa dabis.

## VII.

Iuste Deus, miserere mei, fac denique lento  
In somnis veniat nocte silente pede  
Et nigris aliquid mihi tempestatibus illa  
Nuntia suppressa voce susurret amans.

Ante meum sedeat subridens illa cubile  
Et niteat clara luce serena mihi;  
Ac vigilans oculis oculos penetrare cubantis  
Et mulcere velit leniter ora mea,

Ut mulcet Zephyrus loca vere tepentibus auris,  
Et de sorte sua denique me moneat –  
Blanda quidem species, fugientia gaudia cordis,

Quae breviter possunt sensibus illudere.<sup>35</sup>  
 Somnia vanescunt subito tenebraeque soporae,  
 Dum surgens claro Lucifer ore micat.

## VIII.

O dolor immitis, qui me regis usque misellum,  
 Tu pia verba mihi, tu miseranda facis;  
 Tartareus sedes querulus sic contigit Orpheus  
 Et potuit Stygium flectere voce ducem.

O dolor aeterna qui manas mente coruscus  
 Et Christo mundi pectora concilias,  
 Cum vetulus languens ad frigida tempora veni,  
 Me rigidis laceras sentibus atque notas.

Usque comes mihi fidus ades, solummodo quaero  
 Te, per quem vivit corde reposta meo  
 Illa quidem, quam semper amo, dum mobilis umbra

Errat et egelidus nunc cinis usque iacet.  
 Illam tu loqueris; clamo, contemplor et illam.  
 At quis eam gelidis excitet a tumultis?

## IX.

Ipse domi maerens accendi lampadis ignem,  
 Qui micat ante tuam lucidus effigiem.  
 Lumina defigit mea coniux semper in illa  
 Et solatur anus pectora maesta prece.

Effigiem caram tenues ad lampadis ignes  
 Orto sole libens miror et occiduo.  
 Illa videtur amans mihi tum vigilare, moveri  
 De tumulo, iam me pone subire iubet.

Dum lux rara tremit, risus tener enitet ore.  
 Numquam viva magis constitit ante oculos.  
 Tum stupeo, simul ipsa meis vox faucibus haeret,

<sup>35</sup> Sofia Alessio unjustly scans the second syllable of *illudere* as short.

Dum vigilo variis captus imaginibus.  
 At resonat vaga vox, abeunt spectacula blanda:  
 Heu vox est aviae, quae dolet atque gemit.

X.

Effigiem visit iuxtaque crepundia ponit  
 Fernandus: 'Mea sunt haec, bona mater', ait;  
 'Ursum, plostellum, felem tibi denique linquo,  
 Ne mihi quis rapiat parvula dona manu.'

Mox rediens graditur tacite tacitoque sororem  
 Lumine collustrat, clam quasi cautus eat.  
 Poplite stant ambo flexo similesque precanti  
 Ac maesti sistunt corde micante simul.

Mox surgunt iunctaque manu genitricis amica  
 In specie figunt lumina parva pie.  
 Incassum! Iam cuncta silent, quasi ritus agatur,

Maternus tandem spiritus advolitat.  
 Tum fortasse polo vigilat pia mater ab alto  
 Ac summum poscit numen amata prece.

XI.

O tempus, tibi nunc maledico; namque creatas  
 Formas tu deles, omnia pulchra voras.  
 Astat iuncta tuo lateri Libitina severa  
 Et tristem semper nescis amaritiem.

Atque acies penitus memori, dum vita manebit,  
 Corde meo semper fixa doloris erit.  
 Ardeat usque micans ignis, labentibus annis,  
 Quem mihi succendit pectore magnus Amor.

Inque alios iras et noxam verte minacem  
 Atque aliis Lethes pocula plena refer.  
 Frustra me tentas: Dominus<sup>36</sup> me protegit atque

<sup>36</sup> *Dominum* in the edition.

Rebus in adversis robora magna dedit,  
Cum loca iam iuvenis moriens secreta petivit  
Et caruit claro lumine solis inops.

## XII.

Si prex sancta, Deus, puerûm si parvula dona  
Afflictis rebus grata fuere tibi,  
Respice nos tandem, miseris succurre benignus,  
Nos ad postremum tu, Deus, usque tege.

Aspera mors dulcem genitricem flore iuventae  
Iam nobis teneris abstulit ante diem.  
Ex quo mater amans vita discessit amara,  
Incassum pacem quaerimus in lacrimis.

Angelus illa fuit bonus et fons limpidus, in quo  
Cor nostrum potuit iam relevare sitim:  
Quae mater poterit nostrae praestare parenti?

Qui genetrice queunt corda carere pia?  
Quis doceat rectum, si nos, Deus alme, relinquis?  
Quis nobis animos addere voce queat?

## XIII.

Sunt tumulto, quo nunc mater iacet usque sepulta,  
Inscriptae laudes de pietate notae:  
'Usque domi sedit, fuit et bona cultaque mater,  
In Domino posuit spem studiosa suam.'

Nec vanas curat res nunc tumulata sepulchro,  
Nec species illam fallere falsa potest.  
Spiritus oppressus magno fixusque dolore  
Frustra sperat se posse levare mala.

At radians nostro latitat sub pectore flamma,  
Nos, dum luce fovet, conficit ignis edax.  
Corde modis variis vitae fremit atra procella,



Nullum verborum semen hiare potest,  
Immensis spatiis ubi sol micat arduus usque  
Et Deus aeternum fulgida sceptrā tenet.

## XIV.

Ipse fores, quae nunc fati mysteria claudunt,  
Cum frustra pulso lassus et assideo,  
Turbine correptus nigro, funebria volvens  
Ad bellum redeo remque animosus ago:

Percussus rigidis telis ego sortis iniquae  
Luctor, dum misero spes mihi nulla manet  
Et me circumdant viles, ignobile vulgus,  
Ac falso mendax crimine turba notat.

Te repeto mecum, mea vox te nominat unam  
Dum procul in claro lumine solis ades:  
Non es tu procul invidia iam, cara, remorsa.

Pacatus caeli sidera suspicio:  
Illos qui numquam terris vixere beatos  
Ipse puto, tristis dum mea vita fugit.

## XV.

Incus sum resonans, rigidus quam malleus usque  
Percutit ac pulsat, dum fera mors veniat.  
In luteum stagnum potuisti vertere blanda  
Somnia, mors tristis, deliciasque meas.

Heu mihi, turba canum veluti ieiuna recurrunt  
Nunc animo curae nocte dieque meo;  
Usque miser metuo per opaca silentia noctis  
Nec possum vigilans iam requiete frui.

Sic Fortuna rotam versans sua munera blanda  
Nunc tribuit felix, nunc fera damna facit,  
Nec poterit quisquam morsus vitare furentis.

Sed tempus veniet, cum dabitur requies:  
Mors feret auxilium, septennia dena peregi,  
O fortunatum me, requiete fruar!

### 5. A poem in praise of Rome and Italy (1936)

This overlooked poem appeared in the Roman journal *Alma Roma*, 23, 1 (Rome, January 1936), p. 4. It seems to reflect the ideology then dominant in Italy, from which Alessio adopted above all the belief in Rome's and Italy's lasting value for Europe on account of its impressive cultural contribution and its being the capital of Christianity. The language to some extent mirrors the final stanzas of Sofia Alessio's lyric ode to Benito Mussolini, published in 1932<sup>37</sup>, but should not be linked too exclusively to fascist convictions: the 1919 ode *Ad heroas Italos* (I, 221-231) expresses similar ideas (e.g. lines 78 ['Romana cuncti progenies sumus'] and 81-82 ['Leges Achivam per sapientiam | Nos et Latinam iam dedimus plagis']).

#### *Italiae ingenium et officium*

Ingenium magnum simul et, gens Itala, magnum  
 Officium pridem fata dedere tibi:  
 Roma, vias priscis stravisti gentibus olim,  
 Quae simul imperio iam coiere tuo.  
 Omnes terrigenum sensus ac fervida vota 5  
 Excipis in luctu laetitiaque libens.  
 Diligis et varios populos vultuque sereno  
 Cogis tu, mater, conciliasque tibi;  
 Multiplici frueris, pia patria, munere vitae:  
 Tu genus omne virūm religione tenes. 10  
 Ad Romam spectant populi, venerantur et omnes  
 Signum divino sanguine purpureum.  
 Libertate, pio cultu radiante, fruuntur  
 Diversae gentes vasta per imperia.

Radicena in Calabris

### 6. A poem on the death of the Latinist Marco Galdi (1936)

This neglected poem was published in Marco Galdi, *Carmi latini pubblicati il 15-V-1937-XV nell'anniversario della sua morte* (Cava dei Tirreni:

<sup>37</sup> Sofia III, 459-467, probably written for a competition of Latin poetry to honour the *Duce* (1929-1931): Fera, 'Microcosmo letterario', pp. 311-312.

Tipografia Felice Salsano), pp. 116-117. Galdi (Cava dei Tirreni, September 1880 – S. Giuseppe Vesuviano, May 1936) studied literature at the university of Naples. He taught in various schools before becoming a university professor of Latin and Greek at Naples, Messina, Pavia, and again Naples. As a Latin poet he often participated at the Amsterdam contest, but never obtained the *magna laus* or the gold medal. He also published scholarly articles and books.<sup>38</sup>

*In funere Marci Galdi, litterarum Latinarum scriptoris et eximii poetae*<sup>39</sup>

Litterulas magna coluisti mente Latinas,  
 O decus eximium, gloria Parthenopes.  
 Non docta sonat aula scholae iam voce, Magister,  
 Non ex ore fluunt dulcia verba tuo.  
 Quam bene discipulos docuisti carmina blanda<sup>40</sup>, 5  
 At facilis vena divite versus erat.  
 In cathedra vidi te, dulcis amice, docentem  
 Discipulosque libens alloquor ipse tuos.<sup>41</sup>  
 Tu res antiquae didicisti laudis et artis, 10  
 Ipse doces Flaccum Virgiliumque pium,  
 Tu pietate nites et mulces semper alumnos,  
 Tu sanctum servas foedus amicitiae.  
 Locrensi fuimus simul in certamine, Marce:  
 Nobis de palma iam fuit arbitrium.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cp. Massimo Miglio (ed.), *Marco Galdi. Atti del Convegno di Studi per il centenario della nascita (1880-1980), Cava de' Tirreni, 27-28 settembre 1980* (Roma: Graziani, 1983); Marco Galdi, *Versi latini*, con una appendice bibliografica a cura di Maria Teresa d'Ambrosio. Premessa di Massimo Miglio (Cava de' Tirreni: Studio Kappa, 1980).

<sup>39</sup> The poem is introduced with these words: 'Il Poeta Latino Comm. F. Sofia Alessio, successore del Pascoli nelle vittorie di Amsterdam, c'invia questo tenero Rimpianto'.

<sup>40</sup> With lines 1 and 5 compare Sofia III, 506 (*In funere Vincentii De Cristo ex Civitate Nova*, 3): 'Quam bene litterulas rectumque dolebat alumnos'.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 5-6: 'Iam non in cathedra spectant de more docentem l illum discipuli, blanda nec ora vident'.

<sup>42</sup> The *Certamen Locrense* was the *Certamen Hoeufftianum*'s modest Italian pendant during the years 1926 (in fact December 1925)-1932, instigated by Alfredo Bartoli, sponsored by Carmelo Triumviri and having its seat at Gerace Marina, where Bartoli taught in a private school from 1925 to 1928. Bartoli, Sofia Alessio and Galdi, the last then teaching Latin literature at the university of Messina, composed the first jury (1926); it was Galdi who during a solemn session on 12 June 1926, read the jury's report aloud. Cp. Daniela Gionta, 'I *Certamina* di poesia e prosa latina nell'Ottocento e nel Novecento', in

Nos simul ad mensam laeti consedimus olim;	15
Adstabat lateri candida sponsa tuo:	
O noctes cenaque deûm! Nos lusimus ultro	
Atque alacres bibimus pocula multa meri.	
At tibi tempestas superastitit atra malorum	
Et clarum tenebris obruit ingenium.	20
Heu cinxere caput, quasi spinea sarta, dolores;	
Post binos annos tristia fata subis. <sup>43</sup>	
At tibi dat tandem post tot tantosque labores	
Caelorum regno praemia iusta Deus.	
Aeternum valeas, placida nunc pace quiesce,	25
E caelo caros usque tuere tuos.	

### Appendix: Additional notes on some poems

In this appendix I list additional information on the publication of poems, which completes and in some cases corrects Verzi Borgese's bibliographical data; I draw from the reports of poetical contests, especially of the *Hoeufftianum*<sup>44</sup>, notices about Sofia Alessio's participation, for these can help us to date his poems with more accuracy.

Fera – Gionta – Morabito (eds.), *La poesia Latina nell'area dello Stretto*, pp. 195-240 (pp. 209-211); Giuseppe Morabito, *Ricordi di scuola*, Testimonianze e problemi (Milazzo – Gibilmanna – Stresa: Pellegrino, 1972), pp. 68-77; Id., 'Il latinista Alfredo Bartoli', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 28 (1979), 302-327.

<sup>43</sup> On the severe depression Galdi suffered from in his last years, see Francesco Galdi, 'L'ultimo distico', in Marco Galdi, *Carmi latini pubblicati il 15-V-1937*, pp. 117-122.

<sup>44</sup> The information is taken from the annual *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen gevestigd te Amsterdam* (the title can vary slightly); these reports were published in Latin, in Dutch or in both languages, with varying titles and reporters (most of the time the (three) *iudices Hoeufftiani*). In order to avoid an accumulation of notes, I do not add the precise authors, the exact titles of the reports, or the pages of the *Jaarboek* for each entry, but limit myself to the year of the *Jaarboek* where the information can be found. Let me add that the poems entered in the contest had to be sent to Amsterdam before 1 January – poems reaching the Academy at Amsterdam between 1 January and 31 December 1934, for instance, were entered in the 1935 contest. Normally, the jury would gather at least once in March or in April; they then decided on the poems which had been sent in anonymously, accompanied by a motto repeated in a separate envelope that also contained the name of the poet. The entries were meant to contain at least fifty lines, not to be poems of an entirely private nature, and to be unpublished – obviously, this last rule was now and then infringed, but the *iudices Hoeufftiani* could not be acquainted with all journals or local publications. In the early years of the contest, poems were often handwritten; at some point, the use of typewriters was imposed – now

- \* *Duo magi* (Sofia I, 3-25): also published in *Vox Urbis*, 10 (1907), 43-44.
- \* *Vis electrica* (Sofia I, 27-39): appeared also in *Vox Urbis*, 11 (1908), 53, and in *Rosa Melitensis*, 1, fasc. 7 (July 1909), 3-5.
- \* *Plotinus* (Sofia I, 65-81): this poem was awarded the *magna laus* in the Amsterdam contest in 1912, not in 1913 (*Jaarboek 1912*).
- \* *Vita rustica* (Sofia I, 109-129): the poem was also issued in *Alma Roma*, 7 (1920), 72, 90, 125-126.
- \* *Vitus* (Sofia I, 131-155): the poem also appeared in *Alma Roma*, 1 (1914), 19-20, 40, 79-80, 99-100.
- \* *Reliquiae* (Sofia I, 157-169): was also published in *Alma Roma*, 4 (1917), 184-185.
- \* *Sepulcrum Ioannis Pascoli* (Sofia I, 171-200): the poem was published in *Alma Roma*, 4 (1917), 118-120.
- \* *Pax natalicia* (Sofia I, 201-219): also in *Alma Roma*, 6 (1919), 110-112.
- \* *Asterie* (Sofia II, 111-151): published in *Alma Roma*, 8 (1921), 116-120.
- \* *Virgilius agello expulsus* (Sofia II, 153-195): issued in *Alma Roma*, 9 (1922), 97-102. A fragment in *Il mondo classico*, 1 (1931), 72-73. See also *Virgilio scacciato dal campicello. Carme premiato con la magna laude alla gara poetica Hoeufftiana dell'anno 1921*, Traduzione di Duilio Zuanelli (Pieve di Soligo: Boschiero e Bernardi, 1927).

and then, the jury complained about the difficult handwriting of some persons or the poor quality of the typewriting, marred by errors the judges were unable to impute either to the poet or to his copyist. The best poems were awarded either the gold medal or the *magna laus*, but there were years (e.g. 1869) when no poem was deemed worthy of the medal or the *laus*. The poets whose work had earned the *magna laus* could refuse to have the envelope containing their name opened; this enabled them to rework their poem and to send it in again with the possibility to obtain the gold medal in one of the future contests (skimming through the reports one indeed finds titles recurring over several years). If the poets who had merited the *laus* consented, their work was issued together with the medal-winning poem. The reports mostly mention the number of poems sent in, and in most cases also list their titles, without the names of the poets, and establish an order of merit. The length of the evaluation of the poems varies; sometimes entire verses are quoted or the plot of a composition is elucidated, sometimes there is no extra information at all. The rejected poems and the poems having obtained the *magna laus*, but whose publication was not authorized by their authors, were burned. The reports are often nice pieces of concise literary criticism. Quite obviously, one has to be cautious about assigning an anonymous poem to a poet: titles such as *Rusticatio* occur all the time and do not give us a clue about their authors' identities.

- \* *Apotheosis Vergiliana* (Sofia II, 227-251): the poem was sent to Amsterdam for the 1930 contest but was not successful there (*Jaarboek 1929-1930*).
- \* *Terrae motus ad fretum Siculum* (Sofia II, 285-305): participated, but without success, in the Amsterdam contest of 1910 (*Jaarboek 1910*). At least in its first redaction, the poem is twenty years older than Verzi Borgese thought.
- \* *Feriae Montanae* (Sofia II, 307-323): also in *Alma Roma*, 23 (1936), 127-129.
- \* *Amor et supplicium* (Sofia II, 325-345): one finds this poem among the rejected poems of the Amsterdam contests of 1927 and 1934 (*Jaarboek 1926-1927*; *Jaarboek 1933-1934*, here with the title *Servorum amores*).
- \* *Evenus et Elisa* (Sofia II, 347-367): note that the poem was sent to the 1934 *Certamen Ruspantinianum* (Rome), where it obtained the *laus* (the first prize went to Vincenzo Polydori's poem *Rus Pascolianum*): *Alma Roma*, 21 (1934), 155 (where the title is *Eoemus et Elisa*). Before that, the poem was sent to Amsterdam for the 1933 *Certamen Hoeufftianum*, but it did not please the judges too much (*Jaarboek 1932-1933*).
- \* *Hymnus in sacram spinam* (Sofia III, 423-429): also in *Alma Roma*, 19 (1932), 66.
- \* *In Joannem Jacobum Hartman* (Sofia III, 45-457): was sent to Amsterdam for the 1935 contest (*Jaarboek 1934-1935*).
- \* *In Benitum Mussolini* (Sofia III, 459-467): also in *Il mondo classico*, 2 (1932), 73-75. It is possible that the poem was sent to Amsterdam; in these years many poems on the *Duce* were presented to the contest, for instance not less than five in 1930, all of them without success.
- \* *In Mexicanam insectationem* (Sofia III, 479-489): was sent to Amsterdam for the contest of 1929 (*Jaarboek 1928-1929*).
- \* *Ad populos Europaeos* (Sofia III, 521-535): also in *Alma Roma*, 3 (1916), 181-182, and sent to the 1916 Amsterdam contest, but without success (*Jaarboek 1916*).
- \* *Augustae Taurinorum feriae in honorem reginae mercatus* (Sofia III, 565-583): was sent to the Amsterdam contest for 1905, where it was ranked among the 'satis probabilia' (*Jaarboek 1905*).
- \* *In Ioannem Bosco* (republished in this article as number 3): probably identical with the *Hymnus in divum Iohannem Bosco* that had no success

at the 1935 Amsterdam contest (any more than did *In Joannem Jacobum Hartman*, sent in for the same contest) (*Jaarboek 1934-1935*).

\* *Polus*: this poem mentioned in *Sofia II*, 39 participated in the 1904 contest at Amsterdam (*Jaarboek 1904*).<sup>45</sup>

Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae  
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21 (Box 3311)  
B-3000 Leuven  
Dirk.Sacre@arts.kuleuven.be

<sup>45</sup> I want to thank my friend and colleague W. McCuaig, who corrected my English.

## INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

Jeroen DE KEYSER

### GIAN MARIO FILELFO'S 'LOST' WRITING AGAINST POGGIO BRACCIOLINI

When Francesco Filelfo's firstborn son Gian Mario (1426-1480) composed in 1471 *De voluminum suorum numero*, an overview in elegiac distichs of his own prolific writings, he also listed various works that, according to Franco Pignatti's account of the life of the younger Filelfo in the *Dizionario Biografico Italiano*, eventually got lost: various tragedies and comedies, letters in Greek, translations of Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle and Strabo, commentaries on Petrarch's *Rime* and Cicero, and finally a 'writing against Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae*'<sup>1</sup>. The autobiographical poem indeed reads (vv. 75-76): 'Et Poggi contra scurrile facetus olentis / plurima commisi non violenta iocis'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Franco Pignatti, 'Filelfo, Giovanni Mario', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana, 1960-), 47 (1997), 626-631. Most of Gian Mario Filelfo's numerous, often hasty works are still unedited. He is often considered a recalcitrant epigone of his more gifted father, and has been just about completely ignored by modern scholarship. One of the few exceptions is the epic poem *Amyris*, about emir Mehmed the Conqueror, published by Aldo Manetti (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 1978). Recently, Heinz Hofmann discussed 'Die *Martias* des Giovanni Mario Filelfo', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 7 (2005), 131-149; and an edition of the *Felsineis* (1461) has been announced by Jan Löffel (Göttingen). Filelfo's letter-writing manual *Epistolarium novum sive Ars Scribendi Epistolas* (1481), however, was printed as early as 1482, in Paris by the agency of the dedicatee, Luigi Mondello (whose dedication manuscript is now at the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. acq. lat. 1770), and enjoyed a remarkable editorial success, being reprinted almost a dozen times before the turn of the century.

<sup>2</sup> The whole poem (94 vv.) has been published by Guillaume Favre in his *Vie de Jean-Marius Philelfe*, in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire, avec des lettres inédites d.'A.-G. Schlegel et d'A. Mai*, ed. J. Adert (Genève: Imprimerie Ramboz et Schuchardt, 1856), 9-221 (pp. 155-158) and reproduced by Lavinio Agostinelli – Giovanni Benadduci, *Biografia e bibliografia di Giovan Mario Filelfo* (Tolentino: Stab. Tip. Francesco Filelfo, 1899), pp. 31-34, who misquote the title as *De voluminorum suorum numero*, followed in this error by Pignatti in his *DBI* article.



The marginalia explain: 'Antipoggiana, id est: facetiae contra Pogium'.<sup>3</sup>

The work actually has not been lost: the fifteenth-century manuscript C 917 of the Universitetsbiblioteket in Uppsala contains at ff. 125v-147v *Facietiarum et Invectivarum plerumque in Pogium Bambalionem*, a series of *facetiae* preceded by a preface (ff. 123r-125v, inc. 'Thraso miles apud Therentianam Thaidem se plurimum iactat; hoc fretus exemplo nocentissimus Pogius Bambalio se supra modum ei libello cui facetiarum seu confabulationum titulum praebet, et tollit et levat et mirifice laudat ingenium suum').<sup>4</sup> The anonymous collection of 139 *facetiae*, assigned in the most recent catalogue of the library to Gian Mario's better known father Francesco Filelfo<sup>5</sup>, is dated at the end *Thaurini 1455*, in the hand of Johannes Herrgot(t), a native from the German city of Marburg who was *rector* of the university of Turin during the years 1454-1455.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the manuscript contains several *orationes* and letters illustrating Herrgott's stay in Turin. One of the orations by Gian Mario Filelfo (*Oratio laudis pro Johanne Herrgot rectore (...) In licencia eiusdem Jo. Hergot*, ff. 185v-186r) in the Uppsala manuscript has also been conserved in manuscript 681 (ff. 19v-20r) of the Universitätsbibliothek in

<sup>3</sup> Favre, *Vie*, p. 158, where Adert, the posthumous editor of Favre's *mélanges*, explains that he had come across two copies of the poem, based apparently on two different manuscripts. One of them, according to a note, was a 'copia estratta da altra copia del codice Saibante di Verona, esistente nel codice DCCXL, fra gl'Italiani della Biblioteca Estense di Modena'.

<sup>4</sup> A detailed description of the codex has been provided by Margarete Andersson-Schmitt – Håkan Hallberg – Monika Hedlund, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala. Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 26 Bd. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988-1995), 6: C 551-935 (1993), 348-351. The catalogue can also be consulted on line at [www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de](http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de). See also Paolo Rosso, 'Tradizione testuale ed aree di diffusione della *Cauteraria* di Antonio Barzizza', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 53 (2004), 1-92 (p. 59, n. 180), with references to the preceding bibliography, esp. Id., '“Soli duo nos Alamanni hic Taurini”': Nuove testimonianze sul soggiorno universitario torinese di Johannes Herrgott', *Quaderni di storia dell'Università di Torino*, 5 (2000), 3-71 (pp. 17-25 and n. 53).

<sup>5</sup> *Iter Italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries*, comp. by Paul Oskar Kristeller, 10 vols. (London: University of London. Warburg Institute, 1963-1997), V: (*Alia Itinera III and Italy III*): Sweden to Yugoslavia, Utopia [and] Supplement to Italy (A-F) (1990), 32 has 'Anon. (Philelphus, according to the inventory)'.

<sup>6</sup> The scarce biographical information can be read in Theodor Klette, *Johannes Herrgot und Johannes Marius Philelphus in Turin 1454-1455: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Universität Turin im 15. Jahrhundert (mit zehn bisher unedirten Dokumenten)* (Bonn: Röhrscheid & Ebbecke, 1898); additional information in the two Rosso articles quoted in note 4.

Greifswald, another Herrgott autograph, written in Strasbourg and Turin in 1454-1456, that contains several other orations and letters as well.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from the 'lost' *Antipoggiana*, the Uppsala codex contains two more pieces of *Philelfiana*: the aforementioned oration by Gian Mario, and, on ff. 148v-170r, the Latin translation by Gian Mario's father Francesco of Plutarch's *Apophthegmata Laconica*, preceded by the dedication letter to pope Nicolas V.<sup>8</sup> Filelfo senior translated these apophthegms in Milan in 1454<sup>9</sup>. Apparently soon after having put the finishing touches to his translation, he sent a copy to his son, who stayed in Turin from the end of 1453 until at least May 1456. There the Latin Plutarch was copied, along with the *Antipoggiana*, by Herrgott, on February 1st, 1455.<sup>10</sup>

One of the various letters that Francesco Filelfo wrote to his son in those years may even allude to Poggio's comic collection:

Franciscus Philelfus Ioanni Mario filio sal.

Ad ea quae petieras proximis diebus, respondi tibi. Quod istic tibi honoratus sit locus, gaudeo. Redibunt fortassis aliquando Taurinates cum Musis in gratiam. Est enim urbs ista et vetus et nobilis, a Phaetonte, ut tradunt, condita. Tu velim a Minerva ne desciscas. Nam repugnante natura nihil fieri recte potest. Itaque malle te debes et oratorem et poetam, eundemque philosophum quam iurisconsultum et rabulam mercennarium. Ne illi faveam cui me odio esse et ipse dicis et ego novi – ignorare mihi videris, dum mones, solere τοὺς μεγαλοψύχους iniurias non contemnere minus quam oblivisci. Illius sit maledicere, nostrum autem benefacere. Vale. Ex Mediolano VIII Kalendas Martias. MCCCCLIII.<sup>11</sup>

Poggio's collection of *Facetiae* was indeed completed in 1452, barely two years before this letter was written, and four of the stories (49, 133,

<sup>7</sup> Detailed description of the manuscript's contents by Klette, *Johannes Herrgot*, pp. 6-13. See also Rosso, '“Soli duo nos Alamanni hic Taurini”', pp. 4-10 and 'Tradizione testuale', pp. 59-60.

<sup>8</sup> Wrongly cited as *Apophthegmata ad Traianum* in the Uppsala catalogue, p. 350, and Rosso, '“Soli duo nos Alamanni hic Taurini”', p. 18 (who mentions the *Facetiae* and the *Apophthegmata* as 'i testi di Filelfo' without further details). Filelfo did translate Plutarch's other *Apophthegmata* collection, though (in 1437); hence probably the confusion.

<sup>9</sup> Silvia Fiaschi, 'Filelfo e i “diritti” del traduttore. L'auctoritas dell'interprete ed il problema delle attribuzioni', in *Tradurre dal greco in età umanistica. Metodi e strumenti. Atti del Seminario di studio (Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo, 9 settembre 2005)*, ed. Maria-rosa Cortesi (Firenze: Sismel – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 79-138 (pp. 113-115), who lists eighteen manuscripts containing this translation.

<sup>10</sup> Rosso, '“Soli duo nos Alamanni hic Taurini”', pp. 18-19.

<sup>11</sup> Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, ms. 873, f. 145r. In the 1502 Venice edition of Filelfo's *Epistolarium* the letter is printed on c. 82v.

187 and 188)<sup>12</sup> rather explicitly portray Francesco Filelfo as alternately a cuckold, a priest's bastard, a pedophile and a pederast.<sup>13</sup> This comes as no surprise, as Poggio had already written three virulent invectives against Filelfo in the 1430s. The unnamed enemy that Filelfo and son had been corresponding about in 1454 may have been Poggio.<sup>14</sup> Filelfo preferred to ignore the calumniator, but maybe his son felt obliged to respond in kind to the man who had been slandering his father's reputation, and decided to compose the collection that we can read now in the Uppsala manuscript.<sup>15</sup>

Anyhow, the authenticity of the Uppsala text may be deemed beyond doubt: the nickname *Bambalio* had in fact been Poggio's established epithet for decades in a wide range of Francesco Filelfo's writings.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the content of the short examples printed in the appendix below evidence a bias that fully reflects Francesco's positions: Gian Mario not only illustrates the very topics that his father chided in Poggio (both his and his wife Vagia's loose morals, e.g.)<sup>17</sup>, but also praises Leonardo Bruni (Aretinus) and belittles Niccolò Niccoli, just like his father.<sup>18</sup> But even as a sounding board of his father's positions and as a

<sup>12</sup> Poggio Bracciolini, *Facezie*; con un saggio di Eugenio Garin; introduzione, traduzione e note di Marcello Ciccuto; testo latino a fronte (Milano: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1994), pp. 168-171, 260-261 and 318-321.

<sup>13</sup> Poggio's joke about Filelfo waking up with his fingers in his allegedly unfaithful wife's vagina (*Facetia* 133) has been quoted by Sigmund Freud in his *Dreams in Folklore* (*Träume im Folklore*, 1911); cf. the bilingual edition published in New York: International Universities Press, 1958, p. 105.

<sup>14</sup> As it happens, because of his obscene *Facetiae*, Poggio would later be called precisely a *rabula* by Erasmus, in a letter to Christopher Fisher of March 1505: 'Pogius, rabula adeo indoctus ut etiamsi vacaret obscoenitate, tamen indignus esset qui legeretur, adeo autem obscoenus, ut etiam si doctissimus fuisset, tamen esset a bonis viris reiiciendus'; in Percy Stafford Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906-1958), I: *1484-1514* (1906), 409 (nr. 182).

<sup>15</sup> Gian Mario has been depicted as a weak character, whose 'subordinazione totale alle scelte culturali del padre è del resto evidente dallo stesso elenco delle opere di Giovan Mario (...), sia degli autori che egli dice di aver commentato a Verona' (Lucia Gualdo Rosa, 'Una prolusione inedita di Francesco Filelfo del 1429, rielaborata dal figlio Gian Mario nel 1467', in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto Centenario della morte. Atti del XVII convegno di Studi Maceratesi (Tolentino, 27-30 settembre 1981)*, eds. R. Avesani et al., Medioevo e Umanesimo, 58 (Padova: Antenore, 1986), pp. 275-323 (p. 299).

<sup>16</sup> A synthetic overview of the sources illustrating their controversy has been drawn up by Silvia Fiaschi, *Francesco Filelfo: Satyrae I (Decadi I-V)* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2005), pp. XLIX-L.

<sup>17</sup> See for example Filelfo sr.'s *Convivia Mediolanensia*, ff. 14v, 24r, 59r, 74v of manuscript Plut. 53.6 at the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence.

<sup>18</sup> See Fiaschi, *Satyrae*, pp. XLVII-XLVIII, with preceding bibliography in n. 95, for an overview of the feud with Niccoli. For Francesco Filelfo's emulation of Bruni, see my

reactive way of settling accounts, this collection offers an interesting additional source on the two gamecocks' long drawn-out feud, as well as a significant piece in the early reception history of Poggio's *Facetiae*.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
Faculty of Arts – Latin Literature  
Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae  
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21  
B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)  
jeroen.dekeyser@arts.kuleuven.be

#### Appendix: Four *Facetiae* from the Uppsala collection<sup>19</sup>

Leonardus Aretinus, vir nostra tempestate Graecarum Latinarumque litterarum doctissimus, factus est obviam inter eundo Nicolao Nicolo, librorum copiosissimo, imperito tamen et rudi. Ad quem subridens Nicolo: 'Salve,' inquit, 'poeta sine libris.' Cui respondens et mordens aequo morsu et acrius multo Leonardus: 'Salvete,' inquit, 'libri sine poeta,' satius esse declarans virum doctum carere libris quam libris abundantem nihil scire. Constans mehercle perpulchreque dictum a Leonardo, cum inquisitio scientiae non in libris consistat, sed plus in acrimonia ingenii memoratusque diligentia. (f. 127v)

Nec id silentio praetereundum quod respondit Franciscus Barbarus illi Veneto qui litteratos omnes cognominaret insanos. 'Si quidem,' inquit, 'tu prudens es, nimirum insani sunt litterati quibus es tu contrarius qui litteras ignoras.' Et ita provulgato verbo solis ignorantibus est scientia inimica et dura. (f. 128v)

Accusabatur ab amicis Pogius, cui foret coniunx admodum liberalis, cur eam non castigaret. Is ita responsum dedit: 'Scio esse meretricem uxorem

'Solitari ma non soli. Traduzioni umanistiche della lettera *De vita solitaria* di Basilio di Cesarea', *Medioevo Greco*, 9 (2009), 53-83.

<sup>19</sup> I have normalized the spelling, but have not intervened in Filelfo's at times sloppy Latin. In the first *facetia*, for example, one might be tempted to substitute the rather harsh *inter eundo* with *in eundo*, which is not unusual in medieval Latin, while in the last sentence *constanter* would make more sense than *constans*.

meam, sed si eam etiam occiderem, opus mihi foret muliere quae serviret domi, propterea serva est haec melior, quae suis nummis est emptā, quam si aliam emerem meis.' Oh bone vir, nummorum maxima, dignitatis autem tibi nulla est cura! (f. 143r)

Pogius aiebat cum esset ad latrinam melius habere quam cum apud pontificem in consistorium agebat. Rogatus cur id diceret, 'Quoniam apud latrinam,' inquit, 'vitam mihi paro et voluptate afficior aliqua, in consistorio vero in tanta virorum gravitate nulla conficior oblectatione,' velut Epicurii summum bonum in tantilla voluptate ponens. (f. 144r).

Włodzimierz OLSZANIEC

NOTA CRITICA ALL'EPITOME DELLA TRADUZIONE LATINA  
DEL *CARONTE* DI LUCIANO

At ille quis est purpurea indutus clamide pretiosumque vertice gestans diadema, cui anulum reddit †cannius† exuterato pisce?

Così legge il testo del capitolo 14 dell'anonima epitome della traduzione latina del *Caronte* di Luciano nella recente edizione di Ernesto Berti.<sup>1</sup> L'editore ha considerato la parola *cannius*, che è priva di senso, come una corruzione insanabile, mettendola tra le *cruces philologorum*. Se però consideriamo che il testo greco dà in questo luogo ὁ μάγειρος ('cuoco', 'macellaio'), l'incomprensibile *cannius* va emendato in *lanius*. Sembra che il copista abbia scritto 'c' al posto di 'l' — lettere che sono simili in alcuni tipi di scrittura minuscola; può anche darsi che la corruzione sia dovuta all'ignoranza, da parte dello scriba, del raro sostantivo *lanius*. Il testo emendato legge:

At ille quis est purpurea indutus clamide pretiosumque vertice gestans diadema, cui anulum reddit *lanius* exuterato pisce?

Istituto di Filologia Classica  
Università di Varsavia  
Krakowskie Przedmieście 1  
PL-00-927 Varsavia  
w.olszaniec@uw.edu.pl

<sup>1</sup> *Luciano di Samosata. Caronte. Timone. Le prime traduzioni*, a cura di Ernesto Berti (Firenze: Sismel, 2006), p. 114.

Gilbert TOURNOY

LIPSIANA NOVISSIMA III:  
ANOTHER OVERLOOKED LETTER  
WRITTEN BY LIPSIUS IN 1604

Previously unknown letters written by or addressed to Justus Lipsius in manuscript or printed form keep popping up. Sometimes they took refuge in far away hiding-places, such as the Waller Manuscript Collection of the University of Uppsala<sup>1</sup>; sometimes they were lying right under our noses.

A couple of years ago, I was thinking of a possible contribution for a Festschrift for a retiring colleague. I had just finished reading the excellent doctoral dissertation by Pierre Delsaerd<sup>2</sup>, in which, however, one name that never appears is that of the famous lawyer and professor at the University of Louvain, Gerardus Corselius or Gérard de Courcelle (Liège, 1568-1636). Since Corselius had taken an active part in the foundation of the University Library of Louvain, it seemed a nice challenge to investigate whether Corselius ever possessed a library of his own and how many books of this private collection had come down to us.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the recent contribution by Tom Deneire & Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'Lipsiana in the Waller Manuscript Collection: in particular an Unknown Letter from Johannes Sambucus (1582) and a Letter to Janus Dousa (1583) Reconsidered', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 57 (2008), 209-226. The authors refer in n. 16 on p. 212 to other recent bibliography concerning a survey of all letters discovered after the publication of the *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse, 1564-1606* (Antwerp: Éditions Scientifiques Érasme, 1968) by Aloïs Gerlo and Hendrik D.L. Vervliet.

<sup>2</sup> Treating book trade and private ownership of books at the University of Louvain during the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. A slightly reworked version appeared in 2001: Pierre Delsaerd, *Suam Quisque Bibliothecam. Boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense universiteit, 16de — 18de eeuw*, Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum Lovaniensis, A 27 (Louvain: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> G. Tournoy, 'A la recherche de la bibliothèque du juriste liégeois Gerardus Corselius (1568-1636), professeur à l'Université de Louvain', in *The Quintessence of Lives. Intellectual Biographies in the Low Countries Presented to Jan Roegiers*, ed. by Pierre Delsaerd – Jean-Pierre Delville – Hedwig Schwall – Dries Vanysacker (Turnhout – Louvain-la-Neuve – Leuven, 2010) (in course of publication).

Corselius was one of the most intimate friends of Justus Lipsius at Louvain. He had heard of Lipsius as a young child and had taken a liking to him, listening to the stories told by his uncle, Jean Wamès (Johannes Wamesius, 1524-1590), also professor at the University of Louvain, as he wrote in his letter of 23 February 1592.<sup>4</sup>

After Lipsius had returned to Louvain and had won the trust of the academic and political authorities, he did much to foster Corselius' career, who was nominated *Professor Regius Institutionum Imperialium* as early as 1596, less than three years after he had taken his doctoral degree in law (8 February 1594). It was Corselius who on 30 March 1606 delivered the funeral oration for the great humanist and spent a large sum of money to acquire the gown Lipsius had bequeathed to St. Peter's.

According to the *Inventaire* only five letters from the correspondence between Lipsius and Corselius have come down to us: two by Corselius (autograph) and three by Lipsius. The latter's first letter, dated 3 March 1592, is a reply to the one Corselius sent on 23 February of that same year; in it Lipsius recalls his long-standing friendship with Wamesius, gratefully accepts this friendship offered by Corselius and thanks him for his invitation to come to Louvain. Lipsius's next letter is from 14 August 1596. In it he regrets that Corselius did not obtain his appointment as a professor at Louvain and speculates already about future opportunities. Then there are two undated letters, one by Lipsius and one by Corselius, both kept at Leiden University Library, MS Lips 3 (23), fol. 222v and MS Lips 3 (24), fol. 41 respectively. Lipsius discusses a passage of the *Roman History* by Cassius Dio, 43.19, whilst Corselius thanks Lipsius for a nice dinner and good conversation, adding a Greek poem of his own, in iambic trimeters. Hence it seems that these letters may be assigned to the period 1590-1596, the period in which Corselius was professor of Greek at the *Collegium Trilingue*, and more precisely after March 1592.

The new letter by Lipsius is to be found in a book printed at Louvain in the second half of 1605, and containing an extensive collection no

<sup>4</sup> *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* [from now on abbreviated as *ILE*]. *Pars V: 1592*, quam curaverunt edendam Jeanine De Landtsheer et Jacques Kluyskens (Brussel: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1991), pp. 119-121: 'Plures iam anni sunt, cum amorem tui ex crebris avunculi mei Piae Memoriae Wamesii de te sermonibus bibi. Is deinde, cum politissima tua scripta legere licuit, mirum quam creverit'.



less than 600 opinions and advices in the domain of canon law by Johannes Wamesius, published some fifteen years after his death in 1590:

Cl. I.C. Ioannis Wamesii in celeberrima Academia Lovaniensi antecessoris primarii, Responsorum sive Consiliorum de iure pontificio Tomus I, Ordine titulorum qui in Decretalibus digestus, Opus ut diu multumque expetitur, sic tam in foro quam in Scholis versantibus utilissimum, nec minus Clientibus ipsis, quam causarum Patronis pernecessarium, Argumentis ac Summariis unicuique Responso praemissis, Indice item Rerum & Verborum locupletissimo. Cum Sacrae Caesariae Maiestatis & Serenissimorum Belgii Principum Privilegiis. Lovanii, Ex Officina Gerardi Rivii Typographi iurati, Anno M.DC.V.<sup>5</sup>

The accompanying dedicatory letter, addressed to Ferdinand, palatinate of Bavaria (1577-1650), is by Stephanus Weymsius, who had married Corselius's sister Mechtild (†1600) and in 1606 succeeded him in the chair of civil law. This letter could create the impression that Weymsius was the only one responsible for the edition, an impression reinforced by the fact that his name is the only one appearing in the privileges issued by Emperor Rudolph II and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. To boot, after the privileges a handwritten permission to print and distribute this volume is granted exclusively to the Louvain printer Gerardus Rivius, which is signed by the same Weymsius alone. And indeed, Valerius Andreas notes a few years later in his *Bibliotheca Belgica* that this collection had come out thanks to the care and the exertion of Weymsius.<sup>6</sup>

But this impression needs some refining. The same Valerius Andreas states a few lines before that Wamesius had bequeathed all his writings to two members of his family, Weymsius and Corselius<sup>7</sup>: 'Moriens viris clarissimis Stephano Weymsio et Gerardo Corselio I[ur]is U[triusque] Doctoribus, affini et nepoti, reliquit scripta sua atque ingenii monumenta, in quibus *Responsa* eminent, docta profecto et e plena iuris scientia deprompta'.

Furthermore, some texts accompanying the 1605 edition point in the same direction.

<sup>5</sup> A copy is kept at Louvain-la-Neuve, University Library, Rés. CL 1125. It is the copy offered by Stephanus Weyms to the Archbishop of Arras, Herman Ortemberg (1549-1626), as the handwritten note on the title-page indicates: 'R[everendissi]mo Domino Ortembergio Episcopo / Atrebatens[iu]m D[ono] D[edit] Stephanus Weyms'.

<sup>6</sup> Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*... (Louvain, 1623), p. 545 = (Louvain, 1643), p. 580: 'Lucem viderunt studio et cura eiusdem Weymsii'.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 545 (= ed. 1643, p. 580). The last part of this sentence is almost literally taken over from Lipsius's letter present in the 1605 edition.

First, on fols. Kkk4v – 5r, there are the ll. 21-24 of the poem of thirteen distichs by Peter Roose, later on President of the Privy Council, which run as follows:

Posthuma sint quamquam, certi sunt pignora patris  
 Quod firmat WEYMSI CORSELIQUE labor,  
 Qui vitant atque impediunt plagiarum furta,  
 Dum titulo authoris surgere opus faciunt.

These distichs are immediately followed by a poem of Peter Peck, the son of the homonymous Louvain professor, the first lines of which clearly underline the joint action of Corselius and Weymsius:

Factum bene, CORSELI, factum bene, WEYMSI,  
 Publica WAMESII scripta quod orbis habet.

The same idea is expressed in the three epigrams of the loyal friend of Lipsius, Nicholas Oudaert (1541-1608), one of the executors of his last will and canon of Mechelen. They are preceded by the following title: 'In Responsa claris[si]mi antecessoris Ioannis Wamesii praeceptoris sui colendis[si]mi a clariss[i]mis itidem antecessoribus Stephano Weymsio et Gerardo Corselio heredibus evulgata, Nicolai Oudaert I[ur]is C[onsulti] Canonici et officialis Mechliniensis'. In ll. 7-8 of the first epigram Oudaert again points to the combined effort of both professors:

Id faciunt, hinc WAMESIUS, responsa propagat  
 Qui sua CORSELI, qui sua WEYMSII ope.

Finally, there is the letter by Lipsius on fol. .:4r. It is addressed on 3 January 1604 to both Weymsius and Corselius, with the incipit: 'Legi avunculi vestri, Cl[arissi]mi viri, *Consiliorum* partem, quam editionem paratis, et legi cum voluptate'. Lipsius thus confirms that the preparation of the edition was a collaborative effort by Corselius and Weymsius. Still, in the second part of the letter, he addresses Weymsius in particular, since it was Weymsius who not only launched the entire undertaking but also undertook the lion's share of the work. That obviously created the misleading impression that he was the sole editor responsible.

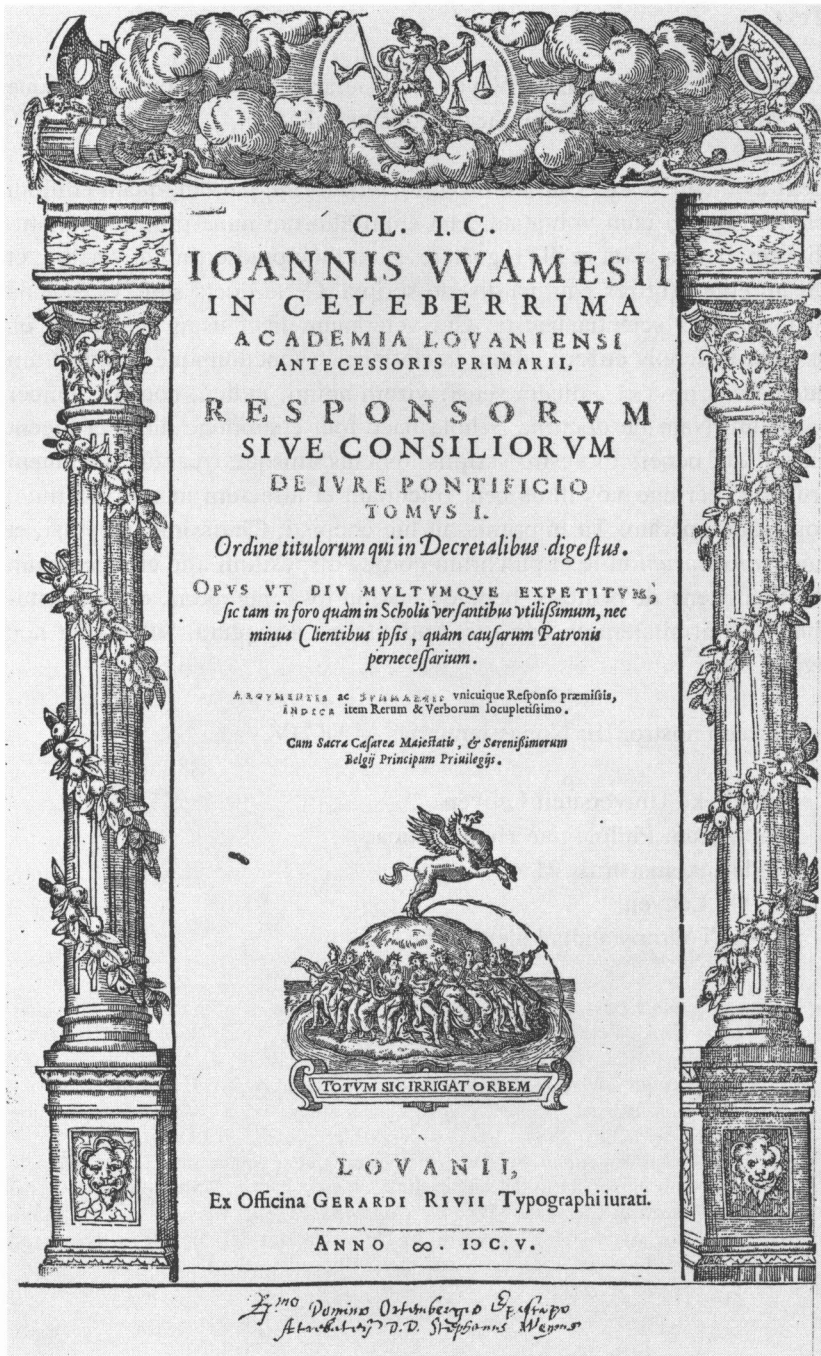
**Text**

Clarissimis Viris Stephano Weymsio et Gerardo Corselio Iuris Utriusque Consultis et Antecessoribus Iustus Lipsius S.M.D.

Legi avunculi vestri, Clarissimi viri, *Consiliorum* partem, quam editioni paratis, et legi cum voluptate. Etsi enim aliorum nunc proprie sim studiorum, tamen iuvat et illa regustare, sic ordine praesertim, distinctim, et dicam etiam (ut res patitur) diserte scripta. Certe docta sunt, et e plena quadam iuris scientia hausta. Cui veteranum licet usum addamus, ex assidua in schola et foro talium tractatione. Avunculumque ego vestrum adolescens novi et amicum sensi: virum animi, iudicii, consilii semper magnum. Nam de doctrina Schola haec tota etiamnunc dicit, et dicent exteri, qui beneficio vestro scriptis his eius aliisque fruuntur. Ut autem fruantur, per ego vos illius benevolentiam et affectum in vos paternum rogo date operam. Tu imprimis, ut hic coepisti, Clarissime Weymsi, et hoc *Consiliorum* utile et pulchrum corpus dispositum a te et recensitum divulga. Bene de posteris, bene de iustitia ipsa mereberis, quae claritudinem et firmitatem ab hoc suo Antistite est acceptura. Salvete, et hoc agite.

In Musaeo nostro, III. Nonas Ianuarias M.DC.IV.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae  
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21  
B-3000 Leuven  
Gilbert.Tournoy@arts.kuleuven.be



Dirk SACRÉ

## TWO NOTES ON PASCOLI

### 1. *Leucothoe* at Amsterdam

Pascoli's series of victories at the Netherlands contest for Neo-Latin poetry started in 1891 with the poem *Veianius*, which obtained the gold medal in the spring of 1892.<sup>1</sup> It has often been said that *Veianius* was also the first poem Pascoli sent to the Academy of Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> Some doubts on this have been expressed since the publication in 1970 of an earlier *poemetto* of Pascoli, his *Leucothoe*<sup>3</sup>, which the poet, if we may believe his sister, had the intention to send to Amsterdam or even actually sent to the Royal Academy there, however without following the required procedures. Though we know that on 23 November 1883 Pascoli requested to know the requirements for partaking in the contest<sup>4</sup>, his actual participation was never established beyond question.

There can be little doubt, however, that late in 1883 (the end of December was the deadline for submissions) the poem was indeed dispatched to Amsterdam to compete for a prize in the *Certamen Hoeufftianum*. The report of the contest, dated 1 April 1884, states that the jury

<sup>1</sup> *Veianius. Carmen Iohannis Pascoli e pago S. Mauri in certamine Hoeufftiano prae-mio aureo ornatum* (Amstelodami: apud Io. Mullerum, 1892).

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. *Ioannis Pascoli Carmina*. Recognoscenda curavit Maria soror – Giovanni Pascoli, *Poesie latine*, a cura di Manara Valgimigli (Milano: Mondadori, 1960<sup>3</sup>), p. 604.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Alfonso Traina, 'Il primo poemetto latino del Pascoli: *Leucothoe*', *Maia*, 22 (1970), 261-268 [with a *Nota redazionale* by Antonio La Penna]; Id., *Il latino del Pascoli. Saggio sul bilinguismo poetico*. Nuova edizione aggiornata e accresciuta, *Biblioteca del saggia-tore*, 33 (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1971), pp. 303-313; Id. – Patrizia Paradisi (eds.), *Appendix Pascoliana*. Seconda edizione riveduta e accresciuta, *Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino*, 40 (Bologna: Pàtron, 2008), pp. 33-39. The text can also be read in Clemente Mazzotta, *Concordanza dei "Carmina" di Giovanni Pascoli*, *Quaderni di San Mauro*, 3 (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1999), pp. 88-89. The poem was known since 1930: cp. Adulphus Gandiglio, 'Appendix critica', in *Ioannis Pascoli Carmina*, pp. 701-733 (p. 717).

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Traina – Paradisi, *Appendix Pascoliana*, p. 33.

had presented its verdict during a meeting of the Royal Academy on 17 March 1884.<sup>5</sup> There had been eight submissions. Only two of these deserved to be published, one entitled *Adolescentis meditatio*, which was the work of Johannes van Leeuwen and obtained the *magna laus*, the other *Iuditha*, written by Pierre Esseiva, which was awarded the gold medal with a value of 200 guilders.<sup>6</sup> As a rule, the printed reports of the jury mentioned the titles of the other poems, adding a few words of comment, obviously without identifying their authors by name: as a matter of fact, the poems had to be sent in anonymously, and the rejected poems (and even the compositions deemed worthy of the *magna laus*, whose authors were nonetheless not satisfied with that 'second prize' and refused to have their work printed), were destroyed after the proclamation of the results. In the case of *Leucothoe*, the jury added some encouraging words to the poet, constituting a kind of comment that was neither exceptional nor common in these reports:

Qui *Leucothoen* scripsit, si legere perget Ovidii *Metamorphoses*, fortasse aliquando laude ornari poterit; quod misit carmen ab elegantia parum commendatur.<sup>7</sup>

The story of the beautiful princess Leucothoe, who had sex with a sea god and eventually could live in the latter's sea palace — 'et pelago fertur vitam sortita deorum' (line 74) — obviously reminded the members of the jury of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Their reference to Ovid's work, however, was also meant as a hint to the poet that he should pay more attention to the elegance of his style — but everybody knows that Pascoli would never consider Ovid as an example to follow.

So this was Pascoli's first participation at the Amsterdam contest. His sister Mariù later on claimed to have forgotten the poem's title. This is rather implausible. To start with, she herself added a note with the title of the poem to the manuscript version that still exists at Castelveccchio.<sup>8</sup> As for Pascoli's negligence of the Amsterdam procedures and his ignorance of the outcome of the contest and of the fate of the poem, it seems

<sup>5</sup> C.G. Opzoomer, 'Programma certaminis poetici ab Academia Regia disciplinarum Neerlandica ex legato Hoeufftiano anno MDCCCLXXXIV indicti', in *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen gevestigd te Amsterdam, voor 1884* (Amsterdam: J. Müller, s.a.), pp. LXIV-LXV. Before that, the 'programma' had been printed as a single sheet on a larger format.

<sup>6</sup> *Petri Esseiva Iuditha praemio aureo ornata in Certamine poetico Hoeufftiano. Accedit carmen laudatum* (Amstelodami: apud Ioh. Mullerum, 1884).

<sup>7</sup> Opzoomer, 'Programma', p. LXIV.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Traina, 'Il primo poemetto', p. 261.

unlikely that the poet, after having asked a friend the programme of the contest, would not have complied with its rules; but even if he had forgotten to add a separate note with his motto and name, it seems improbable that he would have been unable to lay his hands on a programme with the results, mentioning his *Leucothoe*. It seems more probable that he was not eager to attract the attention of his contemporaries and of future generations to the judgement the Amsterdam jury had expressed on it. So now we know for sure that the poem was unquestionably sent to Amsterdam, but we do not know exactly what text the judges had before them: neither of the two surviving manuscript versions of the poem, which are divided into several fragments that do not join together tightly, have an incomplete line and show unresolved variant readings, can possibly represent the final version he submitted and the judges read. There is almost no hope that the poem as it was sent to Amsterdam will ever show up again.

## 2. Pascoli's distich for Reuss: its date and an older version

Te rus Albanum cupiebam visere. Vidi  
et cupio, Reusso vate, videre magis.<sup>9</sup>

(Te, campagna albana, desideravo vedere. T'ho visto  
E desidero, dacchè Reuss è il suo poeta, vederla ancor più.)<sup>10</sup>

The distich is well-known. However, an article written by Reuss himself and published in the Roman journal *Vox Urbis*<sup>11</sup> gives us the exact date of Pascoli's distich — 19 May 1902 — and offers us a variant reading that hitherto has escaped notice. In the 1902 Amsterdam contest Pascoli had obtained the gold medal with his *Centurio*<sup>12</sup>, whereas Reuss's *Rus Albanum*<sup>13</sup> was awarded the *magna laus*. When Reuss received the report

<sup>9</sup> *Ioannis Pascoli Carmina*, p. 560; Mazzotta, *Concordanza*, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> *Dalle poesie latine di Giovanni Pascoli. Il libro delle dediche. Il libro delle odi e degli epigrammi*, ordinati per la prima volta e tradotti da G.B. Pighi (Bologna: Pàtron, 1956), p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> Franciscus Xav. Reuss, 'In memoriam Ioannis Pascoli', *Vox Urbis*, 15 (1912), 66.

<sup>12</sup> *Centurio. Carmen praemio aureo ornatum in certamine poetico Hoeuffiano. Accedunt quinque poemata laudata* (Amstelodami: ap. Io. Mullerum, 1902). Modern edition: Giovanni Pascoli, *Centurio*. Commento, saggio critico e indici a cura di Giulio Puccioni, *Ricerche di storia della lingua latina*, 4 (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1968).

<sup>13</sup> The text one can also find in *Francisci Xav. Reuss Tentamina poetica* (Romae: Cuggiani, 1911), pp. 19-26.

of the jury, probably shortly after 1 April 1902<sup>14</sup>, he wrote to Pascoli, sending him his own poem accompanied by a dedication in a Sapphic stanza<sup>15</sup> — the same metre he had used in his prize-winning poem — and asking for the text of the winner's poem. From Messina, Pascoli sent his text, adding a dedication which consisted of one distich. This is what Reuss himself writes in his article:

Etsi tamen Ioannem nostrum nunquam allocutus sum coram, semel eum scripto adivi, atque ipse benigne mihi rescripsit.

Quae res ita se habuit. In certamine Hoeufftiano anni MCMII, Ioannes Pascoli aureo numismate donatum vidit suum «Centurionem», et ego meum «Rus Albanum» habui magna laude ornatum. Tum ego, gratulans victori, meam opellam ad eum misi, addita prece, ut mihi vicissim suum remitteret carmen. Quam precem, si recte memini, strophæ sapphica expressi. Ioannes autem summa benevolentia votis meis annuit, misso volumine, in cuius fronte, die XIX mens. Maii eiusdem anni, ex urbe Messana scribens, hoc exaravit distichon, quo significabat, rus meum Albanum non indignum sibi videri, quod legendo inviseret:

*Te, Rus Albanum, cupiebam visere. Vidi  
et cupio Reusso visere vate magis.*<sup>16</sup>

Though the differences between the two versions should not be over-rated, one can understand why Pascoli restyled the pentameter: in its final version, the important point — 'the poet Reuss' — occupies a more highlighted central position; and the emphatic repetition of a form of the same verb in one sentence (*vidi, videre*) seems more in line with classic usage. Moreover, I feel the final version better excludes the awkward possibility to interpret 'Reusso vate' as an *ablativus comparativus*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cp. H. Kern, 'Programma certaminis poetici ab Academia Regia disciplinarum Neerlandica ex legato Hoeufftiano in annum MDCCCCIII indicti', in *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen gevestigd te Amsterdam, voor 1902* (Amsterdam, 1903), pp. LXVI-LXVII (dated 1 April 1902).

<sup>15</sup> It is absent from *Francisci Xav. Reuss Tentamina; Francisci Xav. Reuss Nova tentamina poetica* (Romae: Cuggiani, 1922).

<sup>16</sup> The variants are not mentioned by Gandiglio, 'Appendix critica', p. 729, or Mazzotta, *Concordanza*, p. 81.

<sup>17</sup> With many thanks to my colleague Dr. William McCuaig for correcting my English.



### Appendix: additions to the bibliography on Pascoli

Here I list some contributions missing in Furio Felcini, *Bibliografia della critica pascoliana (1878-1979), degli scritti disperse e delle lettere del poeta. Precede uno studio introduttivo*, Bibliografia e Storia della critica, 6 (Ravenna: Longo, 1982); Alfonso Traina, 'Cento anni di studi pascoliani (Addenda alla Bibliografia del Felcini)', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 25 (1982), 335-342; Carla Pisani, 'Bibliografia della critica pascoliana (1980-1994)', *Rivista Pascoliana*, 7 (1995), 235-268; Patrizia Paradisi – Carla Pisani, 'Bibliografia della critica pascoliana (1995-1996 e addenda al 1994)', *Rivista Pascoliana*, 9 (1997), 201-209; Patrizia Paradisi, 'Supplemento alle bibliografie pascoliane', *Rivista Pascoliana*, 11 (1999), 201-206; Ead., 'Bibliografia della critica pascoliana – integrazioni 1921-1999', *Rivista Pascoliana*, 12 (2000), 251-255.

- \* A. Bartoli, 'De certamine poetico Hoeufftiano', *Vox Urbis*, 3 (1900), 89.
- \* A. Bartoli, 'De litteris Latinis apud Italos', *Rosa Melitensis*, 1 (1908-1909), 1 (13 December 1908), 3-4.<sup>18</sup> Deals with Pascoli, Ramorino and others;
- \* I. Pascoli, 'Jugurtha', *Rosa Melitensis*, 1 (1908-1909), 5 (1 May 1909), 2-4. A forgotten edition of this poem (it had obtained the *magna laus* at Amsterdam in 1897);
- \* I. Pascoli, 'Ad sodales Melitenses (VI Id. Apr. 1902)', *Rosa Melitensis*, 2 (1909-1910), 13-14 (13 February 1910), 4. The poem is well-known (*Ioannis Pascoli Carmina*, p. 536), but this edition not. From it we learn that in 1910 a (or the) manuscript of the poem was possessed by A.A. Randon, a professor at Malta (not mentioned by Gandiglio, 'Appendix critica', p. 721).
- \* Anon., 'Ioannes Pascoli', *Iuventus*, 3, 17 (1 May 1912), 129-130.
- \* R. De Lorenzis, 'I «Sosii Fratres Bibliopolae» di G. Pascoli'. Estratto dall'*Annuario del R. Liceo-Ginnasio «P. Colletta» di Avellino* (Avellino, 1931);

<sup>18</sup> Together with such latinists as Felice Ramorino and Francesco T. Moltedo, Giovanni Pascoli belonged to the group of persons who had promised to collaborate ("operam suam polliciti sunt") to the new journal *Rosa Melitensis. De litteris et bonis artibus commentarius* (published in Valletta by Alfredo Bartoli). As far as I know, the journal ceased to appear in September 1910, less than two years after its founding. It is especially interesting for the poems by Alfredo Bartoli it contains.

- \* I. Antonelli Costaggini, 'De carminibus Latinis Ioannis Pascoli recens edita commentaria', *Alma Roma*, 22 (1935), 163-167;
- \* E. Messina, *Giovanni Pascoli. Studio critico* (Polistena, 1935);
- \* O. Mogàvero – V. Ostraccione, 'De Iohanne Pascoli poeta'; 'De carminibus latine compositis quae Pascoli poeta «Christiana» nominavit', in *Ibid.*, *Composizioni latine. Temi letterari e storici svolti in lingua latina preceduti da ampio sguardo bio-bibliografico della letteratura romana* (...) (Torino: Chiantore, s.a. [ca. 1945]), pp. 287-288; 288-289;
- \* G.D. Leoni, 'Pascoli num carme latino de Vincenzo Polidori', *Anuario da Faculdade de filosofia 'Sedes Sapientiae' da Universidade Católica de São Paulo*, 14 (1956-1957), 85-92;
- \* G.B. Pigato, 'Catullo tra Foscolo, Carducci e Pascoli', *Rivista Como*, 1959/1, 2-17;
- \* A. Iodice, 'Mea vespera', *Latina Lingua*, 1 (1960), 66-67. Latin version of *La mia sera*;
- \* Anon., 'Nel cinquantenario pascoliano', *Musa perennis*, 2 (autunno 1962), 10-15. Contains Latin translations, most probably by the journal's editor R. Paone, of (1) *La quercia caduta* (pp. 10-11); (2) *Orfano* (pp. 10-11); (3) *La cavallina storna* (pp. 12-15);
- \* F. Aloise, 'De Iohannis Pascoli vita latinisque carminibus ab ejus interitu L anno vertente', *Palaestra Latina*, 33 (1963), 181-186;
- \* Anon., 'In funere Ioannis Pascolii', *Musa perennis*, 5 (primavera 1964), 31. Latin translation, most probably by R. Paone, of G. Zuppone-Strani, *In morte di Giovanni Pascoli — parte prima*;
- \* V.R. Giustiniani, rec. *Studi per il centenario della nascita di Giovanni Pascoli pubblicati nel cinquantenario della morte* (Bologna, 1962), *Romanische Forschungen*, 77 (1965), 462-471;
- \* O. Pasqualetti, 'Ioh. Pascoli carcere inclusus. Carmen in certamine Pascoliano MCMLXI aureo numismate minoris ponderis ornatum', *Latina Lingua*, 5 (1966), 15-23;
- \* V. Fera, 'Fides', *Tirones*, 7 (1966), 5. A Latin version of Pascoli's poem with the same title;
- \* V. Fera, 'I due fanciulli – Pueri duo', *Latina Lingua*, 7 (1968), 36-39;
- \* V. Fera, 'Orbus', *Latina Lingua*, 9-10 (1971), 36. Latin translation of *Orfano*;
- \* F. Aloise, 'Carmina', *Palaestra Latina*, 40 (1970), 6-70. Two Italian poems translated into Latin (pp. 68-69);
- \* R. Desmed, 'Un poème latin moderne: Pomponia Graecina de G. Pascoli', in G. Viré (ed.), *Grec et Latin en 1980. Etudes et documents*

- dédiés à Edmond Liénard* (Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1980), pp. 145-154;
- \* L. Dal Santo, 'Un frammento di satira latina di G. Pascoli. Studio analitico ed esegetico', *Rubiconia Accademia dei Filopatridi, Quaderni*, 12 (1979-1980), 207-216;
  - \* *Rec. Canti Latini di P. Giacomo Rossi scolopio* (Genova – Cornigliano, 1980), *Latinitas*, 29 (1981), 320-321;
  - \* A. Dal Santo, 'Adnotatiunculae in distichon quoddam Pascolianum vix cognitum', *Latinitas*, 32 (1984), 18-20. Deals with *Distico per Unico Conti* (Mazzotta, *Concordanza*, p. 89);
  - \* D. Altamura, 'Ioannes Pascoli et Manara Valgimigli discipulorum amantissimi magistri', in Id., *Hodiernae Latinitatis specimina. Lingua latina e civiltà moderna. Composizioni latine tradotte dall'Autore e presentate da D. Lassandro* (Bari: Cacucci, 1985), pp. 106-121. First edition in *Latina Lingua*, 6 (1967), 21-27;
  - \* G. Grammatico, '«Fanum Apollinis»', in *Semanas de Estudios Romanos. Volumen III y IV* (1986). *En homenaje al Prof. Dr. Carlos A. Disandro* (Valparaiso: Universidad Católica, 1987), pp. 135-153;
  - \* M. Bonvicini, 'Per un'analisi del poemetto *Agape* di G. Pascoli', in *Mnemosynum. Studi in onore di Alfredo Ghiselli*, Edizioni e saggi universitari di filologia classica (Bologna: Pàtron, 1989), pp. 55-64;
  - \* H. Wiegand, '«Miscuimus vitas, ut non modo Gaia fores tu,/ ipse ubi Gaius eram...» Altrömisches und frühchristliches Frauenideal in der «Pomponia Graecina» von Giovanni Pascoli', *Karl-Friedrich-Gymnasium Mannheim. Jahresbericht*, 1989/90, 58-65;
  - \* D. Fogazza, 'Les carmina de Giovanni Pascoli', *Les Études Classiques*, 60 (1992), 263-267;
  - \* E. Palmén, '«Myrica» Pascoliana cum duabus interpretationibus Latinis', *Melissa*, 50 (1992), 14-15. Two Latin translations of *Orfano* (by Maria Pascoli [cp. Traina – Paradisi, *Appendix Pascoliana*, pp. 97-98] and by a student);
  - \* P. Grasso, 'De I. Pascoli dedicatione ad Leonem XIII Pontificem', *Latinitas*, 40 (1992), 253-254.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
 Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae  
 Blijde-Inkomststraat 21  
 B-3000 Leuven  
 Dirk.Sacre@arts.kuleuven.be

# INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

Dirk Sacré, Gilbert Tournoy, Kris Delcroix

iuvantibus Antonio Dávila Pérez, Jeanine De Landtsheer, Jan Papy

## *Appellatio ad auctores*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Septembribus anni 2009.

## SIGLA:

ARG	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)
BHR	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
Camenae	<i>Camenae</i> (Université de Paris – Sorbonne – Paris IV) [vide interrete: <a href="http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?rubrique1761">http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?rubrique1761</a> ]
CamHung	<i>Camoenae Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
CH	<i>Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme</i> (Paris)
CR	<i>Calamus renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica</i> (Alcañiz – Teruel – Cádiz)
ERSY	<i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Middleton, WI)
GSLI	<i>Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana</i> (Torino)
HL	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
IJCT	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)
IMU	<i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> (Milano)
JMRS	<i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.)
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
NJ	<i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York)
RELat	<i>Revista de Estudios Latinos</i> (Madrid)
RHR	<i>Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance</i> (Lyon)
RIN	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
RnR	<i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)
RPH	<i>Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades</i> (Braga)
RPL	<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Roma)

<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>The Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, CO)
<i>SPV</i>	<i>Studia Philologica Valentina</i> (València)
<i>SUP</i>	<i>Studi Umanistici Piceni</i> (Sassoferrato)
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> (Atlanta, GE)
<i>WBN</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WRM</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

## ABBREVIATIONES:

- 1708 Money David (ed.), 1708. *Oudenarde and Lille. A Tercentenary Commemoration in Prose and Verse* (Cambridge: Bringfield's Head Press, 2009).
- Les Académies* Deramaix Marc – Perrine Galand-Hallyn – Ginette Vagenheim – Jean Vignes (eds.), *Les Académies dans l'Europe humaniste. Idéaux et pratiques. Actes du Colloque International de Paris (10-13 juin 2003)*. Préface de Marc Fumaroli, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 441 (Genève: Droz, 2008).
- Anagorismos* Agapiou Natalia (ed.), *Ἀναγνωρισμός – Anagorismos. Studi in onore di Hermann Walter per i 75 anni*, Farrago. Philologie et typographie néolatines, 6 (Anderlecht: Éditions du Musée de la Maison d'Érasme – Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).
- Les années trente* Boillet Danielle – Michel Plaisance (eds.), *Les années trente du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle italien. Actes du Colloque International (Paris 3-5 juin 2004)*. Publiés sous le patronage scientifique de l'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici di Napoli, Centre Interuniversitaire de Recherche sur la Renaissance Italienne [CIRRI], 28 (Paris: CIRRI, 2007).
- Biblical Humanism* Rummel Erika (ed.), *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 9 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008).
- Biblioteca nel Regno* Corfiati Claudia – Mauro de Nichilo (eds.), *Biblioteca nel Regno fra Tre e Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Bari, 6-7 febbraio 2008*, Mneme, 5 (Lecce: Pensa MultiMedia, 2009).
- Christian Humanism* MacDonald Alasdair A. – Zweder R.W.M. von Martels – Jan R. Veenstra (eds.), *Christian Humanism. Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 142 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009).
- Classica – Mediaevalia – Neolatina III* Havas Ladislaus – Ladislaus Takács – Emericus Tegye (eds.), *Classica – Mediaevalia – Neolatina III. Acta conventus de "Schola Europaea" de die 20<sup>o</sup> usque ad diem 24<sup>am</sup> mensis Novembris anno MMVII Budapestini, in civitate 'Piliscsaba' et Debrecini habiti* (Budapestini et Debrecini: Societas Neolatina Hungarica, 2009).

- Classical Mythology* Van de Velde Carl (ed.), *Classical Mythology in the Netherlands in the Age of Renaissance and Baroque* (Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2009).
- Commencer et Finir* Bureau Bruno – Christian Nicolas (eds.), *Commencer et Finir. Débuts et fins dans les littératures grecque, latine et néolatine. Actes du colloque organisé les 29 et 30 septembre 2006 par l'Université Jean Moulin-Lyon 3 et l'ENS-LSH*, 2 vols, Collection du Centre d'Études et Recherches sur l'Occident Romain [CEROR], 31 (Lyon: Éditions CEROR, 2008).
- Il concetto di libertà* Secchi Tarugi Luisa (ed.), *Il concetto di libertà nel Rinascimento. Atti del XVIII Convegno Internazionale (Chianciano – Pienza, 17-20 luglio 2006)*, Quaderni della Rassegna, 52 (Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 2008).
- Cui dono* Bossuyt Ignace – Nele Gabriëls – Dirk Sacré – Demmy Verbeke (eds.), “*Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?*” *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Academia Belgica, Rome, 18-20 August 2005*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 23 (Leuven: Leuven U.P., 2008).
- Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo* Nieto Ibáñez Jesús M<sup>a</sup>. – Raúl Manchón Gómez (eds.), *El humanismo español entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo* (Jaén: Servicio Publicaciones Universidad de Jaén – León: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de León, 2008).
- Federico Cesi* Battistini Andrea – Gilberto De Angelis – Giuseppe Olmi (eds.), *All'origine della scienza moderna: Federico Cesi e l'Accademia dei Lincei, Percorsi* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007).
- Festschrift Tschiedel* Freund Stefan – Meinolf Vielberg, in Verbindung mit Volker Michael Strocka und Raban von Haehling (eds.), *Vergil und das antike Epos. Festschrift Hans Jürgen Tschiedel, Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium*, 20 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008).
- Les grands intermédiaires* Berkvens-Stevelinck Christiane – Hans Bots – Jens Häselser (eds.), *Les grands intermédiaires culturels de la République des Lettres. Études de réseaux de correspondances du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Les dix-huitièmes siècles, 91 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005).
- Humanidades clásicas* Cabanillas Núñez Carlos Manuel – José Ángel Calero Carretero (eds.), *Actas de las V y VI Jornadas de humanidades clásicas* (Mérida: Junta de Extremadura, Consejería de Educación, 2008).
- El Humanismo español* Martín Rodríguez Antonio María – Germán Santana Henríquez (eds.), *El Humanismo español, su proyección en América y Canarias en la época del Humanismo* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2006).

- L'idée des bibliothèques* Chatelain Jean-Marc – Bernard Teyssandrier (eds.), *L'idée des bibliothèques à l'âge classique*, Littératures classiques, 66 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008).
- Lateinische Lyrik* Czapla Beate – Ralf Georg Czapla – Robert Seidel (eds.), *Lateinische Lyrik der Frühen Neuzeit. Poetische Kleinformen und ihre Funktionen zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung. 1. Arbeitsgespräch der Deutschen Neulateinischen Gesellschaft in Verbindung mit der Werner-Reimers-Stiftung Bad Homburg*, Frühe Neuzeit, 77 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003).
- Lay Bibles* Lamberigts M[athijs] – A.A. den Hollander (eds.), *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450-1800*, Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicorum Lovaniensium, 198 (Leuven: Leuven U.P. – Uitgeverij Peeters, 2006).
- Ludwig, *Supplementa* Ludwig Walther, *Supplementa Neolatina. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 2003-2008*. Edenda curavit Astrid Steiner-Weber, *Noctes Neolatinae*, 10 (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2008).
- LVPA Cracoviensis Materies seminarii L.V.P.Ae Cracoviensis anno MMVII habiti* (Cracoviae: Societas Latine Loquentium Cracoviensis, 2007).
- Munus quaesitum meritis* Hinojo Andrés Gregorio – José Carlos Fernández Corte (eds.), *Munus quaesitum meritis. Homenaje a Carmen Codoñer* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2007).
- Neo-Latin Drama* Bloemendal Jan – Philip Ford (eds.), *Neo-Latin Drama. Forms, Functions, Receptions*, *Noctes Neolatinae*, 9 (Hildesheim e.a.: Georg Olms Verlag, 2008).
- Picón García* Cascón Dorado Antonio – Primitiva Flores Santamaría – Carmen Gallardo Mediavilla – Benjamín García-Hernández – Carmen González Vázquez – Rafael Jiménez Zamudio – Ángel Sierra de Cózar (eds.), *Donum Amicitiae. Estudios en homenaje al Profesor Vicente Picón García* (Madrid: Ediciones Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2008).
- Le plaisir* Galand-Hallyn Perrine – Carlos Lévy – Wim Verbaal (eds.), *Le plaisir dans l'Antiquité et à la Renaissance*, *Latinitates*, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).
- Questioni odeporiche* Scianatico Giovanna – Raffaele Ruggiero (eds.), *Questioni odeporiche. Modelli e momenti del viaggio adriatico*, *Odeporica adriatica*, 3 (Bari: Palomar, 2007).
- Réseaux de correspondance* Beaurepaire Pierre-Yves – Jens Häselser – Anthony McKenna (eds.), *Réseaux de correspondance à l'âge classique (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université, 2006).
- Rinascimento politico* Isnardi Parente Margherita, *Rinascimento politico in Europa*. Studi raccolti da Diego Quaglioni e Paolo Carta (Padova: CEDAM, 2008).

- Rinnovamento umanistico* Cardini Roberto – Donatella Coppini (eds.), *Il rinnovamento umanistico della poesia. L'epigramma e l'elegia* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2009) = *Humanistica*, 2/1 (2007).
- Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae* Szörényi László, *Fasti Hungariae. Studi sulla filologia neolatina e sulle relazioni italo-ungheresi*. Con un saggio introduttivo di Amedeo Quondam (Roma: Lithos, 2008).
- Syntagmatia* Sacré Dirk – Jan Papy (eds.), *Syntagmatia. Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Monique Mund-Dopchie and Gilbert Tournoy*, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 26 (Leuven: Leuven U.P., 2009).
- La transmisión de la ciencia* Santamaría Hernández María Teresa (ed.), *La transmisión de la ciencia desde la Antigüedad al Renacimiento*, *Humanidades*, 98 (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2008).
- Universität Wien* Gastgeber Christian – Elisabeth Klecker (eds.), *Neulatein an der Universität Wien. Ein literarischer Streifzug. Franz Römer zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, *Singularia Vindobonensia*, 1 (Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2008).

## 1. Generalia

### 1.1. Bibliographica

- *Bibliographie internationale de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*. Publiée par la Fédération Internationale des Sociétés et Instituts pour l'Étude de la Renaissance, 40: *Travaux parus en 2000*. Rédigée par Francisco Javier Santa Eugenia (Genève: Droz, 2008).
- *International Medieval Bibliography. Multidisciplinary Bibliography of the Middle Ages 300-1500*, 39/2: *Covering the Publications of July-December 2005* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); 41/1: *Covering the Publications of January-June 2007* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).
- Juríková Erika – Daniel Škoviera – Pavol Valachovič, *Bibliographia studiorum Graecorum et Latinorum in re publica Slovaca cultorum MCMXCIII-MMV* (Trnava: Trnavský University, 2006). Pp. 120-141: 'Literae neolatinae'.
- Krämer Sigrid with Birgit Christine Arensmann, *Paul Oskar Kristeller, Latin Manuscript Books Before 1600: A List of the Printed Catalogues and Unpublished Inventories of Extant Collections*, *Ergänzungsband 2006*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hilfsmittel*, 23 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2007).
- Sacré Dirk – Jan Papy, 'Neo-Latin', *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, 69 (2007 [2009]), 2-14.
- Dirk Sacré – Tournoy Gilbert – Kris Delcroix, 'Instrumentum bibliographicum neolatinum', *HL*, 58 (2009), @-@.
- vide et infra 4.2: Ficinus (Gilbhard – Toussaint).



1.2. *Historica*

- Brotton Jerry, *The Renaissance. A Very Short Introduction*, A Very Short Introduction, 148 (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2006).
- Ciccolella Federica, *Donati Graeci. Learning Greek in the Renaissance*, Columbia Studies in The Classical Tradition, 32 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008).
- González Federico – Mireia Valls, *La Cábala del Renacimiento. Nuevas aperturas. Con antología de textos* (Barcelona: Mtm, 2007).
- Grafton Anthony, *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Harvard, MA: Harvard U.P., 2009).
- Hamm Berndt, 'Rühmende *Memoria* der Zusammenhang von Verdiesseitigung und Religiosität in der Gedächtnispflege der Humanisten', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 41-57.
- Hirschi Caspar, 'Konzepte von Fortschritt und Niedergang im Humanismus am Beispiel der "translatio imperii" und der "translatio studii"', *Germanisch-Romanisches Monatsschrift*, 58 (2008), 37-55.
- Jacquemier Myriam, 'L'Humanisme trahi: sur un livre récent de Stéphane Toussaint', *Studi Francesi*, 158 (2009), 315-324.
- Jones-Davies Marie-Thérèse (ed.), *Le Plaisir au temps de la Renaissance*, Publications de la SIRIR, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). Tractantur i.a. D. Erasmus, M. Ficinus et L. Valla.
- Leonhardt Jürgen, *Latein. Geschichte einer Weltsprache* (München: C.H. Beck, 2009).
- Ludwig Walther, 'Humanistische Erforschung und Anerkennung nicht-christlicher Kultur und Religion – Schritte auf dem Weg zur Toleranz?', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 259-313.
- Maranini Anna, 'Quando *Prudentia* era anche un cavallo, ovvero: del primato di mente. Libertà (e paradossi) nella creatività dei concettisti', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 635-655.
- Martin John Jeffries (ed.), *The Renaissance World* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Meserve Margaret, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, Harvard Historical Studies (Cambridge, MA – London: Harvard U.P., 2008).
- Mund-Dopchie Monique, *Ultima Thulé. Histoire d'un lieu et genèse d'un mythe*, Histoire des idées et critique littéraire, 449 (Genève: Droz, 2009).
- Nauert Charles G., *The A to Z of the Renaissance* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2005).
- Otten Willemien, 'Religion as *Exercitatio Mentis*: a Case for Theology as a Humanist Discipline', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 59-73.
- Patrizi Giorgio, 'Tra caos e ragione, arte et natura: interpretazioni del Rinascimento', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 38-43.
- Patetta Luciano, 'L'architettura dal XIV al XVI secolo: dall'estro inventivo alla difesa dell'ortodossia', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 515-526. Attingitur i.a. L.B. Albertus.
- Raffarin Anne, 'La redécouverte des lieux de plaisir par les humanistes', in *Le plaisir*, pp. 135-150. Tractantur i.a. Blondus Flavius et Poggius Bracciolinus.

- Rubiés Joan-Pau, *Travellers and Cosmographers. Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 888 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- Ruggiero Guido (ed.), *A Companion to the Worlds of the Renaissance*, Blackwell Companions to History (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).
- Tarabochia Canavero Alessandra, 'Il compasso e il giglio. La libertà dell'artista tra Rinascimento e Manierismo', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 541-551.
- Tinguely Frédéric (ed.), *La Renaissance décentrée. Actes du Colloque de Genève (28-29 septembre 2006)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 440 (Genève: Droz, 2008).
- Van Houdt Toon, 'Bridging the Gap Between Hebrew and Neo-Latin Studies: Some Prospects and Pitfalls', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 389-397.
- Verbeke Demmy, 'The Need for Latin Textual Scholarship in Renaissance Musicology', *Music and Letters*, 90 (2008), 205-214.
- Worcester Thomas W. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, Cambridge Companions to Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2008).
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Le plaisir; Réseaux de correspondance*); et infra 1.2: Italia: Bononia (Verweij); 1.3 (Baumann – Becker – Steiner-Weber; Mouchel – Nativel); 1.8 (Ludwig; Puliafito); 1.11 (Vergara Ciordia); 2.1 (Visser); 4.2: Erasmus (Rummel), Gassendus (Taussig – Turner), Salutatut (*Catalogo*), de Valentia (Nieto Ibáñez-1), de Valera (Colón Calderón).

#### AMERICA:

- Grendler Paul F., *The European Renaissance in American Life* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006).
- Navarro Antolín Fernando (ed.), *Orbis incognitus: avisos y legajos del Nuevo Mundo. Homenaje al profesor Luis Navarro* (Huelva: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva – Asociación Española de Americanistas – Junta de Andalucía, 2007).
- Viforcós Marinas M<sup>a</sup>. Isabel, 'Libros e lecturas a la luz de la normativa sinodal y conciliar hispanoamericana (siglos XVI-XVIII)', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 255-271.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*El Humanismo español*); et infra: Mexicum (Martín Rodríguez); 2.2: Petrarca (Bartomeu); 4.1 (Beuchot Puente); 4.2: Arias Montanus (Navarro Antolín – Gómez Canseco – Macías Rosendo; Paniagua Pérez-1-2), Bisselius (Manchón Gómez), Sepulveda (Martínez Castilla), de Tovar (López Pérez – Rey Bueno), de Valentia (Paradinas Fuentes).

#### ANGLIA:

- vide infra: Britannia.

#### ASIA:

- Loureiro Rui Manuel, *Na companhia dos livros. Manuscritos e impressos nas missões jesuítas de Asia Oriental 1540-1620* (Lisboa: Universidade de Macau, 2007).
- Löwendahl B., *Sino-Western Relations. Conceptions of China, Cultural Influences and the Development of Sinology, disclosed in Western printed books 1477-1877*, 1: 1477-1776 (Hoa Hin: Elephant Press, 2008).

## AUSTRIA:

- vide infra 4.2: Piccolomineus (Arnold – Fuchs – Füssel: Knödler, Wagendorfer).
- AENIPONS: Kofler Wolfgang – Florian Schaffenrath – Stefan Tilg, 'Eine Musentravestie an der Universität. Der *Helicon Oenipontanus* für Prinzessin Amalia Wilhelmine von Braunschweig-Lüneberg', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 319-346.
- SALISBURGUM / SALISPURGUM (= IUVAVUM): *Lokalhistorische Texte: Salzburg*. Ausgewählt und kommentiert von Andreas Gössner, Lindauers lateinische Quellen (München: J. Lindauer, 2008); — Danner Peter – Peter Emberger, 'Der älteste erhaltene Reiseberichte über das Erzbistum Salzburg', *Grazer Beiträge*, 26 (2008), 55-67. Anno 1428 scripsit quidam nomine "Danielis".
- VINDOBONA: Klecker Elisabeth, 'Neulateinische Literatur an der Universität Wien. Ein Forschungsdesiderat', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 11-88; — Panagl Victoria, 'Regi ludite Ferdinando. Musica gratuliert zur ungarischen Krönung Ferdinands III.', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 231-260; — vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Universität Wien*); et infra 2.1 (Lesigang-Bruckmüller; Zajic); 4.2: Blotius (Molino – Gastgeber), Piccolomineus (Arnold – Fuchs – Füssel: Wagendorfer).

## BELGIUM VETUS:

- Frank-van Westrienen A[nna], *Het schoolschrift van Pieter Teding van Berkhout. Vergezicht op het gymnasiaal onderwijs in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007).
- Hasquin Hervé (ed.), *L'Académie impériale et royale de Bruxelles. Ses académiciens et leurs réseaux intellectuels au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique, 2009).
- Kerkhoff Jacqueline, *Maria van Hongarije en haar hof (1505-1558). Tot plichtsbetrachting uitverkoren* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008).
- Op de Beeck Bart, *Jezuïetenbibliotheken in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. De liquidatie 1773-1828*, 2 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. K.U.Leuven, 2008).
- Raedts Peter, 'Dutch Humanists and the Medieval Past', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 365-377.
- Van der Poel Marc, 'L'Humanisme et les Études classiques dans les Pays-Bas de la Renaissance', in Broos Ton – Augustinus P. Dierick (eds.), *About and Around Rembrandt. Special Issue of the Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies in Commemoration of the 400<sup>th</sup> Birthday of Rembrandt Harmensz. van Rijn = Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies*, 28 (2007), 120-138.
- Van Impe Steven, 'Honderd boeken uit 1621 in de Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuid-Nederlandse Maatschappij van Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 60 (2006 [2008]), 151-179.
- van Lieburg M.J., *De academische prijsvragen. Een inventarisatie en annotatie van de prijsvragen, uitgeschreven door de Nederlandse universiteiten 1815-1968* (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 2007).

- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Classical Mythology*); et infra 1.8 (Jorink); 2.1 (Smeesters); 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>; Isebaert – Rogiest – Swiggers – Van Hal).
- ALDENARDA: vide supra: Abbreviationes (1708); et infra 2.1 (Money).
- ANTVERPIA: Bowen Karen L., 'Workshop Practices in Antwerp: The Galles', *Print Quarterly*, 26 (2009), 123-142; — vide et infra 1.9: Plantinus (Bowen – Imhof).
- BRUGAE: Kirkland-Ives Mitzi, 'Capell nuncupato Jherusalem noviter Brugis: The Adornes Family of Bruges and Holy Land Devotion', *SCJ*, 39 (2008), 1041-1064; — vide et infra 4.2: Adornus (Defilippis).
- BRUXELLAE: vide supra 1.2: Belgium Vetus (Hasquin).
- FRANEQUERA: Hermans Jos M.M. – Goffe Jensma – Jacob van Sluis – Lydia Wierda (eds.), *De Franeker universiteitsbibliotheek in de zeventiende eeuw. Beleid en belang van een academiebibliotheek* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008).
- GRONINGA: vide infra 4.2: Emmius (von Martels).
- LOVANUM: François Wim, 'Vernacular Bible Reading and Censorship in Early Sixteenth Century. The Position of the Louvain Theologians', in *Lay Bibles*, pp. 69-96; — vide et infra 4.2: Erasmus (Gielis) et Gemma (Hirai).
- OVERIJSEL: Streng J.C., *Tot welstand van 't gemenebest. Het Latijnse onderwijs en de humanistische cultuur in Overijssel tijdens het Oude Bewind* (Epe: editio privata, 2008).
- ROLLARIUM: Thoen Paul, 'Questions linguistiques. Le tournant remarquable de la formation humaniste vers le milieu du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle au Petit Séminaire de Roulers (Flandre occidentale, Belgique)', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 799-814.

#### BRITANNIA:

- Hosington Brenda M., "'Minerva and the Muses": Women Writers of Latin in Renaissance England', *HL*, 58 (2009), 3-43.
- vide et infra 1.4 (Phillips); 1.11 (Fernández Díez – Álvarez del Palacio); 2.1 (Gilmore; Money; *Musae Anglicanae*); 2.2: Sacherevell (Money); 3.1 (Norland; Walker – Streufert).
- CANTABRIGIA: vide infra 3.1 (Norland).
- OXONIUM: vide infra 3.1 (Norland).

#### CYPRUS:

- Grailet Laurent, 'La prise de Chypre par les Turcs (1570-1571) et la fin de la francocratie vues par des voyageurs occidentaux', in Chatzisavas Andreas (ed.), *L'épopée dans le monde grec. Hommage à René Hodot. Actes du Colloque International* (Nancy 2, Institut d'Études Néo-Helléniques, mars 2001), Lapithos, 28 (Besançon: Éditions Praxandre, 2007), pp. 151-167. Attinguntur M. a Baumgarten, P. Bizarus et M. Crusius.

#### DALMATIA:

- Graciotti Sante, 'Il mutevole rapporto tra lingue letterarie e culture del Balcano occidentale (La Dalmazia) nei secoli XVI-XVIII', *Atti e memorie della Società Dalmata di storia patria*, Collana monografica, 8 (2006), 45-62.

## EUROPA:

- vide supra: Abbreviationes (*Les Académies*); et infra: Italia (Clericuzio – Ernst – Conforti; Villalonga – Miralles – Prats; Piovan); 4.2: Erasmus (Carena-2; Pasini – Rossi).

## FINNIA:

- Merisalo Outi, 'Classical and humanist works in the libraries of early modern Finland between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries', *RS*, 23 (2009), 186-199.
- Riikonen Hannu K., '*Laus urbis* in Seventeenth-Century Finland: Georg Haveman's *Oratio de Wiburgo* and Olof Hermelin's *Viburgum*', in Harsting Pernille – Jon Viklund (eds.), *Rhetoric and Literature in Finland and Sweden, 1600-1900*, Nordic Studies in the History of Rhetoric, 2 (Copenhagen: Nordisk Netværk for Retorikkens Historie, 2008), pp. 67-85.
- vide et infra 2.2: Paulinus (Korhonen).

## FRANCIA:

- *Bulletin de liaison [de la] Société d'Études Médio- et Néo-Latines*, 1 (2007).
- de Conihout Isabelle – Jean-François Maillard – Guy Poirier (eds.), *Henri III mécène des arts, des sciences et des lettres* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2006).
- Grosse Sibylle – Cordula Neis (eds.), *Langue et politique en France à l'époque des Lumières* (Frankfurt am Main: Domus Editoria Europaea, 2008).
- Kahn Didier, *Alchimie et paracelsisme en France à la fin de la Renaissance (1567-1625)*, Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 80 (Genève: Droz, 2007).
- Vigliano Tristan, *Humanisme et juste milieu au siècle de Rabelais (1492-1555)* (Unpublished Ph.D. Université de Montpellier III, 2006).
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Les Académies*); et infra 2.1 (Provini); 2.2: Barberinus M. (Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas: Delatour).
- LUTETIA PARISIORUM: Farge James K. (ed.), *Students and Teachers at the University of Paris. The Generation of 1500. A Critical Edition of Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (Sorbonne), Archives, Registres 89 and 90* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2006); — Tuilier André (ed.), *Histoire du Collège de France, I: La création (1530-1560)*. Préface de Marc Fumaroli (Paris: Fayard, 2006).
- NORMANDIA: vide infra 3.1 (Isgró).

## GALLIA:

- vide supra: Francia.

## GERMANIA:

- Johnson Christine R., *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008).
- Ludwig Walther, 'Wissenschaft und katholische Bücherzensur in der frühen Neuzeit', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 235-258.

- Nebgen Christoph, *Missionarsberufungen nach Übersee in drei Deutschen Provinzen der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Jesuitica, 14 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2007).
- *Nova Literaria Maris Balthici et Septentrionis edita MDCCII*. Facsimile edition (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2009).
- Worstbrock Franz Josef (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480-1520. Verfasserlexikon*, I,3 (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008). Tractantur i.a. *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, D. Erasmus, I. Flamingus, I. Gallus, H. Gebwilerius, O. Gratius, N. Musophilus et H. Piscator; I,4 (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008). Tractantur i.a. H. Eobanus Hessus, B. Hassenstenius et U. Huttenius.
- Wriedt Klaus, *Schule und Universität: Bildungsverhältnisse in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 23 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
- vide et infra 1.3 (Knappe; Ludwig-1-2); 4.2: Lipsius (Schmid), von Rechenberg (Ludwig).
  
- AQUISGRANUM: vide infra 2.1 (Krüssel).
- BARUTHUM: *Lokalhistorische Texte: Bayreuth*. Ausgewählt und kommentiert von Ulrich Novotny, Lindauers lateinische Quellen (München: J. Lindauer, 2009).
- BEROLINUM: vide infra 2.2: Bispink (Krüssel); 5: Germania: Berolinum (Rücker).
- DILINGA / DILLINGA: Rädle Fidel, 'Pietas et mores – Rebellion und Gewalt. Studentenleben in der Frühen Neuzeit', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 355-370.
- DURA: Jaeger Achim – Franz Schrott (eds.), *Das Stiftische Gymnasium Düren. Eine Traditionsschule im 21. Jahrhundert. Neue Beiträge zu Geschichte und Gegenwart unserer Schule* (Düren: Hahne und Schloemer, 2008). Agitur i.a. de P. Chimarraeo et F. Chisio (Alexandro VII P.M.).
- FRIBURGUM BRISGAUURUM: Aurnhammer Achim – Hans-Jochen Schiewer in Verbindung mit Dieter Mertens und Thomas Zotz (eds.), *Poeten und Professoren. Eine Literaturgeschichte Freiburgs in Porträts* (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2009).
- HEIDELBERGA: Strohm Christoph – Joseph S. Freedman – Herman J. Seldershuis (eds.), *Späthumanismus und reformierte Konfession: Theologie, Jurisprudenz und Philosophie in Heidelberg an der Wende zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); — vide et infra 4.2: Morata (Düchting).
- INGOLSTADIUM: vide supra: Dilinga (Rädle).
- MOGUNTACUM: vide infra 5: Germania: Moguntiacum (*Siste viator et lege*).
- MONACUM / MONACHIUM: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (ed.), *Kulturkosmos der Renaissance. Die Gründung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. Katalog der Ausstellung zum 450-jährigen Jubiläum 7.3-1.6.2008 und der Schatzkammerausstellung 'Musikschätze der Wittelsbacher' 9.6-6.7.2008* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008).
- OSNABRUGA: Suntrup Rudolf, "'Höhere Bildung' im 17. Jahrhundert. Die Schola Carolina in Osnabrück auf dem Weg vom Humanistischen Gymnasium zur Jesuitenuniversität', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 379-397.

- SAXONIA: *Lokhalhistorische Texte: Sachsen-Anhalt*. Ausgewählt und kommentiert von Wolfgang Kirsch, Lindauers lateinische Quellen (München: J. Lindauer, 2004).
- TUBINGA: vide infra 4.2: von Rechenberg (Ludwig).

#### GRAECIA:

- ATHENAE: vide infra 4.2: Crusius (Rhoby-1).

#### HELVETIA:

- BASILEA: vide infra 4.2: Amerbachius (Gilomen-Schenkel), Piccolomineus (Arnold – Fuchs – Füssel: Iaria).

#### HISPANIA:

- Alcina Rovira Juan Francisco, 'Literatura neolatina y cultura española en el Siglo de Oro: un balance', *Insula. Revista de letras y ciencias humanas*, 725 (2007), 10-12.
- Álvarez del Palacio Eduardo – Beatriz Fernández Díez, 'La dietética en los regimientos de salud del siglo XVI español: análisis de la obra de Francisco Núñez de Coria', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 95-115.
- García Jurado Francisco, 'Ensayo de una historiografía de la Literatura Latina en España (1778-1976)', *RELat*, 8 (2008), 179-201.
- González Rolán Tomás – Pilar Saquero Suárez-Somonte, 'Los comienzos del Humanismo renacentista en España', in Santini Carlo – Lorian Zurch – Luca Cardinali (eds.), *Concentus ex dissonis. Scritti in onore di Aldo Setaioli* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2006), pp. 347-358.
- vide et supra: America (Viforcós Marinas); Abbreviationes (*El Humanismo español*); et infra 3.1 (Alonso Asenjo; Menéndez Peláez; Sánchez Salor); 4.2: Cartesius (García-Hernández-1-2), Erasmus (Coroleu), Sánchez (Lafuente Guantes).
- BARCINO: Fernández Luzón Antonio, *La Universidad de Barcelona en el siglo XVI* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2005). Agitur de litterarum professoribus, de dramatis Neolatinis ibi exhibitis, etc.
- EXTREMA DURII: Fernández-Daza Álvarez Carmen – Diego S. Parra Zamora, 'Humanistas extremeños en la Biblioteca IX Marqués de la Encomienda. Repertorio bibliográfico', in *Humanidades clásicas*, pp. 147-204; – vide et infra 4.2: Nebrissensis (Martín Nieto).
- GADES / GADIR: vide infra 4.2: Morales (Serrano Cueto).
- HISPALIS: vide infra 2.2: Pachecus (Pozuelo Calero-2); 4.2: de Tovar (López Pérez – Rey Bueno),
- INSULAE CANARIAE: vide supra: Abbreviationes (*El Humanismo español*); et infra 4.2: Geraldinus (González Vázquez).
- LUGDUNUM: Campos Sánchez-Bordona M<sup>a</sup>. Dolores, 'Arte y humanismo de la biblioteca de San Isidoro de León', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 133-146.
- MANCHA: vide infra 4.2: Nebrissensis (Sánchez Salor-1).
- MATRITUM: vide infra 5: Hispania: Matritium (Jiménez Garnica).

## HUNGARIA:

- Kiss Farkas Gábor, 'Constructing the Image of a Humanist Scholar. Latin Dedications in Hungary and the Use of Adages (1460-1525)', in *Cui dono*, pp. 141-159.
- Szörényi László (1), 'La littérature baroque néo-latine et les jésuites en Europe centrale', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 171-181; — Id. (2), 'La parentela linguistica, storiografica ed epica nella letteratura del Settecento in Ungheria', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 239-254.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*); et infra 1.6 (Szörényi); 1.11 (Ekler); 4.2: Bonfinis (Szörényi), Corvinus (Sciacovelli), Morus (Havas-2), Piccolomineus (Szörényi), Pray (Báthory).
- DEBRECENUM: Bitskey István, 'Programm der Druckerei Debrecen zur Herausgabe von lateinisch-ungarischen Lehrbüchern im Jahre 1591', *CamHung*, 4-5 (2007-2008), 63-82.

## ITALIA:

- Black Robert, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy. Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2007).
- Ciccolella Federica, 'Tra Bisanzio e l'Italia: grammatiche greche e greco-latine in età umanistica', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 397-410.
- Clericuzio Antonio – Germana Ernst con Maria Conforti (eds.), *Il Rinascimento italiano e l'Europa, 5: Le scienze* (Venezia: Angelo Colla, 2008).
- Colombo Angelo, 'La libertà del Rinascimento e la servitù politica degli italiani nella poesia patriottica e civile della Restaurazione', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 719-729.
- Couziniet Marie-Dominique, *Sub specie hominis: Études sur le savoir humain au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, De Pétrarque à Descartes*, 74 (Paris: Vrin, 2007).
- Crouzet-Pavan Élisabeth, *Renaissances italiennes 1380-1500* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2007).
- Defilippis Domenico, 'Corografia e odeporica tra Quattro e Cinquecento', in *Questioni odeporiche*, pp. 147-170.
- *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 71 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2008). Continet i.a. vitas Petri Marsi (S. Benedetto, pp. 5-10), Michaelis Marulli Tarchaniotae (D. Coppini, pp. 397-406), Marci Maruli (G. Paolin, pp. 406-408), Augustini Mascardi (E. Bellini, pp. 525-532) et Francisci Massi (G. Bianco, pp. 770-772).
- Garin Eugenio, *Ermetismo del Rinascimento*. Ristampa anastatica con prefazione di Michele Ciliberto (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006).
- Girardi Raffaele, 'Libri di rime in biblioteca: tradizione dei testi e canone lirico nel Cinquecento meridionale', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 245-263.
- Godard Alain – Marie-Françoise Piéjus (eds.), *Espaces, histoire et imaginaire dans la culture italienne de la Renaissance*, Centre Interuniversitaire de Recherche sur la Renaissance Italienne, 27 (Paris: Université Paris III Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2006).



- Grendler Paul F., 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 227-276.
- Ludwig Walther, 'Der kunsthistorische Graben und Andreanis Triumphzug Caesars nach Mantegna', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 811-821.
- Monfasani John, 'Criticism of Biblical Humanists in Quattrocento Italy', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 15-38.
- Patetta Tobia, 'L'artista nel Cinquecento italiano: libertà ed emancipazione nell'ambito sociale e operativo', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 553-573.
- Piovan Francesco, 'Le università italiane, l'Umanesimo e l'Europa', in Belloni Gino – Riccardo Drusi (eds.), *Umanesimo e educazione* (Treviso: Fondazione Cassamarca – Angelo Colla Editore, 2007), pp. 309-335.
- Stenhouse William, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement, 86 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2005).
- Tateo Francesco, 'Il viaggio umanistico', in *Questioni odeporiche*, pp. 105-117.
- Villalonga Mariàngela – Eulàlia Miralles – David Prats (eds.), *El Cardenal Margarit i l'Europa quatrecentista. Actes del Simposi Internacional Universitat de Girona, 14-17 de novembre 2006*, Hispania Antigua – Serie Historica, 4 (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2008). Insunt commentationes de A. Nebrissensi, L. Valla, de poesi neolatina etc.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Les années trente*; *Les Académies*; *Questioni odeporiche*); et infra: Florentia (Peterson – Bornstein); 1.6 (Kuhn); 4.2: Bisticcius (Betinni), Corvinus (Gardenal), Petrarca (Foti), de Salutiis (Rosso).
- APRUTIUM: Colapietra Raffaele, 'Erudizione e riforma cattolica nella storiografia locale abruzzese', *Notizie dalla Delfico*, 22 (2008), 15-23.
- ARRETIUM: vide infra 4.2: Brunus L. (Cabrini).
- BONONIA: Verweij Michiel, 'Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, ms. 21705: een onbekend exemplaar van de statuten van het Collegio Jacobs te Bologna', *Amici Academiae Belgicae Romae. Nieuwsbrief*, 13 (2008), 4-6.
- CALABRIA: vide infra 2.2: Giannuzzi (Sacré).
- COMUM: vide infra 4.2: Iovius B. (Buzzi).
- FERRARIA: Looney Dennis – Deanna Shemek (eds.), *Phaethon's Children: The Este Court and Its Culture in Early Modern Ferrara* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005); — vide et infra 4.2: Giraldus Cynthus (Cherchi – Rinaldi – Tempera).
- FLORENTIA: Peterson David S. – Daniel E. Bornstein (eds.), *Florence and Beyond. Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy. Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy*, Publications of the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 15 (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008); — Vasoli Cesare, 'La tradizione repubblicana umanistica fiorentina. Considerazioni a distanza di mezzo secolo dal *The Crisis* di Hans Baron', *Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze*, n.s., 67-68 (2005-2006 [2007]), 235-255; — Viallon Marie – Gianluca Masi,

- '*Libertates* a confronto: Firenze e Venezia', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 425-436; — vide et infra 2.2: Salutati (Tanturli); 4.2: Albertus (Boschetto), Petrarca (Špička-3), Salutati (Astorri; Tanzini).
- HYDRUNTUM: vide infra 2.1 (Ricciardi).
- MANTUA: Ferrari Francesca (ed.), *Le Cinquecentine Mantovane della Biblioteca Comunale di Mantova*, Biblioteca Mantovana, 4 (Firenze: Olschki, 2008); — Grendler P., *The University of Mantua, the Gonzaga, and the Jesuits, 1584-1630* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins U.P., 2009).
- MEDIOLANUM: vide infra 1.9: Cavagni di Lavagna (Ganda); 4.2: Pinellius (Giuliani); et 5: Italia: Mediolanum (Sartori).
- NEAPOLIS: Corfiati Claudia – Margherita Sciancalepore, "Et non se trova in libreria": note sull'*Elencho storico* del Cinico', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 89-117; — Farenga Paola – Anna Modigliani, 'Nella biblioteca aragonese: un copista e il suo re. Giovan Marco Cinico per Ferrante', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 65-88; — Naldi Riccardo, 'Tra Pontano e Sannazaro: parola e immagine nell'iconografia funeraria del primo Cinquecento a Napoli', in *Les Académies*, pp. 249-271; — Nuovo Angela, 'Umanesimo e ricerca scientifica nelle biblioteche private del Regno nel Cinquecento', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 209-223; — Pestilli Livio – Ingrid D. Rowland – Sebastian Schütze (eds.), "Napoli è tutto il mondo". *Neapolitan Art and Culture from Humanism to the Enlightenment. International Conference, Rome, June 19-21, 2003*, *Studia erudita*, 5 (Pisa – Roma: Fabrizio Serra, 2008); — Sisto Pietro, 'I libri, le biblioteche e i cavalli del re', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 265-279; — Tateo Francesco, 'Napoli neo-latina e la tradizione di Petrarca', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 105-117; — Toscano Gennaro, 'La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona da Tammaro De Marinis ad oggi. Studi e prospettive', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 29-63; — vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Biblioteche nel Regno*); et infra: Roma (Abbamonte); 1.5: Horatius (Iurilli); 2.2: Sannazarius (Sabbatino).
- PAPIA: vide infra: Ticinum.
- PERUSIA: Frova Carla – Giovanna Giubbini – Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni (eds.), *Doctores excellentissimi. Giuristi, medici, filosofi e teologi dell'Università di Perugia (secoli XIV-XIX). Mostra documentaria, Perugia, 20 maggio – 15 giugno 2003* (Città di Castello: Edimond, 2003).
- ROMA: Abbamonte Giancarlo, 'Gli studi lessicografici negli ambienti accademici di Roma e Napoli nella seconda metà del Quattrocento', in *Les Académies*, pp. 339-367; — Agapiou Natalia, 'Un écu insolite dans les appartements du Vatican: les armoiries du cardinal Lorenzo Magalotti', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 575-587; — Bindman Rachel, 'A hitherto neglected aspect of the pedagogical program of the Accademia dei Lincei (1605-1624 ca)', in *Les Académies*, pp. 75-98; — Burke Jill – Michael Bury (eds.), *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008); — Esposito Anna (1), 'Una laurea in legge rilasciata a Roma nel 1522', *RnR*, 2006, 107-114; — Ead. (2) – Carla Frova, *Colleghi studenteschi a Roma nel Quattrocento. Gli statuti della "Sapienza Nardina"*, Studi e fonti per la storia dell'Università di Roma, n.s., 4 (Roma: Viella, 2008); — Farenga Paola, 'Considerazioni sull'Accademia romana nel primo Cinquecento', in

- Les Académies*, pp. 57-74; — Hall Marcia B. (ed.), *Rome, Artistic Centers of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2005). Continet i.a.: Rowland Ingrid D., 'Cultural Introduction to Renaissance Rome'; — Occhipinti Carmelo, *Pirro Ligorio e la storia cristiana di Roma da Costantino all'Umanesimo* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007); — Tamburini Elena, 'Dietro la scena: comici, cantanti e letterati nell'Accademia romana degli Umoristi', *Studi secenteschi*, 50 (2009), 89-112; — Walter Hermann, 'Wie Papst Urban VIII. und Gianlorenzo Bernini den Maler Pietro da Cortona hinders Licht führen wollten. Zur Entstehung des Trinitätsaltars der Cappella del SS. Sacramento in St. Peter zu Rom', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 695-718; — vide et infra 1.8 (AA. VV., *Erbe e speciali*); 2.2: Barberinus M. (Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas: Delatour, Dobler, Fumaroli, Hammond, Herklotz, Lavin, Rice, Schettini); 4.1 (Kritzer); 4.2: Anonymus (González Rolán – Saquero Suárez-Somonte), Laetus (Bianca), Petrarca (Blasio – Morisi – Niutta), Salutatatus (Caby), Zacharias (Mulas); 5: Italia: Roma (Buonocore; Caldelli).
- SENA: Denley Peter (1), *Commune and Studio in Late Medieval and Renaissance Siena*, Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia delle Università Italiane, 7 (Bologna: CLUEB, 2006); — Id. (2), *Teachers and Schools in Siena (1357-1500)*, Documenti di Storia, 78 (Siena: Betti, 2007).
  - SICILIA: vide infra 2.2: Giannuzzi (Sacré).
  - TAURINUM (= AUGUSTA TAURINORUM): Naso Irma – Paolo Rosso, *Insignia doctoralia. Lauree e laureati all'Università di Torino tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, Storia dell'Università di Torino (Torino: Università degli Studi di Torino, 2008).
  - TICINUM (= PAPIA): Gargan Luciano, 'La cultura umanistica a Pavia in età viscontea', *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria*, 107 (2007), 159-209.
  - URBINUM: Peruzzi Marcella, 'Considerazioni sulla biblioteca di Urbino nell'età di Guidubaldo di Montefeltro', *Humanistica*, 3/2 (2008), 45-55; — Simonetta Marcello (ed.), *Federico da Montefeltro and His Library*. Preface by Jonathan J.G. Alexander (Milano: Y. Press, 2007).
  - VENETIAE: vide supra: Florentia (Viallon – Masi).

#### LUSITANIA:

- vide infra 2.1 (Urbano).

#### MEXICUM:

- Arenas Frutos Isabel, 'Entre la mitra y la pluma: el "sacerdote ilustrado" Castorena y Ursús (México, 1668-1733)', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 273-286.
- Martín Rodríguez Manuel M., 'La Historia de la Nueva Mexico de Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà: recepción crítica (con nuevos datos biográficos de su autor)', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 189-253.
- Sarabia Viejo María Justina, 'Humanismo y ciencia: José Antonio de Alzate y las *Gacetas de Literatura de México* (1788-1795)', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 287-298.
- vide et supra: America (Viforcos Marinas).

## NOVUS ORBIS:

- vide supra: America.

## PERUVIA:

- vide infra 4.2: Sánchez (Lafuente Guantes).

## POLONIA:

- Bömelburg Hans-Jürgen, *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa: Das polnische Geschichtsdenken und die Reichweite einer humanistischen Nationalgeschichte (1500-1700)*, Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts, 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).
- vide et infra 4.2: Dantiscus (Skolimowska: Skolimowska, Tomasz).
- CRACOVIA: vide infra 2.2: Celtes (Thiel).

## SLOVACIA:

- vide supra 1.1 (Juríková – Škoviera – Valachovič).

## SLOVENIA:

- Simoniti Primož, *Humanismus bei den Slovenen. Slovenische Humanisten bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Marija Wakounig. Übersetzt von Jože Wakounig, Zentraleuropa-Studien, 11 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008).

## SUECIA:

- Gren-Eklund Gunilla, 'Studies of the Orient and of languages from the Middle Ages to the 19<sup>th</sup> century', *Orientalia Suecana*, 57 (2008), 121-134.
- Hansson Stina, 'The lament of the Swedish language: Sweden's Gothic Renaissance', *RS*, 23 (2009), 151-160.
- McKeown Simon, 'Reading and writing the Swedish Renaissance', *RS*, 23 (2009), 141-150.
- vide et supra: Finnia (Harsting – Viklund), Germania (*Nova Literaria*); et infra 4.2: Dantiscus (Skolimowska: Jönsson, Skolimowska).

## TRANSYLVANIA:

- Shore Paul, *Jesuits and the Politics of Religious Pluralism in Eighteenth-Century Transylvania. Culture, Politics and Religion, 1693-1773* (Aldershot: Ashgate – Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2007). Continet i.a.: 'Theatre in the Jesuit Schools' (pp 133-146).
- vide et infra 2.1 (Szörényi).
- CIBINIUM: vide infra 4.2: Soterius (Poelchau).

## TURCIA:

- vide supra: Cyprus (Grailet); et infra 4.2: Piccolomineus (Arnold – Fuchs – Füßel: Wesche).

1.3. *Litteraria*

- Baumann Uwe – Becker Arnold – Steiner-Weber Astrid (eds.), *Streitkultur. Okzidentale Traditionen des Streitens in Literatur, Geschichte und Kunst*, Super alta perennis, 2 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2008).
- Beck-Chauvard Laurence, *La dérélction. L'esthétique de la lamentation amoureuse de la latinité profane à la modernité chrétienne*, Études anciennes, 37 (Nancy: Association pour la Diffusion de la Recherche sur l'Antiquité, 2009).
- Giacomotto-Charra Violaine, 'Parler en philosophe, parler en médecin? L'organisation des discours savants sur le sommeil au xvr<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Camenae*, 5 (novembre 2008) [28 pp.; vide interrete: <http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?article8615>].
- Knappe Joachim, *Poetik und Rhetorik in Deutschland 1300-1700*, Gratia, 44 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).
- Knight Sarah – Victoria Moul (eds.), *Neo-Latin Anthology* (Cambridge: Society for Neo-Latin Studies, 2009). Editio electronica: [http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/snls/snls\\_teaching\\_anthology/](http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/snls/snls_teaching_anthology/).
- Ludwig Walther (1), 'Zukunftsvoraussagen in der Antike, der frühen Neuzeit und heute', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 131-183; — Id. (2), 'Akademien der Neuzeit zwischen Freundeskreis und Institution', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 217-233; — Id. (3), 'Die Bildungsreise in der lateinischen Reise-literatur oder die Erfindung der Bildungsreise durch die Humanisten', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 547-582.
- Mouchel Christian – Colette Nativel (eds.), *République des Lettres, République des Arts. Mélanges en l'honneur de Marc Fumaroli, de l'Académie Française*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 445 (Genève: Droz, 2008).
- Ryantová Marie, 'Frühneuzeitliche Stammbücher als Mittel individueller Selbstdarstellung', *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 18 (2007), 91-108.
- Scarabelli Mauro, 'Per la storia del genere biografico in Italia. Le vite di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio', *Humanistica*, 3/1 (2008), 103-110.
- Tombi Beáta, 'La teoria dell'imitazione nel Quattrocento', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 160-168.
- Werle Dirk, *Copia librorum. Problemgeschichte imaginierter Bibliotheken 1580-1630*, Frühe Neuzeit, 119 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2007). Agitur de I.A. Comenio, D. Erasmo, D.G. Morhofio, A. Possevino aliisque.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Commencer et Finir*); 1.2: Britannia (Hosington), Finnia (Harsting – Viklund), Germania (*Nova Litteraria*), Hispania (Alcina Rovira; García Jurado), Hungaria (Szörényi-2); et infra 1.6 (Kuhn; Rietveld); 2.1 (Antón).

1.4. *Linguistica*

- Considine John, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2008).

- Furno Martine, 'Du commerce et des langues: latin et vernaculaires dans les lexiques et dictionnaires plurilingues au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Histoire et civilisation du livre*, 4 (2008), 93-116.
- Phillips Susan E., 'Schoolmasters, Seduction, and Slavery: Polyglot Dictionaries in Pre-Modern England', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s., 34 (2008), 129-158.
- vide et supra 1.2 (Leonhardt); 1.2: Italia: Roma (Abbamonte); et infra 4.1 (Charlet); 4.2: Cordero (González Pérez).

### 1.5. Thematica

- Celenza Christopher S., 'Humanism and the Classical Tradition', *Annali d'italianistica*, 26 (2008), 25-49.
- Cislaghi Michela – Marco Giovini (eds.), *Il lessico della classicità nella letteratura europea moderna*, 1: *La letteratura drammatica. Tragedia e dialogo* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2008).
- Grobauer Franz-Joseph – Lukas Sainitzer – Wilhelmine Widhalm-Kupferschmidt – Helfried Gschwandtner (eds.), *Patrimonium Latinitatis. Die Rezeption des Lateinischen in Sprache und Literatur*, Latein-Lektüre aktiv (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag Schulbuch, 2007).
- Hilton John – Anne Gosling (eds.), *Alma parens originalis? The Receptions of Classical Literature and Thought in Africa, Europe, the United States and Cuba* (Oxford e.a.: Peter Lang, 2007).
- Speranzi David, 'Per la storia della libreria medicea privata. Il Laur. plut. 58,2, Gian Lascario e Giovanni Mosco', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, n.s., 18 (2007), 181-215.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Classical Mythology; Festschrift Tschiedel; Le plaisir*); 1.2: Asia (Loureiro); 1.2: Mexicum (Sarabia Viejo); 1.3 (Ludwig-1); et infra 1.6 (Coulson; Maestre Maestre); 1.8 (Boutroue); 1.10 (Cumings; Fortuna); 2.1 (Charlet; Csehy); 2.2: de Anchieta (González Luis), Gruterus (Ludwig), de Herrera (Casas Agudo); 3.2: Crucius (de Sousa Barbosa), Gnapheus (Demoed-1); 4.2: Calderinus (Coppini), Calvinus (Zahnd), Dantiscus (Skolimowska: Domański), Decembrius (Scappaticcio), Erasmus (Pasini – Rossi: Gianotti, Tosi), Lipsius (Isnardi Parente), Morus (Norland), Picus Mirandulanus (Safa), *Ratio et institutio studiorum S.I.* (Müller), Salutatius (Witt), Schottus A. (Brout), Vernulaeus (De Bom); 5: Germania: Moguntiacum (*Siste viator et lege*).

AESOPUS: vide infra 4.2: Barbarus Sr. (Cocco).

ANTHOLOGIA GRAECA: Haynes Kenneth, 'The Modern Reception of Greek Epigram', in Bing Peter – Jon Steffen Bruss (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 565-583; — vide et infra 4.2: Erasmus (Citti).

APHTHONIUS: vide infra 4.2: Mal-Lara (Arcos Pereira – Cuyás de Torres).

PSEUDO-APULEIUS: Santamaría Hernández María Teresa, 'La recepción del "Herbario" de Ps. Apuleyo en el Renacimiento', in *La transmisión de la ciencia*, pp. 203-222.

- ARISTOTELES: Valverde Abril Juan J., 'Las versiones latinas de la Política de Aristóteles en la España del Renacimiento: tradición manuscrita', *Paideia*, 63 (2008), 391-405; — vide et infra 4.2: Basson (Lamarra – Palaia), Erasmus (Pasini – Rossi: Steel), Patricius (Vasoli), Riti (Röling), Scaliger I.C. (Leroux), Strozza C. (Zorzi).
- ATHANASIUS: vide infra 4.2: Omnibonus (Fiaschi).
- AUGUSTINUS: Drecoll Volker Henning (ed.), *Augustin Handbuch* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). Continet i.a.: 'Aspekte der Wirkungsgeschichte' (pp. 558-645); — Visser Arnoud, 'Reading Augustine through Erasmus' *Eyes: Humanist Scholarship and Paratextual Guidance in the Wake of Reformation*, *ERSY*, 28 (2008), 67-90; — vide et infra 4.2: de León (Chiappini), Morus (Kaufman).
- AVICENNA: vide infra 4.2: Anonymus Italus (Perifano).
- BIBLIA: Aalderink Mark – Gwendolyn Verbraak, 'Biblia sacra. A Bibliography of Bibles Printed in Belgium and the Netherlands', in *Lay Bibles*, pp. 299-317; — Martínez Sariego Mónica, 'Si est dolor sicut dolor meus. Sobre la herencia de los comentaristas bíblicos en un romance de pliego dieciochesco y su pervivencia en la tradición oral de Canarias', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 395-415; — vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Biblical Humanism*; *Lay Bibles*); 1.2: Belgium Vetus: Lovanium (François); 1.2: Italia (Grendler; Monfasani); et infra 2.2: Arias Montanus (Charlo Brea – Pozuelo Calero), Buchananus (Green), Pachecus (Pozuelo Calero-1); 3.2: Caussin (Chevalier); 4.2: Arias Montanus (Morreale), Calvinus (Pranger), Erasmus (*Opera omnia*, VI, 9; Bedouelle; Bracke; François; Gielis), Faber Stapulensis (Bedouelle), Heinsius (Bloemendal-2 – Nellen), Nebrissensis (Bonmatí Sánchez-2; del Valle Rodríguez), Pannonius (Kertész – Biró), Petrarca (Baglio), Picus Mirandulanus (Black), Steuchus (Delph), Titelmanus (Sartori), De Vio (Osculati), Vives (Coronel Ramos).
- BOETHIUS: vide infra 4.2: Badius (Glei), Valla (Laffranchi).
- CAESAR: Moreno Hernández Antonio, 'En torno a la puntuación de las primeras ediciones postincunables de los *Commentarii* de César (1504-1513)', in *Picón García*, pp. 331-351; — vide et infra 4.2: Augustinus (Moraleda Díaz); 6: Licoppe (*De portu Itio*).
- CATILINA: vide infra 4.2: Anonymus (González Rolán – Saquero Suárez-Somonte).
- CATO MINOR: Alonso Álvaro, 'Suicidio y libertad: Catón de Útica entre Cartagena y Cetina', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 211-222.
- CATULLUS: Haig Gaisser Julia, 'Catullus in the Renaissance', in Skinner Marilyn B. (ed.), *A Companion to Catullus*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 439-460; — Parenti Giovanni, 'La tradizione catulliana nella poesia latina del Cinquecento', in *Rinnovamento umanistico*, pp. 63-100; — vide et infra 2.1 (Csehy).
- CICERO: Cox Virginia – John O. Ward (eds.), *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition (Leiden: Brill, 2006); — Masi Gianluca, 'Il falso sepolcro di Cicerone a Zante', *Studia historica Adriatica ac Danubiana*, 1/1 (2008), 93-130; — vide et infra 4.2: Albertus (Cardini-1), Dantiscus (Skolimowska):

- Luján Atienza), Landinus (Pieper), Lipsius (Papy-2), Petrarca (Hermand-Schebat), Trapezuntius (Calboli Montefusco).
- CURTIVS RUFVS: Costas Rodríguez Jenaro, 'La primera edición del texto latino de Quinto Curcio en España', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 193-203.
- DIO CHRYSOSTOMVS: vide infra 4.2: Filelfus F. (Leotta).
- DONATIO CONSTANTINI: vide infra 4.2: Piccolomineus (Arnold – Fuchs – Füssel: Henderson).
- DONATVS: vide supra 1.2 (Ciccolella).
- ENNIUS: Houghton Luke B.T., 'A Letter from Petrarch', in Fitzgerald William – Emily Gowers (eds.), *Ennius perennis. The Annals and beyond*, Cambridge Classical Journal, Supplement, 31 (Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 2007), pp. 145-158.
- EPICTETVS: vide infra 4.2: de Valentia (Nieto Ibáñez-1).
- EUSTATHIVS: Liverani Irene A., 'L'editio princeps dei Commentarii all'Odissea di Eustazio di Tessalonica', *Medioevo Greco*, 2 (2002), 81-100; — vide et infra 4.2: Politianus (Silvano-3).
- FESTVS: Mascardi Alessandro, 'Recuperi festini: *vehere mercedonias Minerva*', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, n.s., 18 (2007), 217-227.
- FVLGENTIVS: vide infra 4.2: Pius I.B. (Venuti).
- GALENVS: vide infra 4.2: Anonymus Italus (Perifano).
- HERMOGENES: vide infra 4.2: Trapezuntius (Calboli Montefusco).
- HERODIANVS: vide infra 4.2: Politianus (Gionta).
- HESIODVS: vide infra 4.2: Perottus (Perotti).
- HOMERVS: Pontani Filippomaria, 'From Budé to Zenodotus: Homeric Readings in the European Renaissance', *IJCT*, 14 (2007), 375-430; — vide et supra: Eustathius (Liverani); et infra 2.2: Calentius (Monti Sabia), Spondanus (Deloince-Lovette); 4.1 (Rodríguez Adrados); 4.2: Gellius (Radif), Petrarca (Foti), Politianus (*Angelo Poliziano, Oratio in expositione Homeri; Le note di Poliziano alla traduzione dell'Iliade*; Silvano-1-2-3), Volmarius (Ford).
- HORATIVS: Assunção Liana, 'Horace et Lydie de François Ponsard: uma *amplificatio* da Ode III, 9 de Horácio', *Ágora*, 10 (2008), 129-154; — Harrison Stephen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Horace* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2007). Continet i.a.: McGann Michael, 'The reception of Horace in the Renaissance' (pp. 305-317); Money David, 'The reception of Horace in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' (pp. 318-333); — Iurilli Antonio, 'Orazio nelle biblioteche napoletane fra Quattro e Cinquecento', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 225-243; — Mañas Núñez Manuel, 'La sátira "Ibam forte" de Horacio (*Serm.* 1.9) traducida por Luis Zapata', in *Humanidades clásicas*, pp. 297-322; — Millet Olivier, '*Les premiers traits de la théorie moderne de la tragédie d'après les commentaires humanistes de l'Art poétique d'Horace (1550-1554)*', *Études françaises*, 44/2 (2008), 11-31; — Stenuit Bernard, 'Le texte d'Horace à la fin du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'essor de la philologie moderne', *Latomus*, 68 (2009), 742-753; — Tateo Francesco, 'Presenze di Orazio nelle letteratura italiana', *Critica letteraria*, 135 (2007), 367-372; — Verbeke Demmy, 'Horace from Bruges to Cambridge: The Editions by Jacobus Cruquius and Richard Bentley', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 461-471; —



- vide et infra 2.2: Boschius (Ludwig), Casanovas i Manent (Alturo i Perucho), Johnson (Baldwin), Kniaznin (Radke), Morellus (Schmitz), Vaenius (Montone).
- IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS: vide infra 4.2: Traversarius (Varalda).
- PSEUDO-IUVENCUS: vide infra 2.2: Eobanus Hessus (Vredeveld).
- LACTANTIUS: vide infra 4.2: Tortellius (Charlet).
- LIVIVS: van Heck Paul, 'Livio volgare: la traduzione di Jacopo Nardi', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 367-378.
- LUCANUS: vide infra 2.2: Taurinus (Szörényi).
- LUCIANUS: *Luciano di Samosata, Caronte – Timone. Le prime traduzioni*. A cura di Ernesto Berti, Edizione Nazionale delle traduzioni dei testi greci in età umanistica e rinascimentale, 1 (Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006); — Hosington Brenda M., "Compluria opuscula longe festivissima": Translations of Lucian in Renaissance England', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 187-205; — Ní Chuilleanáin Eiléan, 'Motives of translation: More, Erasmus and Lucian', *Hermathena*, 183 (2007), 49-62; — Olszaniec Włodzimierz, 'Nota critica all'epitome della traduzione latina del *Caronte* di Luciano', *HL*, 58 (2009), 407.
- LUCRETIUS: Gillespie Stuart – Philip Hardie (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2007). Continet i.a.: Haskell Yasmin, 'Religion and enlightenment in the neo-latin reception of Lucretius' (pp. 185-201); Johnson Monte – Catherine Wilson, 'Lucretius and the History of Science' (pp. 131-148); Reeve Michael, 'Lucretius in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance: transmission and scholarship' (pp. 205-213).
- LYRICI LATINI: vide infra 4.2: Erasmus (Carena-1).
- MACROBIUS: Lecompte Stéphanie, *La chaîne d'or des poètes. Présence de Macrobe dans l'Europe Humaniste*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 449 (Genève: Droz, 2009).
- MAXIMIANUS: Consolino Franca Ela, 'L'elegia secondo Massimiano', in *Rinascimento umanistico*, pp. 183-224.
- OVIDIUS: vide infra 2.2: Bodius (Ritter), Pontanus (Casanova-Robin-1), a Skop (Ludwig); 3.2: Rinuccius (Radif-1); 4.2: Pontanus Iac. (Iglesias Montiel – Álvarez Morán).
- PAROEMIOGRAPHI: vide infra 4.2: Erasmus (Tosi-1).
- PATRES ECCLESIASTICI: Cortesi Mariarosa (ed.), "Editiones principes" delle opere dei Padri greci e latini. *Atti del Convegno di studi della Società Internazionale per lo studio del Medioevo Latino (SISMEL). Certosa del Galluzzo – Firenze, 24-25 ottobre 2003*, Millennio Medievale (Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006); — vide et infra 4.2: Erasmus (Pasini – Rossi: Cortesi).
- PETRONIUS: Castagna Luigi – Eckard Lefèvre (eds.), *Studien zu Petron und seiner Rezeption*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 241 (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); — vide et infra 4.2: Nodot (Steinberg; Stucchi).
- PINDARUS: vide infra 2.2: Sarbievius (Łukaszewicz-Chantry); 4.2: Gaza (Tisoni).
- PLATO: Simonutti Luisa (ed.), *Forme del neoplatonismo. Dall'eredità ficiniana ai platonici di Cambridge. Atti del Convegno (Firenze, 25-27 ottobre 2001)*,

- Atti di Convegni dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 25 (Firenze: Olschki, 2007); — vide et infra: Socrates (Trapp); 2.1 (Robert); 4.2: Brunus L. (Isnardi Parente), Ficinus (Allen; Robichaud; Snyder).
- PLAUTUS: vide infra 3.2: Locher (Marino), Piccolomineus (Anzani), Romagnanus (Molina Sánchez); 4.2: Erasmus (Bloemendal; Tosi-2).
- PLINIUS MAIOR: Bianca Concetta, 'Il Plinio della Corsiniana (Roma 1470)', *RnR*, 2006, 37-42; — vide et infra 4.2: Becichemus (Walter), Geraldinus (González Vázquez), Iovius B. (Buzzi).
- PLINIUS MINOR: vide infra 4.2: Iovius B. (Buzzi).
- PLUTARCHUS: Guerrier Olivier (ed.), *Moralia et Oeuvres morales à la Renaissance. Actes du Colloque International de Toulouse (19-21 mai 2005)*, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur la Renaissance européenne, 61 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008); — vide et infra 4.2: Aquivivus (Tateo-1-2), Gellius (Radif), Lipsius (Tarrête), Politianus (Bevegni), Sánchez de Arévalo (González Rolán – Saquero Suárez-Somonte).
- POLYBIUS: vide infra 4.2: Perottus (Maddalo – Panzi).
- PORPHYRIUS: vide infra 4.2: Faber Stapulensis (Baumann).
- PRISCIANUS: Hernández González Fremiot, 'El *Priscianus* de Merbitz, una crítica a docentes de su época', in *Picón García*, pp. 713-724.
- PROCLUS: vide infra 4.2: Clavius (Claessens).
- PROPERTIUS: vide infra 2.1 (Robert); 4.2: Lipsius (van der Poel).
- PRUDENTIUS: vide infra 4.2: Gratius (Haye).
- PUBLILIUS SYRUS: Wallner Gustavus, 'Publilius Syrus *Mimorum Rex*', *Latinitas*, 56 (2008), 245-252.
- PYTHEAS: vide supra 1.2 (Mund-Dopchie).
- QUINTILIANUS: vide infra 4.2: Petrarca (Monte).
- RHETORES LATINI MINORES: vide infra 4.2: Maiansius (Pérez Durà).
- SAPPHO: Lieberg Godo, 'Eine wörtliche Übersetzung von Sappho fr. 31 (2D) / Conversio Latina', *Forum Classicum*, 51 (2008), 209-210.
- SENECA: vide infra 3.1 (Norland); 3.2: Heinsius (Bloemendal); 4.2: Bandini (Monti), Barzizza (Gualdo), Cornazzanus (Bisanti), Trevetus (Pittaluga).
- SOCRATES: Trapp Michael (ed.), *Socrates from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, Publications of the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College, London, 9 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); — vide et infra 4.2: Aquivivus (Tateo-1-2).
- SUETONIUS: vide infra 6: Römer (Römer).
- SYNESIUS CYRENAICUS: vide infra 4.2: Cardanus (Boriaud).
- TACITUS: vide infra 4.2: Bandini (Monti).
- TERENTIUS: McC. Brown Peter G., 'The *Eunuch* Castrated: Bowdlerization in the Text of the Westminster Latin Play', *IJCT*, 15 (2008), 16-28; — vide et infra 3.2: Foxius (Norland), Romagnanus (Molina Sánchez); 4.2: Erasmus (Bloemendal).
- TESTAMENTUM NOVUM: vide supra: *Biblia*.
- TESTAMENTUM VETUS: vide supra: *Biblia*.
- THEOCRITUS: Paschalis Michael (ed.), *Pastoral Palimpsests. Essays in the Reception of Theocritus and Virgil* (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2007).
- THUCYDIDES: vide infra 4.2: Valla (Chambers).
- VARRO: vide infra 4.2: Tortellius (Charlet).

- VERGILIUS: Grau Peter, '*Brutus infelix* (Verg, Aen. 6,822). Zum Brutus-Bild in der darstellenden Kunst', in *Festschrift Tschiedel*, pp. 493-506; — Kallendorf Craig (1), *The Virgilian Tradition. Book History and the History of Reading in Early Modern Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 885 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); — Id. (2), *The Other Vergil. 'Pessimistic' Readings of the Aeneid in Early Modern Culture*, Classical Presences (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 2007). Tractatur i.a. F. Filelfus; — Id. (3), 'Epic and Tragedy – Virgil, La Cerda, Milton', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 579-593; — Traina Mario, 'Monete, medaglie e rebus per Virgilio a Mantova. Rilettura critica e aggiornata degli studi di Alessandro Magnaguti', *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini*, 109 (2008), 437-488; — vide et supra: Theocritus (Paschals); Abbreviationes (*Festschrift Tschiedel*); et infra 2.2: Capilupus (Tucker), Petrarca (Christes), Pontanus (Casanova-Robin-1), Sadoletus (Wolkenhauer), Vida (Szörényi); 4.2: Decembrius (Weische), Laetus (Stok), Petrarca (Venier – Fenzi), Sanctius Brocensis (Mañas Viniegra).
- XENOPHON: Grogan Jane, "'Many Cyruses": Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and English Renaissance Humanism', *Hermathena*, 183 (2007), 63-74; — vide et infra 4.2: Guarinus (Bandini).
- PSEUDO-ZONARAS: vide infra 4.2: Politianus (Silvano-2).

### 1.6. Mythologica

- Coulson Frank T., 'Procne and Philomela in the Latin Commentary Tradition of the Middle Ages and Renaissance', *Euphrosyne*, 36 (2008), 181-196.
- Kuhn Barbara, *Mythos und Metapher. Metamorphosen der Kirke-Mythos in der Literatur der italienischen Renaissance*, Humanistische Bibliothek, I,55 (München: Fink, 2003).
- Maestre Maestre José María, 'Influencias indirectas de la mitología clásica en las literaturas latina y vulgar de los Siglos de Oro', *Euphrosyne*, 35 (2007), 373-384.
- Nieto Ibáñez Jesús-María, 'Prometeo y la naturaleza humana en el Humanismo Hispánico: la "Monarquía mística" de Lorenzo de Zamora', *Euphrosyne*, 35 (2007), 385-396.
- Rietveld Laura, *Il trionfo di Orfeo. La fortuna di Orfeo in Italia da Dante a Monteverdi* (Amsterdam: F&N Bookservice, 2007).
- Szörényi László, 'Il mito dell'età dell'oro nella poesia in lingua latina dell'Umanesimo ungherese', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 131-142.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Classical Mythology*); et infra 2.2: Carrara (Hofmann), Castilio (Monreal); 3.2: Rinuccius (Radif-2); 4.2: Becanus (De Landtsheer), Boccatus (Babics), Erasmus (De Smet), Grotius (Berns), Heinsius (Bloemendal-1), Perottus (Perotti), Pictorius (Enenkel), Schottus A. (Brout).

### 1.7. Philosophica

- van Ruler Han, 'The *philosophia Christi*, its Echoes and its Repercussions on Virtue and Nobility', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 235-263.

- vide et supra 1.2: Germania: Heidelberga (Strohm – Freedman – Selderhuis); et infra 4.1 (Beuchot Puente); 4.2: Bonfadius (Ferretto), Calvinus (Zahnd), Campanella (Ricci), Erasmus (Ménager-2; Pasini – Rossi: van Ruler; Roose), Ficinus (Sita-1-2), Lipsius (Isnardi Parente; Papy-1), Ritiu (Roling), Valla (Nauta-2).

### 1.8. *Scientifica*

- AA. VV., *Erbe e speciali. I laboratori della salute* (Roma: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 2007). Est catalogus exhibitionis. Multa pertinent ad Collegium S.I. Romanum.
- Boutroue Marie-Elisabeth, 'Des plantes pour dormir: un aperçu de la pharmacopée ancienne de l'insomnie', *Camenae*, 5 (novembre 2008) [12 pp.; vide interrete: <http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?article8615>].
- Conde Salazar Matilde, 'Recepción y uso en latín de algunas plantas medicinales. El género *thymus*', in *La transmisión de la ciencia*, pp. 35-70.
- Jorink Eric, *Het Boeck der Natuere. Nederlandse geleerden en de wonderen van Gods schepping, 1575-1715* (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2007).
- Ludwig Walther, 'Wissenschaft und Katholische Bücherzensur in der frühen Neuzeit', in Kiefer Jürgen (ed.), *Parerga – Beiträge zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte. In memoriam Horst Rudolf Abe*, Sonderschriften, 37 (Erfurt: Akademie Gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt, 2007), pp. 31-50. Tractantur G. Bruschiu, M. Crusiu, I. Cuspinianu, D. Erasmus, N. Frischlinu, C. Landinu, I. Micyllu, I. Posseliu et I. Sleidanu.
- Palmieri Paolo, 'Breaking the circle: the emergence of Archimedean mechanics in the late Renaissance', *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, 62 (2008), 301-346.
- Perifano Alfredo, 'Académiciens et barbares dans les *Novae academiae Florentinae opuscula* (1533 et 1534). Aspects d'une polémique médicale au xvr<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Les Académies*, pp. 163-185.
- Puliafito Anna Laura, 'Libertà di scienza – libertà di coscienza. Filosofia naturale e tolleranza religiosa nel secondo Cinquecento', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 257-265.
- van der Krogt Peter, 'Latin texts on old maps: Elementary Latin grammar and cartographic word list', *The Portolan*, 2007, Winter, 10-26.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*La transmisión de la ciencia*); 1.2 (Rubiés); 1.2: Francia (Kahn); 1.2: Germania (Ludwig); 1.2: Hispania (Álvarez del Palacio – Fernández Díez); 1.2: Italia (Clericuzio – Ernst – Conforti; Stenhouse); 1.2: Italia: Neapolis (Nuovo); 1.2: Mexicum (Sarabia Viejo); 1.3 (Giacomotto-Charra); 1.5: Lucretius (Gillespie – Hardie: Johnson – Wilson, Reeve); et infra 1.10 (Fortuna); 4.2: Anonymus Italus (Perifano), Arias Montanus (Paradinas Fuentes), Blondus Flavius (Fubini), Bonfadius (Ferretto), Brahe (Swerdlow), Celsius (*Three Dissertations*), Clavius (Claessens), Columna (Ottaviani), Cotugno (Iurilli), Eckius I. (Freedberg), Ficinus (North), Freherus (Siegel), Gemma (Hirai), Gesnerus (Delisle), Geulincx (Nicusanti), Hugenius Chr. (Icke), Kepler (Chen-Morris), Sánchez (Lafuente

Guantes), Sanctius Brocensis (Chaparro Gómez), Simplicianus Neapolitanus (Florio-1-2-3-4), de Valentia (Nieto Ibáñez-2).

### 1.9. *Ecdotica*

- vide supra 1.2: Belgium Vetus: Antverpia (Bowen); 1.2: Hungaria: Debrece-num (Bitskey); et infra 4.2: Erasmus (Crouzas; Pasini – Rossi: Cortesi).

CAVAGNI DI LAVAGNA, PHILIPPUS (1434/5-1505): Ganda Arnaldo, *Filippo Cavagni di Lavagna: editore, tipografo, commerciante a Milano nel Quattrocento*, Storia della tipografia e del commercio librario (Firenze: Olschki, 2006).

CRISPINUS, IOHANNES (ca. 1520-1572): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.

GRYPHIUS, SEBASTIANUS (1493-1556): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.

MANUTIUS, PAULUS (1512-1574): Sterza Tiziana, 'Paolo Manuzio editore a Venezia (1533-1561)', *Acme*, 61/2 (2008), 123-167.

PLANTINUS, CHRISTOPHORUS (ca. 1520-1589): Bowen Karen L. – Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2008); — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.

STEPHANUS, HENRICUS II (1530/1-1598): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.

### 1.10. *Interpretatoria*

- Cummings Robert, 'Recent Studies in English Translation, c. 1590-c. 1660, 1: General Studies and Translations from Greek and Latin', *English Literary Renaissance*, 39 (2009), 197-227.
- Fortuna Stefania, 'The Prefaces to the First Humanist Medical Translations', *Traditio*, 62 (2007), 317-335.
- Verbeke Demmy, "'Done into English": vroegmoderne vertaalpraktijk geïllustreerd aan de hand van enkele Engelse vertalingen van Neolatijnse auteurs uit de Lage Landen', *Nieuwsbrief Neolatinistenverband*, 22 (2009), 16-25. Attinguntur D. Heinsius, I. Lipsius et E. Puteanus.
- vide et supra 1.2: Belgium Vetus: Lovanium (François); 1.2: Mexicum (Sarabia Viejo); 1.5: Aristoteles (Valverde Abril), Horatius (Mañas Núñez), Livius (van Heck), Lucianus (Berti; Hosington; Ní Chuilleanáin; Olszaniec), Sappho (Lieberg); et infra 2.2: Bukelare (Derolez), Housmannus (Sydenham), Salutatius (Bausi); 3.1 (Norland); 4.2: Aitzinger (Guinard), Barbarus Sr. (Cocco), Bodinus (Isnardi Parente-4), Bonfinis (Szörényi-1), Brunus L. (Berti; Marassi), Erasmus (Bedouelle; François), Filelfus F. (Leotta), Intorcetta (Golvers), Lipsius (De Bom-1), Morata (Prandi), Nodot (Steinberg; Stucchi), Omnibonus (*Athanasii Alexandrini opera*), Politianus (*Le note del Poliziano alla traduzione dell'Iliade*), Sánchez de Arévalo (González Rolán – Saquero Suárez-Somonte), Traversarius (Varalda), de Valentia (Nieto Ibáñez-1), Valla (Chambers), Vives (Coronel Ramos).

1.11. *Paedagogica*

- Campi Emidio – Simone De Angelis – Anja-Silvia Goeing – Anthony T. Grafton (eds.), *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 447 (Genève: Droz, 2008).
- Ekler Péter, 'Methodological Problems in 15<sup>th</sup>-Century Latin Grammar Books used in Hungary: *saepes, faex, pecus*', *CamHung*, 4-5 (2007-2008), 19-32.
- Fernández Díez Beatriz – Eduardo Álvarez del Palacio, 'El humanista inglés Richard Mulcaster: ideas pedagógicas y propuesta de educación física', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 117-132.
- Nelles Paul, "'Libros de papel, libri bianchi, libri papyracei. Note-taking techniques and the role of student notebooks in the early Jesuit Colleges', *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, 76 (2007), 75-112.
- Vergara Ciordia Javier, 'El humanismo pedagógico en los colegios jesuíticos del siglo xvi', *SPV*, 10 (2007), 171-200.
- vide et supra 1.2: Belgium Vetus (Frank-van Westriemen); 1.2: Belgium Vetus: Rollarium (Thoen); 1.2: Germania (Farge; Wriedt); 1.2: Germania: Osnabruga (Suntrup); 1.2: Hispania: Barcino (Fernández Luzón); 1.2: Hungaria: Debrecenum (Bitskey); 1.2: Italia (Black; Piovan); 1.2: Italia: Mantua (Grendler), Perusia (Frova – Giubbini – Panzanelli Fraton), Roma (Bindman; Esposito – Frova), Senae (Denley-2); 1.4 (Phillips); et infra: 2.1 (Zajic); 3.2: Crucius (de Sousa Barbosa); 4.2: Borromaeus (Sparti), *Ratio et institutio studiorum S.I.* (Müller), Sánchez de Arévalo (González Rolán – Saquero Suárez-Somonte), Sanctius Brocensis (Chaparro Gómez), de Valentia (Paradinas Fuentes).

1.12. *Didactica*

- De Smet Ingrid A.R., 'Cui bono? Some Reflections on the Aims of Teaching Post-Classical Latin', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 825-834.
- Miraglia Luigi (1), *Nova Via Latine doceo. Guida per gl'insegnanti*, I: *Familia Romana*. Con una postfazione di Hans H. Ørberg (Montella: Edizioni Accademia Vivarium Novum, 2009); — Id. (2), *La via degli Umanisti. Il metodo induttivo contestuale per l'apprendimento del latino* (Montella: Accademia Vivarium Novum, 2008). Est DVD.

2. *Poetica*2.1. *Generalia*

- Antón Beatriz, 'Vino, toros y tabaco en la literatura emblemática neolatina', in *Picón García*, pp. 549-559.
- Benassi Stefano, 'Teologia poetica e teologia platonica: il cammino verso l'autoreferenzialità della poesia', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 607-634.

- Braun Ludwig, 'Fortia facta cano Lodoici – Über die Heroisierung der Gegenwart durch das transformierte Epos im 17. Jahrhundert', in Osterkamp Ernst (ed.), *Wissensästhetik. Wissen über die Antike in ästhetischer Vermittlung*, Transformationen der Antike, 6 (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 161-170.
- Charlet Jean-Louis, 'Les mètres sapphiques et alcaïques de l'antiquité à l'époque humaniste', *Faventia*, 29/2 (2007 [2009]), 133-155.
- Csehy Zoltán, 'Il concetto della *libertas* nel sistema del *servitium amoris*', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 317-323. Attinguntur A. Braccius, C. Landinus, I.I. Pontanus et T.V. Strozza.
- Dauvois Nathalie (ed.), *Renaissance de l'ode: L'ode française au tournant des années 1550*, Colloques, congrès et conférences sur la Renaissance européenne, 57 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007). Agitur i.a. de I. Salmonio Macrino.
- Duso Maria Elena, *Il sonetto latino e semilatio tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Miscellanea erudita (Roma – Padova: Antenore, 2005).
- Galán Sánchez Pedro Juan, 'La "poética de la imitación" en la poesía neolatina del Renacimiento: distinción entre "fuentes, clichés y paralelos"', *Minerva*, 20 (2007), 139-161.
- Gilmore John, 'Schoolboy patriotism and gender stereotypes in the region of Queen Anne', in 1708, pp. 106-109.
- Humbert de Montmoret, Germain de Brie, Pierre Choque, L'Incendie de la Cordelière. *L'écriture épique au début de la Renaissance*. Textes présentés et traduits par Sandra Provini, avec une préface de Perrine Galand-Hallyn (La Rochelle: Rumeur des Âges, 2004). G. Brixii *Chordigerae navis conflagratio* (1513) et Montis Moretani *Herveis* (ca. 1513), una cum versione Gallica operis Brixii a Petro Choque facta.
- Krüssel Hermann, 'Marc Antoine Berdolet im Fokus der Musen. Lateinische Inschriften und Gedichte begleiten Aachens ersten Bischof', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 152-157.
- Laurens Pierre (1), *La dernière muse latine. Douze lectures poétiques, de Claudien à la génération baroque*, Essais (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008); — Id. (2), 'Epigramma greco, epigramma latino: una eredità conflittuale?', in *Rinnovamento umanistico*, pp. 43-61.
- Lesigang-Bruckmüller Annamaria, '*Musae Francisco et Mariae Theresiae Augustis congratulantur*. Eine Festschrift zur Eröffnung der Neuen Aula der Wiener Universität', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 383-414.
- Ludwig Walther (1), 'Testimonia amoris librorum', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 9-16; — Id. (2), 'Eine protestantische Ehelehre – Die Sammlung der *Carmina et Epistolae ad D. Davidem Chytraeum* (1562)', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 185-215; — Id. (3), 'Die Hölle auf Erden', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 453-478. Agitur de emblematis.
- [Miraglia Luigi (ed.)], *Litterarum vis. Loci in seminariis legendi. Omnium gentium seminaria de litterarum virtutibus penitus intellegendis. Segedini et Budapestini, in Hungaria, inde a die xxiv mensis Iulii usque ad Kalendas Augustas A. MMVIII* (Segedini: edito privata, 2008).
- Money David, 'The Edge of War: how some poets (and preachers) reacted to Oudenarde and Lille', in 1708, pp. 122-136. Tractantur R. Bentleius, H. Sike et B. Wilson.

- *Musae Anglicanae Anglicè Redditae. A selection of verse written in Latin by British poets of the eighteenth century.* Translated, and with an introduction and notes by John Gilmore (Spon End: The Derek Walcott Press, 2007).
- Panagl Victoria, “‘Aequabit laudes nulla Camena tuas’”. Poetry and Music in Latin Laudatory Motets’, in *Cui dono*, pp. 127-140.
- Pestarino Rossano, ‘*Incolumis pudor.* Tra latino e volgare da Flaminio a Tasso’, *Quaderni di critica e filologia italiana*, 1 (2004), 1-58.
- Pozuelo Calero Bartolomé, ‘El tûmulo y exequias de Isabel de Valois en Sevilla (1568)’, *CR*, 3 (2002), 193-247.
- Ricciardi Paolo, *Santi nostri e feste. Vicende di chiese e conventi nell’Arcidiocesi di Otranto* (Galatina: Editrice Solentina, 2006). Libro continentur complures hymni aevi recentioris.
- Robert Jörg, “‘Amabit sapiens, cruciabitur autem stultus.’ Neuplatonische Poetik der Elegie und Pluralisierung des erotischen Diskurs um 1500’, in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 35-73. Attinguntur P. Beroaldus Sr, M. Ficinus et A. Volsus.
- Scalabrini Massimo – Davide Stimilli, ‘Pastoral Postures: Some Renaissance Versions of Pastoral’, *BHR*, 71 (2009), 35-60.
- Schaffenrath Florian, ‘*Deus ecce deus.* Stationen eines Motives in der neulateinischen Epik’, *Wiener Humanistische Blätter*, 49 (2007), 70-78.
- Seidel Robert, ‘Die “tote Sprache” und das “Originalgenie”’. Poetologische und literatursoziologische Transformationsprozesse in der Geschichte der deutschen neulateinischen Lyrik’, in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 422-448.
- Smeesters Aline, *Aux rives de la lumière. La poésie de la naissance dans les Anciens Pays-Bas entre la fin du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle et le milieu du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Unpublished Ph.D. Université Catholique de Louvain [Louvain-la-Neuve], 2007).
- Szörényi László (1), ‘Poesia epica neolatina dei gesuiti della Transilvania nel Settecento’, in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 223-237. Agitur de A. Bucsi, A. Handler, A. Hedri, I. Köszeghi et S. Roth; — Id. (2), ‘Le Parnasse latin moderne de J. Brunel (1808): la culture néo-latine dans les littératures européennes modernes’, in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 255-265; — Id. (3), ‘Il giudizio di Croce sulla poesia latina del Barocco’, in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 311-316.
- Urbano C., ‘S. Francisco Xavier e a poesia hagiográfica novilatina em Portugal’, *Humanitas*, 58 (2006), 369-390.
- Visser Arnoud, ‘Escaping the Reformation in the Republic of Letters: Confessional Silence in Latin Emblem Books’, *Church History and Religious Culture*, 88 (2008), 139-167.
- Zajic Andreas, ‘Universitäre Bildung als Element inschriftlicher Selbstdarstellung in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Eine flüchtige Wiener Skizze’, in *Universität Wien*, pp. 103-142.
- Zampese Cristina, “‘Haec chartas, haec ferat arma manus’: cantare la guerra nella lirica’, in Canova Andrea – Paola Vecchi Galli (eds.), *Boiardo, Ariosto e i libri di battaglia*, Studi boiardeschi, 7 (Novara: Interlinea Edizioni, 2007), pp. 235-257.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Lateinische Lyrik*; *Rinnovamento umanistico*); 1.2 (Maranini); 1.2: Germania: Friburgum Brisgavorum (Aurnhammer – Schiewer); 1.2: Hispania (García Jurado); 1.2: Hungaria (Szörényi-2);



1.2: Italia (Girardi; Villalonga – Miralles – Prats); 1.3 (Beck-Chauvard; Knappe; Knight – Moul); 1.5: Catullus (Parenti), Macrobius (Lecompte); 1.6 (Szörényi); et infra 2.2: Gruterus (Ludwig), Sacherevell (Money); 4.1 (Agasse; Gabriëls; Schmidt-Beste; Verbeke); et 4.2: Gassendus (Taussig – Turner), Gryphius (Morisse), Scaliger I.C. (Leroux).

## 2.2. *Poetae*

DE ACEVEDO, PETRUS PAULUS, S.I. (1522-1573): Flores Santamaría Primitiva – Carmen Gallardo Mediavilla, 'Costis Nimpha, una égloga en honor a la divina Catalina', in *Picón García*, pp. 651-674; — vide et infra 3.2 sub nom. (*In festo Corporis Christi*).

ACTIUS SINCERUS: vide infra: Sannazarius.

ALBINI, IOSEPHUS: vide infra 4.2: Fraenkel (Mariotti).

ALBINUS, IOHANNES (Lucanus, ca. 1445): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.

ALEXANDER VII, P.M.: vide infra: Chisius.

ALLATIUS, LEO (1588-1669): vide infra: Barberinus M. (Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas: Barbiellini Amidei).

ANCHIETA, IOSEPHUS, S.I. (1534-1597): González Luis Francisco, 'Fuentes críticas para la edición de los poemas latinos de José de Anchieta', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 327-372.

ANONYMUS BATAVUS: Spaans Joke, 'De pen als wapen? In handschrift circulerend satirisch rijmwerk over kerkelijke conflicten in de late zeventiende eeuw', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 25 (2009), 90-111. Appendix III (pp. 108-109) continet anonymum carmen, ca. 1675 scriptum, c.t. *Pugna concionatorum quorundam cum porcis*.

ANONYMUS BUCOLICUS: Canfora David, 'Una imitazione di Petrarca bucolico in età angioina', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 135-149. Editur anonymi *Pastorale carmen cuius titulus Cinthias*.

ANONYMUS VINDOBONENSIS: Übelleitner Margot, 'Die Metamorphose des Schönen Brunnens. Eine Promotionsgratulation der Wiener Jesuitenuniversität', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 347-382.

ANONYMUS SAEC. XVIII: Korenjak Martin, 'Applausus ad Principem Eugenium. Ein neulateinisches Ereignislied', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 177-194.

ANYSIUS, (AULUS) IANUS (ca. 1475-ca. 1540): *Aulo Giano Anisio, Melisaeus*. A cura di Micaela Ricci (Foggia: Edizioni del Rosone, 2008); — vide et infra 3.2 sub nom.

ARIAS MONTANUS, BENEDICTUS (1527-1598): Charlo Brea Luis – Bartolomé Pozuelo Calero, 'La paráfrasis al salmo 12 de Arias Montano y del licenciado Pacheco y su composición', in Morales Sánchez Isabel – Fátima Coca Ramírez (eds.), *Estudios de teoría literaria como experiencia vital. Homenaje al profesor José Antonio Hernández Guerrero* (Cádiz: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2008), pp. 97-116; — Gómez Canseco Luis, *Poesía y contemplación: las Divinas Nupcias de Benito Arias Montano y su entorno literario*, Bibliotheca Montaniana, 14 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2007); — vide et infra: Pachecus (Pozuelo Calero-1); et 4.2 sub nom.

- AURELIUS, CORNELIUS: Bedaux Jan C., “‘Cymbricos esse, non Italos’”. *Imitatio nel poema Marias di Cornelius Aurelius*, *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, n.s., 18 (2007), 361-372.
- BACHERIUS, PETRUS, O.P. (Gandavensis, 1517-1601): Heesakkers Chris L., ‘From the Helicon to the Dutch Dunes. On an Elegy and a Letter by Petrus Bacherius Gandavensis (1517-1601)’, in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 445-460.
- BAPTISTA MANTUANUS: vide infra: Mantuanus.
- BARBERINUS, FRANCISCUS, SENIOR, CARD. (1597-1679): vide infra 4.2: Holstenius (Stork: Gernot-2).
- BARBERINUS, MAPHAEO (URBANUS VIII, P.M.; 1568-1644): Mochi Onori Lorenza – Sebastian Schütze – Francesco Solinas (eds.), *I Barberini e la cultura europea del seicento* (Roma: De Luca, 2007). Continet i.a.: Barbiellini Amidei Rosa Anna, ‘Leontos toy Allatoy, Barberinokomis’ (pp. 143-146); Connors Joseph, ‘The Cultural Moment at the Beginning of Work on S. Ivo alla Sapienza’ (pp. 581-586). Attingitur C. Cartharius; Delatour Jérôme, ‘Abeilles thuanienes et barberines: les relations des savants français avec les Barberini sous le Pontificat d’Urbain VIII’ (pp. 155-172); Dobler Ralph-Miklas, ‘Urban VIII. und die Jesuiten. Die Dekoration des Cortile del Collegio Romano im Jahr 1640 und ein Impresenbuch für den Papst’ (pp. 195-204); Fumaroli Marc, ‘Le “siècle” d’Urbain VIII’ (pp. 1-14); Guerrini Luigi, ‘Maffaeus Davidicus. L’*Ars poetica* barberiana nella visione di Tommaso Campanella’ (pp. 137-142); Hammond Frederick, “‘Thy hand, great Anarch...’: Music and Spectacles in Barberini Funerals. 1644-1680’ (pp. 361-374); Herklotz Ingo, ‘The Academia Basiliana. Greek Philology, Ecclesiastical History and the Union of the Churches in Barberini Rome’ (pp. 147-154); Lavin Irving, ‘Urbanitas Urbana. The Pope, the Artist, and the Genius of the Place’ (pp. 15-30); Morello Giovanni, ‘Olstenio’ (pp. 173-180); Rice Louise, ‘*Apes philosophicae*: bees and the divine design in Barberini thesis prints’ (pp. 181-194); Schettini Piazza Enrica, ‘I Barberini e i Lincei: dalla *mirabil congiuntura* alla fine della prima Accademia (1623-1630)’ (pp. 117-126); Schütze Sebastian, ‘La Biblioteca del cardinale Maffeo Barberini. Prolegomena per una biografia culturale ed intellettuale del Papa Poeta’ (pp. 37-46); — Sacré Dirk, ‘De Maphaei Barberini sive Urbani VIII carminibus iuvenilibus’, *Melissa*, 146 (2008), 3-7 et 147 (2008), 7-10; — Walter Hermann, ‘Maffeo Barberini / Papst Urban VIII, *Adulatio perniciosa*’, *SUP*, 28 (2008), 285-294.
- BARLAEUS, CASPAR (1584-1648): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- BAROZZI, PETRUS (° Venetiae, 1443): Arfanotti Elisabetta, ‘Un cultore dell’Alberti: Pietro Barozzi’, *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 151-163.
- DE BASINIIS, BASINIUS = BASINIUS PARMENSIS (1425-1457): Coppini Donatella, ‘Basinio da Parma e l’elegia epistolare’, in *Rinnovamento umanistico*, pp. 281-302.
- BAUDELAIRE, CAROLUS (1821-1867): Manca M., ‘Franciscae meae laudes: il “tardoantico” di Baudelaire’, *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Filologia, Linguistica e Tradizione Classica ‘Augusto Rostagni’ dell’Università degli Studi di Torino*, n.s., 6 (2007), 215-233.
- BEBELIUS, HENRICUS: Honemann Volker, ‘Christlicher Humanismus und Liturgie: Heinrich Bebel, Johannes Caselius und Leonhard Clemens Verfassen Offizien

- zu den Festen des heiligen Hieronymus und der heiligen Anna', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 13-39.
- BECCAPELLIUS (dictus PANORMITA), ANTONIUS: vide infra: Panormita.
- BEISSELIUS, IUDOCUS († 1514): El Kholi Susann, 'Additamenta Beisseliana', *Daphnis*, 36 (2007), 685-716.
- DE BENAVIDES Y DE LA CUEVA, DIDACUS (1607-1666): Rincón González María Dolores, 'Las *Horae succisivae* del humanista Diego de Benavides y de la Cueva (1607-1666), virrey del Perú', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 445-453.
- BENTLEIUS [BENTLEY], RICHARDUS: vide supra 2.1 (Money); et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- BERGER, ELIAS (1562-1645): Szörényi László, 'L'epopea di Elia Berger sulla Santa Croce e la storia ungherese', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 143-156.
- BEZA, THEODORUS (1519-1605): Nassichuk John, 'La condition tragique de l'homme dans la *Silve* IV des *Juvenilia* de Théodore de Bèze', *Études françaises*, 44/2 (2008), 85-105; — Stevenson Harald, 'Théodore de Bèze's Conception of the Elegy', *French Studies Bulletin. A Quarterly Supplement*, 111 (2009), 37-43; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- BIDERMANNUS, IACOBUS, S.I. (1578-1639): Baumbach Manuel, 'Der Heilige Meinrad und die Protestanten. Jacob Bidermanns politisch-religiöse Dichtung am Beispiel der *Meinradvita*', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 304-329.
- BISPINK, FRANCISCUS HENRICUS (1749-1820): Krüssel Hermann, 'Die Rückkehr der Quadriga. Der Jubel der Berliner nach dem Sieg über Napoleon', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 176-179.
- BOCCHIUS, ACHILLES (Bononiensis, 1488-1562): Rolet Anne, 'L'*Hermathena Bocchiana* ou l'idée de la parfaite académie', in *Les Académies*, pp. 295-337.
- BODIUS [BOYD], MARCUS ALEXANDER (1563-1601): Ritter Carolin, *Ovidius Redivivus*. Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar einer Auswahl aus den *Epistulae heroidum* des Mark Alexander Boyd (Unpublished Ph.D. Universität Göttingen, 2008).
- BONACCURSIUS, PHILIPPUS (dictus CALLIMACHUS): vide infra: Celtes (Thiel); et 4.2: Dantiscus (Skolimowska: Domański, Pittaluga).
- BONUS, MICHAEL: vide infra 4.2: Becichemus (Walter).
- BORBONIUS, NICOLAUS, SENIOR (Vandoperanus, ca. 1503-post 1546/8): *Nicolas Bourbon, "Nugae" (Bagatelles) 1533*. Édition critique, introduction et traduction par Sylvie Laigneau-Fontaine, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 446 (Genève: Droz, 2008).
- BOSCHIUS, IACOBUS: Ludwig Walther, 'Unbekannte emblematologische Jesuitendichtung: Das horazisierende Lehrgedicht *De arte symbolica ad Erastum* (1701) von Jacobus Boschius aus Sigmaringen', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 195-261 = in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 479-545.
- BRACCIUS [BRACCESI], ALEXANDER: vide supra 2.1 (Csehy).
- BRAHE, TYCHO (1546-1601): Skafte Jensen Minna, 'Tycho Brahe's Double Identity as a Citizen of Denmark and of the World', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 569-577. Tractatur *Ad Daniam elegia*; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- BRIXIUS [DE BRIE], GERMANUS (1490?-1538): vide supra 2.1 (Provini).

- BROSCIUS / BROSCIUS [BROŽEK], MIECISLAUS (1911-2000): Brožek Mieczysław, 'In summi pontificis Ioannis Pauli II iter sacrum anno 1997 in Poloniam factum carmen laudativum', *Nowy Filomata*, 1 (1997), 5; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- BUCHANANUS, GEORGIUS (1506-1582): Catellani-Dufrène Nathalie, *Les épigrammes latines de Buchanan* (Unpublished Ph.D. Université de Paris IV, 2005); — Green Roger P.H., 'Poems and Not Just Paraphrases: Doing Justice to Buchanan's Psalms', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 415-429; — vide et infra: Pachecus (Pozuelo Calero-1); et 3.2 sub nom.
- BUCSI, ANTONIUS, S.I.: vide supra 2.1 (Szörényi-1).
- BUKELARE, IOHANNES: Derolez Albert, 'A Literary Tour de Force: The Latin Translation of Maerlant's *Martijns* and the Translator's Prologues', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 93-103.
- CALENTIUS, IOHANNES ELYSIUS (1430-1503): *Elisio Calenzio, La Guerra delle ranocchie: Croaco*. Ed. Liliana Monti Sabia, Nova Itinera Humanitatis Latinae. Collana di Studi e Testi della Latinità medievale e umanistica, 6 (Napoli: Loffredo Editore, 2008); — vide et infra 4.2: Beatus Rhenanus (Hirstein).
- CALLIMACHUS, PHILIPPUS: vide supra: Bonaccursius.
- CAMERARIUS, IOACHIMUS: vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- CAPILUPUS, LAELIUS (1497-1560): Tucker George Hugo, 'Érotisme, parodie, et l'art du centon dans le *Gallus* (1543; *Centones ex Virgilio*, 1555) de Lelio Capilupi', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 329-343.
- CARMINA ET EPISTOLAE DE CONIUGIO AD D. DAVIDEM CHYTRAEUM (1562): vide supra 2.1 (Ludwig-2).
- CARRARA, UBERTINUS, S.I. (1642-1716): Hofmann Heinz, 'Eine neue Quelle für den Mythos von Sol und Nox im Columbus-Epos von Ubertino Carrara', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 741-756. Editur textus *Eclogae V* a P. Mambruno scriptae.
- CASANOVAS I MANENT, AUGUSTINUS (1809-1889): Altura i Perucho Jesús, 'Una elegia llatina composta pel pare Agustí Casanovas i Manent vers 1827 i la seva suposada traducció d'Horaci', *Faventia*, 29/2 (2007 [2009]), 157-177.
- CASELIUS, IOHANNES (1533-1613): vide supra: Bebelius (Honemann).
- CASTILIO / CASTILLIONUS, BALTHASAR (1478-1529): Monreal Ruth, 'Zur Verwendung des Andromeda-Mythos in *Small World* von David Lodge, in *Carminum liber* von Baldassare Castiglione und in der *Urania* von Giovanni Pontano', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 455-461.
- CATSIUS, IACOBUS (1577-1660): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- CELTES / CELTIS, CONRADUS (1459-1508): *Conrad Celtis, Oden / Epoden / Jahrhundertlied. Libri Odarum quattuor, cum Epodo et Saeculari Carmine (1513)*. Übersetzt und herausgegeben von Eckart Schäfer, NeoLatina, 16 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2008); — Thiel Norbertus, 'De Conrado Celtis et Philippo Buonaccorsi cognomine Callimacho humanistis cum Cracovia coniunctis', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 85-101.
- CESARINI, VIRGINIUS: Ardisino Erminia, 'Pietas, curiositas et poësis nell'attività dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Intorno a Virginio Cesarini', in *Federico Cesi*, pp. 147-173.
- CEVA, THOMAS, S.I. (1648-1737): *Tommaso Ceva, Iesus puer*. Testo latino a fronte. Traduzione e commento a cura di Felice Milani, Biblioteca di Scrittori Italiani (Milano: Fondazione Pietro Bembo – Ugo Guanda Editore, 2009).

- CHELIDONIUS, BENEDICTUS: Wiener Claudia, 'Hochmittelalterliches Marienlob? Benedictus Chelidonius' Elegien in ihrem Verhältnis zu Baptista Mantuanus' *Parthenice Mariana* und Dürers *Marienleben*', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 96-131.
- CHIMARRHAeus, PAULUS († 1563): vide supra 1.2: Germania: Dura (Jaeger – Schrott).
- CHISIUS [CHIGI], FABIVS = PHILOMATHVS (ALEXANDER VII, P.M.; 1599-1667): Detiège Dieter, 'Nuntius Fabio Chigi reist 1650 von Trier zurück nach Aachen', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 109-131; — Krüssel Hermann, 'Die Rückfahrt von Nuntius Chigi über Mosel, Rhein und Krönungsstraße nach Aachen', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 130-133; — vide et supra 1.2: Germania: Dura (Jaeger – Schrott); et infra: Ghibbesius (Simone).
- CLEMENS, LEONARDUS: vide supra: Bebelius (Honemann).
- COCHANOVIVS, IOHANNES (1530-1584): Nowicka-Jeżowa Alina, 'La libertà umana nel pensiero dell'umanesimo polacco. Sulle pagine della poesia di Jan Kochanowski', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 445-467.
- COELIVS, GEORGIVS: Urbano Carlota Miranda, "'Cidade dos deuses" e "cidade dos homens" numa epopeia hagiográfica neolatina o *De patientia Christiana* de Jorge Coelho (1540)', *Humanitas*, 60 (2008), 231-245.
- COGNATUS [COVSIN], GILBERTVS (Nozerinus, 1506-1572): Gilmont Jean-François, 'Gilbert Cousin et Jean Crespin', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 385-399.
- COLOTIVS [COLOCCI], ANGELVS (1474-1548): Rowland Ingrid D., 'Of mice and men: Aelurus Colocci's Invectives against Erasmus', *ERSY*, 28 (2008), 29-42; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- CORELLIVS, DOMINICVS (° 1403): Amato Lorenzo, 'Il manoscritto di dedica del *De origine urbis Florentiae* di Domenico di Giovanni da Corella', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 491-517.
- CRUSELIVS, SALOMON: Ludwig Walther, 'Die abenteuerliche Reise des Salomon Krüsel alias Cruselius und ihre poetischen Verarbeitungen', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 583-617.
- DANTIVS, IOHANNES (1485-1548): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- DENIS, MICHAEL (1729-1800): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- DESBILLONS, FRANCIVS IOSEPHVS, S.I. (1711-1789): Wiegand Herrmann, 'Ein lateinischer Lafontaine in Mannheim – François Terrasse Desbillons', in Kunze Max (ed.), *Der Pfälzer Apoll. Kurfürst Carl Theodor und die Antike an Rhein und Neckar. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Winckelmann-Museum vom 17. Juni bis 2. September 2007* (Ruhpolding-Mainz: F.Ph. Rutzen, 2007), pp. 154-157.
- VON DIEPENBROUCK-GRÜTER, GUSTAVVS (fl. 1841): Krüssel Hermann, 'Campana bilinguis. Schillers Lied von der Glocke in lateinischer Fassung', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 138-148.
- DOLETVS, STEPHANVS (1508/9-1545/6): Pézeret Catherine, *les Carmina de Dolet (1538), édition, traduction et commentaire* (Unpublished Ph.D. de Paris IV, 2006); — Étienne Dolet, *Carmina (1538). Édition traduite et annotée, précédée d'une introduction sur sa poétique* par Catherine Langlois-Pézeret, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 455 (Genève: Droz, 2009).
- DOUSA, IANVS, SENIOR (1545-1604): vide supra: Bacherius (Heesakkers); et infra: Flemingus (Czapla).

- ECCHIUS, VALENTINUS (Lindaviensis, 1494?-1555): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- EOBANUS HESSUS, HELIUS (1488-1540): *The Poetic Works of Helius Eobanus Hessus*, 2: *The Journeyman Years, 1509-1514*. Edited, translated and annotated by Harry Vredeveld, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 333 / *Renaissance Text Series*, 20 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008); — Fuchs Mechtild, *The Psalterium Universum of Elius Eobanus Hessus*. Textual edition and introduction (Unpublished Ph.D. Universität Jena, 2008); — Vredeveld Harry, 'A Case of Plagiarism Revisited: Eobanus Hessus' *Victoria Christi ab inferis* and Ps. Juvenecus, *Triumphus Christi heroicus*', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 251-260; — vide et supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,4).
- EUCADIUS, AUGUSTINUS (° ca. 1540): Poelchau Lore, 'Auf den Spuren einer lateinischen Dichtung im Livland des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 345-353.
- EUFRENIUS, ALBERTUS: vide infra: Flemingus (Czapla).
- FALUDI, FRANCISCUS (1704-1779): Szentmártoni Szabó Géza, 'Ferenc Faludi's *Fontinalia* and the Sleeping Nymph', *CamHung*, 4-5 (2007-2008), 101-120.
- FILELFUS, FRANCISCUS (1398-1481): Ludwig Walther, 'Die 100 Satiren des Francesco Filelfo', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 315-388; — vide et supra 1.5: Vergilius (Kallendorf-2: de Filelfi *Sphortiadē* agitur pp. 50-66 et 228-232); et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- (DE) FILICAIA, VINCENTIUS (1642-1707): Ciarrocchi Victorius, 'De Vincentio Filicaia (1642-1707)', *Vox Latina*, 44 (2008), 358-360.
- FLAMINGUS, IOHANNES: vide supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,3).
- FLEMINGUS, PAULUS: Czapla Beate, 'Erlebnispoesie oder erlebte Poesie? Paul Flemingus *Suavia* und die Tradition der zyklusbildenden Kußgedichts', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 356-397.
- FOLENGUS, THEOPHILUS (1491-1544): Bayle Ariane, *Romans à l'encan: de l'art du boniment dans la littérature au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 457 (Genève: Droz, 2009); — Canova Andrea, 'Un tentativo di "expurgatio" per l'*opus macaronicum* di Teofilo Folengo', *Quaderni folenghiani*, 5 (2004-2005 [2006]), 49-70; — Chiesa Mario, 'Don Teofilo Folengo "parteggiano"', in *Les années trente*, pp. 63-73; — Faini Marco, 'Un codice poco noto delle *Macaronee*: il manoscritto 110 della Biblioteca Comunale di Urbana (con alcuni cenni sulla fortuna di Folengo nel Seicento)', *Quaderni folenghiani*, 5 (2004-2005 [2006]), 71-95; — vide et supra 7: Goffis (Bernardi Parini).
- FURSTEMBERGIUS, FERDINANDUS (1626-1683): vide infra 4.2: Holstenius (Stork: Bühring-1).
- GERALDINUS, ANTONIUS (ca. 1448-1488): Früh Martin (1), 'Fusus et eulogium: Antonio Geraldini's Ode zum Tode König Johannes II. von Aragón', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 11-33; — Id. (2), 'El *Epodon liber* de Antonio Geraldini', in Villalonga Mariangela – Eulalía Miralles – David Prats (eds.), *El Cardenal Margarit i l'Europa quatrecentista. Actes del Simposi Internacional Universitat de Girona, 14-17 de novembre de 2006* (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2008), pp. 193-203.

- GIBBESIIUS / GIBBESIIUS, IACOBUS: Simone Daniela, 'Eruditi e collezionisti presso Alessandro VII: il Cardinale Giacomo Nini e James Ghibbes', *Annali dell'Università di Ferrara*, Sezione Storia, 4 (2007), 247-259.
- GIANNUZZI, IOSEPHUS (1841-1915): Brigante Antonio – Tommaso Ventura (eds.), *Giuseppe Giannuzzi, poeta e latinista acquaricese* (Presicce: Romeo Corchia Editore, 2007); — Sacré Dirk, 'De Siciliae et Calabriae excidio carmen: Giuseppe Giannuzzi's Neo-Latin Poem on the Italian Earthquake of 1908', in *Festschrift Tschiedel*, pp. 525-544.
- GIBBESIIUS, IACOBUS: vide supra: Ghibbesius.
- A GISBICE, PAULUS (1581-1607): Vaculínová Marta, 'Paulus a Gisbice (1581-1607). Ein Böhmischer Dichter und seine Studienreise nach Leiden', *HL*, 58 (2009), 191-215.
- GLAREANUS [LORITI], HENRICUS (Helvetius, 1488-1563): Wiegand Hermann, 'Hodoeporica Heinrich Glareans und Balthasar Nussers. Unbeachtetes und Neues zur neulateinischen Reisedichtung des deutschen Kulturraumes', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 74-95.
- GRATIUS, ORTWINUS (ca. 1480-1542): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- GROTIUS, HUGO (1583-1645): *Verjaard. Twee Latijnse verjaardagsgedichten. Publius Papinius Statius, De boom van Atedius Melior (ca. 93) – Hugo de Groot, Ode op mijn verjaardag (1604)*. Vertaald door Harm-Jan van Dam (Amersfoort: Florivallis, 2008); — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- GRUTERUS, IANUS / IOHANNES (1560-1627): Ludwig Walther, 'Janus Gruters Florilegium ethico-politicum: Die Erneuerung einer antiken Dichtungsform und die ethische Funktionalisierung der antiken Literatur', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 97-129.
- GUARINUS, GUARINUS = GUARINUS VERONENSIS (1374-1460): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- HANDLER, ANDREAS, S.I.: vide supra 2.1 (Szörényi-1).
- HASSENSTE(I)NIUS A LOBKOWICZ, BOHUSLAUS (1462-1510): vide supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,4).
- HEDRI, ANTONIUS, S.I.: vide supra 2.1 (Szörényi-1).
- HEINSIUS, DANIEL (1580-1655): vide infra: Vulcanius (van Dam); et 3.3 et 4.2 sub nom.
- DE HERRERA, FERDINANDUS (1534-1597): Casas Agudo Ángel, 'Temas tópicos y de la elegía latina en la elegía primera de Fernando de Herrera', *Florentia Iliberritana*, 19 (2008), 71-98; — et infra: Pachecus (Pozuelo Calero-2 et 4).
- HESSUS: vide supra: Eobanus Hessus.
- HOUSMANNUS, ALAFRIDUS EDUARDUS (1859-1936): Sydenham Colin, 'Translating Housman and Housman Translating', *Arion*, s. III, 16/1 (2008), 47-51. Proponuntur elegi quos *Manilio* anno 1903 praemisit Housmannus.
- HUGENIUS [HUYGENS], CONSTANTINUS (1596-1687): Blom Frans R.E., 'Solliciteren met poëzie. Zelfpresentatie in Constantijn Huygens' debuutbundel *Otia* (1625)', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 23 (2007), 230-244; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- HUGO, HERMANNUS, S.I. (1588-1629): Stronks Els, 'Gewapende vrede. Woord, beeld en religie in de Republiek', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 25 (2009), 1-25.

- IANUS SECUNDUS (Hagiensis, 1511-1536): Gelderblom Werner J.C.M. (1), 'Het ontstaan van een kus. Het vijfde kusgedicht van Janus Secundus', *Herme-neus*, 81 (2009), 122-128; — Id. (2), 'Het kopijmanuscript voor de eerste druk van de gedichten van Janus Secundus (1511-1536)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), 97-112; — Leroux Virginie, 'Refuge ou rival? Sommeil élégiaque et écriture du "dormir – veille" chez Jean Second et ses modèles', *Camenae*, 5 (novembre 2008), [35 pp.; vide interrete: <http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?article8615>]. Tractantur et P. Maximus, A. Naugerius et I.I. Pontanus; — Séris Émilie, 'Dire le plaisir, plaisir à dire: les élégies amoureuses de Jean Second', in *Le plaisir*, pp. 237-254; — vide et supra: Flemingus (Czapla).
- JOHNSON, SAMUEL: Baldwin Berry, 'Horace and Johnson on Wine', *Latomus*, 68 (2009), 171-173; — Niehl Rüdiger, 'Samuel Johnson: Selbstanalyse eines melancholischen Lexikographen', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 398-421.
- JORDENS GERARDUS DAVID (1734-1803): Bedaux J.C. (1), 'Gerhard David Jordens als Latijns dichter', *Deventer Jaarboek*, 21 (2007), 54-63; — Id. (2), 'Gerhard David Jordens (1734-1803), neulateinischer Dichter aus Deventer', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 773-790; — Vuyk S., 'De politicus en dichter dr. Gerhard David Jordens (1734-1803)', *Deventer Jaarboek*, 21 (2007), 36-53.
- KAZY, FRANCISCUS (1695-1759): Szörényi László, 'Fasti Hungariae, il poema elegiaco di Ferenc Kazy – un'eccellente opera neolatina della poesia ungherese del XVIII secolo', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 197-212.
- KNAZNIN, FRANCISCUS DIONYSIUS (1750-1807): Radke Anna Elissa, 'Quomodo Franciscus Dionysius Kniaznin carmina Horatiana receperit', in *LUPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 103-109.
- KÖSZEGHI, IOHANNES, S.I.: vide supra 2.1 (Szörényi-1).
- KYNNINMOND, P.: Eardley Alice – Demmy Verbeke, 'Remembering Mary Ley († 1613). The Bilingual Commemoration Verses in the *Harington Papers*', *Lias*, 35 (2008), 177-186.
- LAMPRIIDIUS, IOHANNES BENEDICTUS: vide infra 4.2: Thomaeus (Papanicolaou).
- LANDINUS, CHRISTOPHORUS (Florentinus, 1424-1492): Tonelli Natascia, 'Landino: la *Xandra*, Petrarca e il codice elegiaco', in *Rinnovamento umanistico*, pp. 303-320; — vide et supra (Csehy); et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- LATOMUS, BARTHOLOMAEUS: *Humanistica Luxemburgensia: la Bombarda de Barthélemy Latomus – Les Opuscula de Conrad Vecerius*. Textes édités, traduits et annotés par Myriam Melchior et Claude Loutsch, Collection Latomus, 321 (Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus, 2009).
- DE LEÓN, LUDOVICUS (1527/8-1591): Nardoni Valerio, "'Por ti librarme": la grammatica della libertà nella lirica di Fray Luis de León', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 223-242; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- LERNUTIUS, IANUS (1545-1619): vide supra: Flemingus (Czapla).
- LEUCHT, IOHANNES: Korenjak Martin, '*Austriaci illustrissima lumina regni*. Ein Epithalamium für Erzherzog Ferdinand II. von Tirol und Anna Caterina Gonzaga', in *Latenische Lyrik*, pp. 181-215.
- DE LIANORIIS, LIANORUS (Bononiensis): Martínez Manzano Teresa, 'Un nuevo manuscrito de Lianoro Lianori en Salamanca', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 571-583.



- LILLIENSTEDT, IOHANNES: vide infra: Paulinus.
- LISTRIOUS, GERARDUS (ca. 1485/90-ca. 1535): Hoven René, 'Un opusculé rarissime et méconnu de Gérard Listrius: discours et poème chanté pour l'école latine de Zwolle', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 221-232.
- A LOBKOWICZ, BOHUSLAUS: vide supra: Hassenste(i)nius a Lobkowicz.
- LOCHER (= PHILOMUSUS), IACOBUS (1471-1528): vide et infra 3.2 et 4.2 sub nom.
- LORITI, HENRICUS: vide supra: Glareanus.
- MACRINUS, IOHANNES SALMONIUS (1490-1557): Laburthe Suzanne, 'Les trophées du roi François I<sup>er</sup>, lyrisme martial et victorial dans les *Hymnes* de 1537 de Jean Salmon Macrin', *Camēnae*, 4 (juin 2008) [26 pp.; vide interrete: <http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?article7360>]; — vide et supra 2.1 (Dauvois).
- MACROPEDIUS, GEORGIUS (1487-1558): *Georgius Macropedius, Ode aan de stad Utrecht*. Vertaald door Frans Slits (Amersfoort: Florivallis, 2008); — vide et infra 3.2 sub nom.
- MAMBRUNUS, PETRUS, S.I. (1601-1661): vide supra: Carrara (Hofmann).
- MANTUANUS [SPAGNOLI], BAPTISTA (1447-1519): vide supra: Chelidonium (Wiener); et infra: Palladius (Pandolfi).
- MANZONIUS, ALEXANDER (1785-1873): vide infra 4.2: Leopardi (Rossi).
- MARCELLUS, ALEXANDER (1673-1747): Ludwig Walther, 'Zur Biographie und den Epigrammen des Komponisten Alessandro Marcello', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 795-810.
- MARULLUS (TARCHIANOTA), MICHAEL (ca. 1450/3-1500): Lefèvre Eckard – Eckart Schäfer (eds.), *Michael Marullus. Ein Grieche als Renaissancedichter in Italien*, NeoLatina, 15 (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2008); — vide et supra 1.2: Italia (*Dizionario biografico*, 71: Coppini).
- MARULUS, MARCUS (Spalatensis, 1450-1524): vide supra 1.2: Italia (*Dizionario biografico*, 71: Paolin).
- MARVELL, ANDREAS: *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*. Edited by Nigel Smith. Revised edition (Harlow – London – New York e.a.: Pearson Longman, 2007).
- MASCARDUS, AUGUSTINUS: vide supra 1.2: Italia (*Dizionario biografico*, 71: Bellini).
- MASSI, FRANCISCUS (1804-1884): vide supra 1.2: Italia (*Dizionario biografico*, 71: Bianco).
- MAXIMUS, PACIFICUS (1406-1506): vide supra: Ianus Secundus (Leroux).
- MELISSUS, PAULUS SCHEDIUS (1539-1602): Czapla Ralf Georg, 'Zwischen politischem Partizipationsstreben und literarischer Standortsuche. Die Italienreise des pfälzischen Späthumanisten Paul Schede Melissus (1539-1602)', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 217-255.
- MICYLLUS, IACOBUS: Ludwig Walther, 'Die unbekannten metrischen Kunststücke des Jakob Micyllus', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 51-95.
- MILTONUS, IOHANNES (1608-1674): Hardie Ph., 'Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* and the Virgilian Career', in Paschalis Michael (ed.), *Pastoral Palimpsests. Essays in the Reception of Theocritus and Virgil* (Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2007); — vide et supra 1.5: Vergilius (Kallendorf-3).
- MONTANUS, BENEDICTUS ARIAS (1527-1598): vide supra: Arias Montanus.

- MONTIS MORETANI [DE MONTMORET], HUMBERTUS, O.S.B. (14...?-1525?): vide supra 2.1 (Provinci).
- MORATA, OLYMPIA FULVIA (1526-1555): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- MORELLUS, IOHANNES: Schmitz Thomas A., 'Jean Morel aus Reims und die neulateinische horazische Ode in Frankreich', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 256-277.
- MURETUS, MARCUS ANTONIUS (1526-1585): *Marc-Antoine Muret, Iuvenilia*. Édition critique, traduction, annotation et commentaire par Virginie Leroux, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 450 (Genève: Droz, 2009).
- NAUGERIUS, ANDREAS (Venetus, 1483-1529): vide supra: Ianus Secundus (Leroux).
- NEWTON, HENRICUS (fl. 1710): Binns James, 'Sir Henry Newton and the War', in 1708, pp. 102-105.
- NURUS [SCHNUR], C. ARRIUS (1907-1979): Müller Peter, 'Satyricon und Synagoge. Eine neulateinischer Weltbürger in St. Gallen: Harry C. Schnur alias C. Arrius Nurus (1907-1979)', *St. Galler Tagblatt*, 3. November 2007, 26.
- NUSSERUS, BALTHASAR: vide supra: Glareanus (Wiegand).
- OBERLECHNER, WOLFGANGUS († 1829): Schmidt Paul Gerhard, 'Vox veritatis ad Napoleonem. Eine lateinische Versinvektive von 1813', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 791-797.
- OHEIM, PETRUS: Ludwig Walther, 'Ein Freundschaftsgedicht von Petrus Oheim', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 1-7.
- OPITIUS, MARTINUS: Arend Stefanie, 'Zu Topik und Faktur von Martin Opitzens Panegyricus auf Ludwig Camerarius', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 330-355; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- PACHECUS, FRANCISCUS (1539/40-1599): Pozuelo Calero Bartolomé (1), 'La paráfrasis Latina inédita del salmo 109 (110) del Licenciado Francisco Pacheco y sus objetivos en comparación con las de George Buchanan, Benito Arias Montano y Fray Luis de León', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 5-39; — Id. (2), 'La "Oda a Fernando de Herrera" de Francisco Pacheco: un retrato del círculo sevillano en 1573', *Calíope*, 14 (2008), 61-93; — Id. (3), 'Estoicos en la Sevilla del XVI: un poema en falecios del Licenciado Francisco Pacheco a Pedro Vélez de Guevara', *RELat*, 8 (2008), 143-159; — Id. (4), 'El Licenciado Francisco Pacheco y su contribución a las Anotaciones de Herrera', in Ruiz Pérez Pedro (ed.), *Cánones críticos en la poesía de los Siglos de Oro* (Vigo: Editorial Academia del Hispanismo, 2008), pp. 181-192; — vide et supra: Arias Montanus (Charlo Brea – Pozuelo Calero); et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- PAGANUS, PETRUS: Amann-Bubenik Johannes, 'Merkur besucht die Universität Wien. Zur Dichterkrönung des Petrus Paganus', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 143-176.
- PALLADIUS SORANUS, DOMITIUS: Pandolfi Claudia, 'Versi di Domizio Palladio Sorano e Battista Mantovano in un *Consilium* giuridico del 1547: un inatteso contributo alla storia della tradizione di due testi poetici', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 323-349.
- PANNONIUS, IANUS / IOHANNES (1434-1472): Charlet-Mesdjian Béatrice, 'Le discours sur le mariage du Janus Pannonius dans le livre II de ses *Élégies*', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 61-71; — Kiss Farkas Gábor, 'Giano Pannonio nell'educazione umanistica: la fortuna del Panegirico di Guarino Veronese a Vienna',

- Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 152-159; — Munier Charles, 'Étude littéraire de l'épigramme M. 321 de Janus Pannonius', *CamHung*, 4-5 (2007-2008), 33-46; — Pál József, 'L'immortalità dell'anima e *Ad animam suam* di Giano Pannonio', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 143-151; — Szörényi László (1), 'Attila strumento di diplomazia – Janus Pannonius ambasciatore di Mattia a Roma', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 16-29; — Id. (2), 'Introduzione personale', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 37-40; — Id. (3), 'Omnia Calliope concentu temperet uno! Panegirico e poema in Janus Pannonius', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 69-84; — vide et infra 4.2: Chrysoloras (Bíró).
- PANORMITA(NUS), ANTONIUS (= BECCADELLIUS, ANTONIUS) (1394-1471/5): Montero Cartelle Enrique, 'El latín del *Hermaphroditus* de A. Beccadelli: los modelos clásicos y la tradición medieval', in *Picón García*, pp. 831-841.
- PASCOLUS, IOHANNES (1855-1912): Paradisi Patrizia, 'Tradizioni, leggende e figure dell'alto Apennino nella poesia di Giovanni Pascoli', *Rassegna Frignanesa*, 36 (2006), 219-241; — Sacré Dirk, 'Two Notes on Pascoli', *HL*, 58 (2009), 415-421; — Tartari Chersoni Marinella (1), 'Noterella pascoliana', *Rivista Pascoliana*, 18 (2006 [2007]), 133-135; — Ead. (2), 'Per un'edizione critica dei *Poemata et epigrammata*', *Rivista Pascoliana*, 18 (2006 [2007]), 137-146; — Ead. (3), 'Per un'edizione critica dei *Poemata et epigrammata* (II)', *Rivista Pascoliana*, 19 (2007 [2008]), 159-180; — Traina Alfonso – Patrizia Paradisi (eds.), *Appendix Pascoliana*. Seconda edizione riveduta e accresciuta, Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino, 40 (Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 2008<sup>2</sup> [1993<sup>1</sup>]).
- PAULINUS [LILLIENSTEDT], IOHANNES (1655-1732): Korhonem Tua, 'Apostrophe and Subjectivity in Johan Paulinus Lilienstedt's *Magnus Principatus Finlandia* (1678)', in Harsting Pernille – Jon Viklund (eds.), *Rhetoric and Literature in Finland and Sweden, 1600-1900*, Nordic Studies in the History of Rhetoric, 2 (Copenhagen: Nordisk Netværk for Retorikkens Historie, 2008), pp. 27-65.
- PETRARCA, FRANCISCUS (Florentinus, 1304-1374): Bartomeu Masiá María José, 'Los sonetos y canciones del poeta Francisco Petrarca de Enrique Garcés. Notas sobre el *Canzoniere* de Francesco Petrarca en la América del siglo XVI', *Revista de literatura*, 69 (2007), 449-465; — Charlet-Mesdjian Béatrice, 'Liberté dans le *Bucolicum Carmen* de Pétrarque', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 187-194; — Christes Johannes, 'Massinissa und Sophonisba und die moralischen Prinzipien des P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus', in *Festschrift Tschiedel*, pp. 507-524; — Fera Vincenzo, 'L'Africa di Pierre Laurens', *Studi medievali e umanistici*, 5-6 (2007-2008), 1-44; — Gregory Tobias, *From Many Gods to One: Divine Action in Renaissance Epic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); — vide et supra: Anonymus bucolicus (Canfora), Landinus (Tonelli); 1.2: Italia: Neapolis (Tateo); 1.5: Ennius (Houghton); et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- PHILELPHUS, FRANCISCUS: vide supra: Filelfus.
- PHILOMATHUS: vide supra: Chisius.
- PHILOMUSUS: vide supra: Locher.
- PICCOLOMINEUS, AENEAS SILVIUS (PIUS II, P.M.; 1405-1464): vide et infra 3.2 et 4.2 sub nom.

- PIGNA, IOHANNES BAPTISTA: Klecker Elisabeth, 'Mißlungene Epik? Zur Poetik der Kleindichtung in Giovanni Battista Pigna's *Satyrae*', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 133-157.
- DE PILEO, BENEDICTUS: vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- PISCATOR, HENRICUS: vide supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,3).
- PIUS II, P.M.: vide supra: Piccolomineus.
- PLATTUS [PIATTI], PLATINUS (Mediolanensis, ca. 1442-post 1508): Montanari Anna, 'Piattino Piatti corrispondente dello Strozzi', in *Rinnovamento umanistico*, pp. 274-280.
- POLITIANUS, ANGELUS (1454-1494): Bausi Francesco, 'Filologia dell'infinitamente piccolo', *Filologia italiana*, 4 (2007), 9-21; — Bettinzoli Attilio, 'A proposito di una recente edizione delle *Poesie* di Angelo Poliziano', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, n.s., 8 (2007), 343-359; — Guest Clare E.L., '*Varietas, poikilia* and the *silva* in Poliziano', *Hermathena*, 183 (2007), 9-48; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- PONTANUS, IOHANNES IOVIANUS (1429-1503): Casanova-Robin Hélène (1), 'Sur quelques occurrences de l'écriture épigrammatique chez Virgile (*Bucoliques*), Ovides (*Héroïdes*) et Pontano (*Eglogues*): des figures de clôture?', in *Commencer et Finir*, pp. 679-692; — Ead. (2), 'Rustica voluptas: produits agrestes et sensualité dans la première *églogue* de Pontano', in *Le plaisir*, pp. 187-212; — de Nichilo Mauro, 'Tradizione e fortuna delle opere del Pontano, II: La stampa sonciniana del *De laudibus divinis*', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 147-162; — Monti Sabia Liliana, 'Tre momenti nella poesia elegiaca di Giovanni Pontano', in *Rinnovamento umanistico*, pp. 321-397; — Nassichuk John (1), '*Culta puella*: cycle générationnel et cycle naturel dans le *De amore conjugali* de Giovanni Pontano', in *Commencer et Finir*, pp. 507-524; — Id. (2), 'Le plaisir sensuel et le plaisir savant dans l'oeuvre élégiaque de Giovanni Pontano', in *Le plaisir*, pp. 213-235; — vide et supra: Castilio (Monreal), Ianus Secundus (Leroux); 1.2: Italia: Neapolis (Naldi); 2.1 (Csehy); et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- PORCARIUS, PAULUS: vide infra 4.2: Decembrius (Gualdoni).
- RAMIRIUS, HIERONYMUS: Serrano Cueto Antonio, 'El *Epithalamium* de Jerónimo Ramírez en honor de la boda (1570) de Felipe II y Ana de Austria', *HL*, 58 (2009), 103-124.
- RESENDIUS, (LUCIUS ANGELUS) ANDREAS (Lusitanus Eborensis, ca. 1500-1573): *Algumas obras de André de Resende*, II: 1529-1551. In honorem Dr. Miguel Pinto de Meneses, II. Edição, introdução e estudo de Manuel Cadafaz de Matos. Fac-símile de cinco edições quinhentistas impressas do humanista eborense. Com leitura diplomática e versão portuguesa actualizada por R.M. Rosado Fernandes, António Guimarães Pinto, Virgínia Soares Pereira, António Jorge da Silva, Américo da Costa Ramalho e José da Silva Terra (Lisboa: Edições Távola Redonda, [2008]).
- RHAGIUS AESTICAMPIANUS, IOHANNES (ca. 1457-1520): El Kholi Susann, 'Der Barbarahymnus des Johannes Rhagius Aesticampianus', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 60 (2008), 293-312.
- RIMBALDIUS [RIMBAUD], ARCTURUS (1854-1891): *Arthur Rimbaud, Oeuvres complètes*, II: *Oeuvres diverses et lettres 1864/1865-1870*. Édition critique

- dirigée par Steve Murphy, avec la collaboration pour ce volume de Danielle Bandelier, Bruno Claisse, Denis Hüe et George Hugo Tucker, *Textes de littérature moderne et contemporaine*, 102 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007). Pp. 175-344 *scriptiones eius Latinae leguntur*.
- RITTER, PAULUS: Szörényi László, 'La biografia di San Ladislao di Paulus Ritter', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 183-195.
- ROENS, IOHANNES BARTHOLOMAEUS († 1708): Deneire Tom, 'The Latin Works of Two Poets from Poperinge: Joannes Bartholomaeus Roens and Petrus Wenis', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 709-721.
- ROTH, SIMO, S.I.: vide supra 2.1 (Szörényi-1).
- RYCKIUS, IUSTUS: vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- SACHEREVELL, HENRICUS (1674-1724): Money David, 'Neo-Latin and University Politics: The Case of Henry Sacherevell', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 723-739.
- SADOLETUS, IACOBUS (1477-1547): Wolkenhauer Anja, 'Vergil, Sadoletto und die "Neuerfindung" des Laokoon in der Dichtung der Renaissance', in Gall Dorothee – Anja Wolkenhauer (eds.), *Laokoon in Literatur und Kunst. Schriften des Symposions 'Laokoon in Literatur und Kunst' vom 30.11.2006, Universität Bonn* (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 160-181.
- SALMONIUS MACRINUS, IOHANNES (1490-1557): vide supra: Macrinus.
- SALUTATUS, COLUCCIUS (1330-1406): Bausi Francesco, 'Coluccio traduttore', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 33-57; — Tanturli Giuliano, 'Postilla agli epigrammi e ritratti d'uomini illustri nel Palazzo della Signoria a Firenze', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 23-31; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- SANCTIUS [SÁNCHEZ], PETRUS: da Costa Ramalho Américo, 'Latin e ideologia: sobre um passo da *Epistola ad Ignatium de Moraes* de Pedro Sánchez', *Humanitas*, 60 (2008), 227-230.
- SANNAZAR(I)US, IACOBUS (= ACTIUS SINCERUS; 1456-1530): Deramaix Marc, 'Non mea voluntas sed tua. La révision académique du *De partu Virginis* de Sannazar et l'expression littéraire latine du sentiment religieux', in *Les Académies*, pp. 211-248; — Haywood Eric, '"Le rase carte degli indorati libri": bibliofobia e bibliofilia nell'*Arcadia* di Iacopo Sannazaro', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 281-302; — Nazzaro Antonio V., 'Il *De partu Virginis* del Sannazaro come poema parafrastico', *Studi rinascimentali*, 6 (2008), 27-55; — Sabbatino Pasquale (ed.), *Iacopo Sannazaro. La cultura napoletana nell'Europa del Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Napoli, 27-28 marzo 2006)*, Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum", I/356 (Firenze: Olschki, 2009); — Salemme Carmelo, *Il canto del Golfo. Le Eclogae piscatoriae di Iacopo Sannazaro*, Studi latini, 61 (Napoli: Loffredo, 2007); — vide et supra 1.2: Italia: Neapolis (Naldi).
- SARBEVIUS, MATTHIAS CASIMIRUS, S.I. (1595-1640): Łukaszewicz-Chantry Maria, '"Pindaricum plectrum": Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski o talentcie i warsztacie poetyckim Pindara', *Classica Wratislaviensia*, 26 (2005), 90-99.
- SCALIGER, IOSEPHUS IUSTUS (1540-1609): vide et supra: Johnson (Niehl); et infra 4.2 sub nom.

- SCHESAEUS, CHRISTIANUS (1535-1585): Poelchau Lore, 'Christian Schesaeus (1535-1585). Humanistische Dichtung eines siebenbürgischen Geistlichen des 16. Jahrhunderts', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 159-179.
- SCHILLER, FRIDERICUS: Krüssel Hermann, 'Dank für Herbstferien. Ein lateinisches Gedicht des zwölfjährigen Friedrich Schiller', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 135-137.
- SCHREVELIUS, THEODORUS: vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- SECUNDUS: vide supra: Ianus Secundus.
- SERÓN, ANTONIUS: Maestre Maestre José María (1), 'Notas de críticas textual a la obra poética latina de Antonio Serón. VI: la *Sylua* III', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 549-560; — Id. (2), 'Tres notas de hermenéutica a la *Sylva* III de Antonio Serón', in *Picón García*, pp. 769-777.
- SFONDRATUS, PANDULPHUS: Omodeo Pietro-Daniel, 'Una poesia copernicana nella Torino di Emanuele Filiberto', *Studi piemontesi*, 37 (2008), 31-39.
- SIKE, HENRICUS: vide supra 2.1 (Money).
- SINAPIUS, IOHANNES: vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- A SKOP (dictus 'TLUCK'), IOHANNES CAROLUS: Ludwig Walther, 'Alter Naso miser sum fatis, stemmate, vita – Der Glaubensflüchtling Johann Carl von Skop genannt Tluck und die Tristien Ovids', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 619-642.
- SOFIA ALESSIO, FRANCISCUS (1873-1943): Sacré Dirk, 'Francesco Sofia Alessio (1873-1943): Some Overlooked Poems', *HL*, 58 (2009), 375-400.
- SPAGNOLI, BAPTISTA: vide supra: Mantuanus.
- SPONDANUS, IOHANNES: Deloince-Lovette Christiana, 'Sponde, Homère et Du Bartas', *BHR*, 71 (2009), 255-270.
- STROZZA [STROZZI], TITUS (VESPASIANUS) (1424/5-1505): Charlet-Mesdjian Béatrice, 'La poésie familiale dans l'oeuvre élégiaque de T.V. Strozzi', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 149-166; — Tissoni Benvenuti Antonia, 'Prime indagini sulla tradizione degli *Eroticon libri* di Tito Vespasiano Strozzi', in *Rinnovamento umanistico*, pp. 239-273; — vide et supra 2.1 (Csehy).
- SZEGEDI, FRANCISCUS LEONARDUS (1614-1675): Szörényi László, 'Venere e la Vergine – ciclo poetico in latino di Ferenc Lénárd Szegedi su Santa Margherita d'Ungheria', in *Classica – Mediaevalia – Neolatina III*, pp. 281-313. Accedit poematorum textus.
- TAURINUS [STIERÖXEL], STEPHANUS (Olomucensis, ca. 1485-1519): Szörényi László, 'L'influenza della Farsaglia di Lucano sull'epoca tardoumanista latina in Ungheria: la *Stauromachia* di Stephanus Taurinus', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 95-116.
- TRIPS, FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS, [S.I.] (1630-1696): Neuhausen Carolus Augustus, 'De Francisci Xaverii Trips eo poemate, quod Coloniae prodiiit a. 1688 sollerter inscriptum "Heroes ChrIstIanI In Vngaria et aLIbI aDVersVs IVratos hostes OtoMannos strenVe pVgnantes"', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 263-292.
- URBANUS VIII, P.M.: vide supra: Barberinus M.
- VAENIUS [VAN VEEN], OTHO (1556-1629): Montone Tina, 'Horatius Emblematicus. Genio e tecnica negli emblemi filosofici del maestro olandese Otto van Veen (Vaenius)', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 589-606.

- VALLA, LAURENTIUS (1406/7-1457): Jakobi Rainer, 'Das Prooemium der *Ars grammatica* Vallas: Eine Poetik humanistischer Lehrdichtung', *HL*, 58 (2009), 45-52; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- VERONENSIS, GUARINUS: vide supra: Guarinus Guarinus.
- VIDA, (MARCUS) HIERONYMUS (Cremonensis, 1485?-1566): Coroleu Alejandro, 'Notes in a 1531 Edition of Vida's *De arte poetica*', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 307-315; — Fraigneau Colin, 'Faire du Christ un héros épique à la Renaissance: étude de le *Christiade* de Vida', *Camenae*, 4 (juin 2008) [9 pp.; vide interrete: <http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?article7360>]; — Polleichtner Wolfgang, 'Von Bienen und Korkeichen. Die lateinischen Fachschriftsteller und Vidas Bienengleichnisse', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 293-304; — Szörényi László, 'Il modello epico virgiliano trasformato da Girolamo Vida nella poesia ungherese. Adriaî tengernek Syrenaia: Groff Zrínyi Miklós', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 157-170; — vide et supra: Petrarca (Gregory).
- VOLUSENUS [WILSON], FLORENTIUS: vide infra 4.2 sub nom.
- VULCANIUS [DE SMET], BONAVENTURA (1538-1614): van Dam Harm-Jan, 'The Blacksmith and the Nightingale: Relations between Bonaventura Vulcanius and Daniel Heinsius', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 557-567; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- WENIS, PETRUS (1648-1726): vide supra: Roens (Deneire).
- WESTONIA, ELISABETHA (IOHANNA) († 1612): Schibel Wolfgang, '*Westonia poetria laudata*: Rolle, Schicksal, Text', in *Lateinische Lyrik*, pp. 278-303.
- WILSON, BERNARDUS: vide supra 2.1 (Money).
- WIMPFELINGUS /WIMPHELINGIUS, IACOBUS (1450-1528): vide infra 4.2 sub nom.

### 3. Scaenica

#### 3.1. Generalia

- Alonso Asenjo Julio, 'Teatro humanístico-escolar hispánico: relación de textos conocidos y de sus estudios y ediciones', *Voz y letra*, 17 (2006), 3-46.
- Bloemendal Jan (1), 'König von Gottes Gnaden? Der gute und der böse Monarch auf der frühmodernen Bühne in den Niederlanden bis ca. 1625 anhand der Davidspiele', in Meier Christel – Bart Ramakers – Hartmut Beyer (eds.), *Akteure und Aktionen. Figuren und Handlungstypen im Drama der Frühen Neuzeit*, Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme, 23 (Münster: Rhema, 2008), pp. 289-319. Attinguntur R. Honerdu, G. Iansenius et I.C. Lummenaeus a Marca; — Id. (2), 'Receptions and Impact: Early Modern Latin Drama, its Effect on the Audience and its Role in Forming Public Opinion', in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 7-22; — Id. (3), '"To the Benevolent Reader...": Dedications Attached to Editions of Neo-Latin Plays in the Netherlands of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> Century – Forms, Functions and Religious Standpoints', in *Cui dono*, pp. 109-126.
- Castellaneta Stella – Francesco S. Minervini (eds.), *Sacro e/o profano nel teatro fra Rinascimento ed Età dei lumi. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Bari, 7-10 febbraio 2007)*. Prefazione di Grazia Distaso (Bari: Cacucci Editore, 2009).

- Chevalier Jean-Frédéric, 'Peut-on parler de prologue ou de scène d'exposition dans les tragédies latines de l'humanisme italien et français?', in *Commencer et Finir*, pp. 223-234.
- Giovini Marco (1), 'Tragedia latina medievale e umanistica', in Cislighi Michela – Marco Giovini (eds.), *Il lessico della classicità nella letteratura europea moderna*, 1: *La letteratura drammatica. Tragedia e dialogo* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2008), pp. 71-79; — Id. (2), 'Il dialogo latino in età classica, medievale e umanistica', in Cislighi Michela – Marco Giovini (eds.), *Il lessico della classicità nella letteratura europea moderna*, 1: *La letteratura drammatica. Tragedia e dialogo* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2008), pp. 403-425.
- Gleis Reinhold F. – Robert Seidel (eds.), *Das lateinische Drama der Frühen Neuzeit. Exemplarische Einsichten in Praxis und Theorie*, Frühe Neuzeit, 129 (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008).
- Groenland Juliette, 'The deadly earnest of history plays', in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 23-33.
- Isgro Giovanni, 'Le théâtre jésuitique et l'archétype du mythe normand', *Annales de Normandia*, 58 (2008), 73-76.
- Luque Moreno Jesús, 'Et in Arcadia ego, ¿una sentencia del teatro humanístico?', in *Picón García*, pp. 755-767.
- Menéndez Peláez Jesús, 'El entremés en el teatro jesuítico del Siglo de Oro', in *Picón García*, pp. 791-816.
- Norland Howard B., *Neoclassical Tragedy in Elizabethan England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009).
- Picón García Vicente, 'El teatro Neo-latino humanístico y escolar en España en el siglo xvi', in Tabares de Pinho Sebastião (ed.), *Teatro Neolatino em Portugal no Contexto da Europa. 450 Anos de Diogo de Teiva* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2006), pp. 39-95.
- Sánchez Salor Eustaquio, 'Los santos en el teatro jesuita. El caso de San Eustaquio', in *Picón García*, pp. 847-860.
- Walker Jonathan – Paul D. Streufert (eds.), *Early Modern Academic Drama*, *Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).
- vide et supra: *Abbreviationes (Neo-Latin Drama)*; 1.2: Hispania (García Jurado); 1.2: Hispania: Barcino (Fernández Luzón); 1.2: Transylvania (Shore); 1.3 (Beck-Chauvard); 1.5 (Cislighi – Giovini); 2.1 (Miraglia); et infra 4.2: Erasmus (Bloemendal).

### 3.2. *Scriptores scaenici*

DE ACEVEDO, PETRUS PAULUS, S.I. (1522-1573): *Teatro escolar latino del siglo xvi: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.I.*, 2: *Bellum virtutum et vitiorum, Metanoea, Coena Regis, Actio feriis sollemnibus Corporis Christi, Athanasia*, y dos diálogos, *In festo Corporis Christi, In sacramento Corporis Christi*. Traducción y edición española a cargo de Vicente Picón García (coord.) – Antonio Cascón – Primitiva Flores – Carmen Gallardo – Antonio Sierra –



- Esperanza Torrego (eds.), *Bibliotheca Latina* (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas – Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2007); — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- AGNESIUS [ANYÉS], IOHANNES BAPTISTA: Alonso Asenjo Julio, ‘*Optimates laetificare: la Egloga in Nativitate Christi* de Joan Baptista Anyés o Agnesio’, *Criticón*, 66-67 (1996), 307-368.
- ALBERTUS, LEO BAPTISTA (Florentinus, 1404-1472): Barbieri Andrea, ‘L’ideografo estense della *Philodoxeos fabula* di Leon Battista Alberti’, *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie Modenesi*, s. XI, 29 (2007), 251-261; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- ANYSIUS, (AULUS) IANUS (ca. 1475-ca. 1540): Valerio Sebastiano, ‘Il *Protagonos* di Aulo Giano Anisio: una tragedia nel tardo umanesimo napoletano’, in Castellaneta Stella – Francesco S. Minervini (eds.), *Sacro e/o profano nel teatro fra Rinascimento ed Età dei lumi. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Bari, 7-10 febbraio 2007)*. Prefazione di Grazia Distaso (Bari: Cacucci Editore, 2009), pp. 39-56; — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- BALDEUS, IACOBUS, S.I. (1604-1668): Stroh Wilfried, ‘Vom Kasperletheater zum Märtyrerdrama. Jacobus Baldes Innsbrucker Schulkomödie *Iocus serius* (1629)’, in Gleis Reinhold F. – Robert Seidel (eds.), *Das lateinische Drama der Frühen Neuzeit. Exemplarische Einsichten in Praxis und Theorie*, Frühe Neuzeit, 129 (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 255-285.
- (DE) BARCELÓ, GUILIELMUS, S.I.: Picón García Vicente, ‘Teatro y teología en el teatro escolar jesuítico del siglo XVI: el *Dialogus divi Petri martyris* de Guillem de Barceló’, in de los Reyes Peña Mercedes – Marc Vitse (eds.), *Teatro religioso en la España del siglo XVI* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail – Casa de Velázquez, 2005), pp. 183-208.
- BERNARDT, GEORGIUS, S.I. (1595-1660): *Georg Bernardt SJ, Dramen*, IV: “*Thomas Becket*” 1626. *Sanctus Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Martyr*. Lateinisch und deutsch. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Fidel Rädle, Geistliche Literatur der Barockzeit, 8 (Amsterdam: APA, 2008); — Rädle Fidel, ‘Zu Form und Funktion der Komik in den Dramen Georg Bernardts SJ (1595-1660)’, in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 103-131.
- BUCHANANUS, GEORGIUS (1506-1582): Cardinali Giacomo, ‘George Buchanan “parrain” de la tragédie française? La fortune de la production tragique de George Buchanan auprès des dramaturges de langue française (1553-1573)’, in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 35-53; — Ferradou Carine, ‘George Buchanan dans les pays réformés: la réception de ses oeuvres dramatiques et politiques à la lumière de sa correspondance’, in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 55-76; — Nyquist Mary, ‘The Plight of Buchanan’s Jephtha: Sacrifice, Sovereignty, and Paternal Power’, *Comparative Literature*, 60 (2008), 331-354; — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- CASPARIUS [ENS], CASPAR (1568/70-1649/52): Groenland Juliette, ‘Toneel als pamflet? De *Princeps Auriacus sive Libertas defensa* (1599) van Caspar Ens’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 25 (2009), 26-38.
- CAUSSINUS, NICOLAUS, S.I.: Chevalier Jean-Frédéric, ‘Le châtiment de la démesure: les tragédies bibliques de Nicolas Caussin’, in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 77-92.

- DE CIGORONDO, IOHANNES: Alonso Asenjo Julio – Manuel Molina Sánchez, 'Juan de Cigorondo, "Tragedia Ocio": secciones latinas. Edición y comentario', *Florentia Iliberritana*, 14 (2003), 315-348.
- CRUCIUS [DA CRUZ], LUDOVICUS, S.I. (Olisiponensis, 1542/3-1604): de Sousa Barbosa Manuel José, 'Os clássicos e a sua leitura na pedagogia jesuítica: os *Aduersaria* de Luís da Cruz, S.I. (1543-1604)', *Euphrosyne*, 35 (2007), 405-420.
- ENS, CASPAR: vide supra: Casparius.
- ERYTHRAEUS, MISON: vide infra: Mison Erythraeus.
- FOXIUS, IOHANNES (1516-1587): Norland Howard B., 'Terence "Improved"? Form and Function in Foxe's *Titus et Gesippus*', in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 93-102.
- GNAPHEUS, GUILIELMUS: Demoed Verena E.M. (1), 'De veelzijdige toneelschrijver Gnapheus. Klassieke en contemporaine receptie in zijn dramatische oeuvre', *Nieuwsbrief Neolatinistenverband*, 22 (2009), 26-36; — Ead. (2), 'Stultitia on Stage: Gnapheus's *Foolish Scientist* and the *Praise of Folly* of Erasmus', in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 165-183.
- HEINSIUS, DANIEL (1580-1655): Bloemendal Jan, 'Daniel Heinsius's *Herodes Infanticida* (1632) as a Senecan Drama', in Hilton John – Anne Gosling (eds.), *Alma parens originalis? The Receptions of Classical Literature and Thought in Africa, Europe, the United States and Cuba* (Oxford e.a.: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 217-236; — vide et supra 2.2 et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- HONERDUS, ROCHUS: vide supra 3.1 (Bloemendal-1).
- IANSENIUS, GABRIEL: vide supra 3.1 (Bloemendal-1).
- LOCHER (= PHILOMUSUS), IACOBUS (1471-1528): Marino Mariacristina, 'Jakob Locher e l'*Asinaria* di Plauto', *FuturAntico*, 4 (2007), 221-233; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- LUMMENAËUS A MARCA [LUMMENE VAN MARCKE], IACOBUS CORNELIUS, O.S.B. (ca. 1570-1629): vide supra 3.1 (Bloemendal-1).
- MACROPEDIUS, GEORGIUS (1487-1558): *Georgius Macropedius, Verzameld toneel*. Redactie Jan Bloemendal (1), Scaenica Amstelodamensia, 3 (Amersfoort: Florivallis, 2008). *Fabulae Macropedianae a compluribus interpretibus Nederlandice conversae; desiderantur textus primigenii*; — Id. (ed.) (2), *Macropedius 1558-2008. Macropedius in Europese context. Teksten van de voordrachten gehouden op 3 oktober 2008* (Amersfoort: Florivallis, 2008). Continet: Bloemendal Jan, 'Macropedius' toneel in Europees perspectief' (pp. 51-61); Giebels Henk, 'Macropedius en zijn tijd' (pp. 9-26); Grijp Louis Peter, 'De muzikale Macropedius' (pp. 95-107); Korsten Frans-Willem, '"Werd dan niet de ontlasting mee gebraden?" Macropedius' experimenteedrama' (pp. 75-94); Slits Frans, 'Tellen en talen. Macropedius' rekenboekje, *Brevis Calculandi Ratio*' (pp. 29-49); Sneller Agnes A., 'Huwelijk en gezin in het oeuvre van Georgius Macropedius' (pp. 63-73); — Dammer Raphael – Benedikt Jessing, *Der Jedermann im 16. Jahrhundert. Die Hecastus-Dramen von Georgius Macropedius und Hans Sachs*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kultugeschichte, 42 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- MANZINI DELLA MOTTA, IOHANNES (1362-ca. 1420): Petoletti Marco, 'Il coro tragico di Giovanni Manzini della Motta', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 325-348.

- MISON ERYTHRAEUS: vide infra: Rettenpacher.
- PAPEUS, PETRUS (saec. XVI): Sierra de Cózar Ángel, 'Epistula gratulatoria Vincenti Piconi de Praeposito Formosellano', in *Picón García*, pp. 861-864.
- PHILOMUSUS: vide supra: Locher.
- PICCOLOMINEUS, AENEAS SILVIUS (PIUS II, P.M.; 1405-1464): Anzani Chiara, 'L'Asinaria di Plauto: una fonte considerevole della *Chrysis* di Enea Silvio Piccolomini', *FuturAntico*, 4 (2007), 191-204; — Charlet Jean-Louis, 'Les pseudo-vers iambiques d'Enea Silvio Piccolomini dans la *Chrysis*', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 185-204; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- PIUS II, P.M.: vide supra: Piccolomineus.
- RETTEPACHER, SIMO, O.S.B. (= MISON ERYTHRAEUS) (1634-1706): Coroleu-Oberparleiter Veronika, 'Eine Salzburger Dichterkrönung des 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 287-318; — vide et infra 4.2 sub nom.
- RINUC(C)IUS ARETINUS (° ca. 1390-1457?): Radif Ludovica (1), 'Una metamorfosi ovidiana per la sceneggiatura del *Plutus*', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 95-104; — Ead. (2), 'Miti affioranti dalla *Fabula Penia*', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 389-403.
- RODRÍGUEZ, ANDREAS, S.I.: Molina Sánchez Manuel, 'La comedia *Techmitius* y el teatro del jesuita Andrés Rodríguez', in *Picón García*, pp. 817-829.
- ROMAGNANUS, IACOBUS (fl. 1560): Alonso Asenjo Julio – Manuel Molina Sánchez (1), '"Gastrimargus", tragicomedia humanística de J. Romaña / Romanyà', *TeatrEsco*, 1 (2005-2006) [87 pp.; vide interrete: <http://parnaseo.uv.es/Ars/teatresco/Revista/Revista1/Revista1.htm>]; — Id. (2), *Tragicomedia Gastrimargus* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2007); — Molina Sánchez Manuel, 'Plauto y Terencio en el Renacimiento español: la *Tragicomoedia Gastrimargus* de Jaime Romaña', *Florentia Iliberritana*, 18 (2007), 311-331.
- SCHONAEUS, CORNELIUS (Goudanus, 1540-1611): Verweij Michiel, 'An Author in Search of Support: Preliminary Texts for the *Tobaeus* (1569) of Cornelius Schonaeus', in *Neo-Latin Drama*, pp. 133-164.
- TURRIANUS, AUGUSTINUS, S.I.: Maier Peter, *P. Augustinus Turrianus SJ: Comoedia de Divi Augustini Pueritia et Adolescentia. Komödie über die Kindheit und Jugend des Heiligen Augustinus* (Paderborn 1604). Mit Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2006).
- DE VALENTIA / VALENTIAE, IOHANNES (Loxanus, saec. XVI): Alonso Asenjo Julio (1), 'Comoedia filii prodigi de Juan de Valencia', *TeatrEsco*, 2 (2007) [30 pp.; vide interrete: <http://parnaseo.uv.es/Ars/teatresco/Revista/Revista2/Revista2.htm>]; — Id. (2), 'En torno a la *Nineusis, comoedia de divite epulone* de Juan de Valencia', in *Picón García*, pp. 531-548.
- WIDL, RUFINUS, O.S.B.: Lederer Thomas, 'The Clemency of Rufinus Widl: Text and Context of W.A. Mozart's First Opera', *HL*, 58 (2009), 217-373.

#### 4. Prosa Oratio

##### 4.1. Generalia

- Agasse Jean-Michel, '*Nihil aliud fere quam deliciae*', in *Le plaisir*, pp. 151-168.
- Attinguntur i.a. I. Camerarius, G. Falloppius et Poggius Bracciolinus.

- Bartuschat Johannes, *Les "Vies" de Dante, Pétrarque et Boccace en Italie (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles). Contribution à l'histoire du genre biographique*, Memoria del tempo (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2007).
- Beuchot Puente Mauricio, 'Textos filosóficos en la Nueva España', *Nova Tellus*, 26/2 (2008), 23-36.
- Cardella de Hartmann Carmen, *Lateinische Dialoge 1200-1400. Literatur-historische Studie und Repertorium*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 37 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007).
- Charlet Jean-Louis, 'Libertas dans la lexicographie latine humaniste (Perotti, Nestore Dionigi, Calepino, Robert Estienne)', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 13-23.
- Coppens Christian, 'Et amicorum: not just for friends', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 9-17.
- Di Stefano Elisabetta, 'La libertà del genio. Francisco de Hollanda e la teoria della creazione artistica', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 501-513. Attingitur i.a. L.B. Albertus.
- Enenkel Karl, 'Reciprocal Authorisation: The Function of Dedications and Dedicatory Prefaces in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century "Artes antiquitatis"', in *Cui dono*, pp. 35-47.
- Gabriëls Nele, 'Reading (between) the Lines: What Dedications Can Tell Us', in *Cui dono*, pp. 65-80.
- Günther Hubertus, 'Umanisti e architetti del primo Rinascimento davanti alle infrastrutture idriche e tecniche dell'antichità romana', *Humanistica*, 3/2 (2008), 71-82.
- Herrera Zapién Tarsicio, 'Vitalidad del latín en obras corales desde Palestina hasta Mozart y Fauré', *Nova Tellus*, 25 (2007), 283-299.
- <http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>. Situs hic interretialis continet haud pauca opera anastatice edita quae conscripsere I. Goropius Becanus, P. Cluverius, H. Grotius, H. Hugo, I. Laetius, I. Lipsius, A. Mylius, C. Salmasius, I.I. Scaliger, A. Schrieckius, G.I. Vossius, O. Vredius, B. Vulcanius et M. Zuerius Boxhornius (vide et infra: Isebaert – Rogiest – Swiggers – Van Hal).
- Isebaert Lambert – Peter Rogiest – Pierre Swiggers – Toon Van Hal, 'De Tuin der Talen. Voorstelling en beschrijving van het digitalisatieproject <<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>>', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 25 (2009), 137-139.
- Jacquemier Myriam, 'L'ambivalence du discours mystique: liberté de Dieu, liberté des hommes', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 77-99.
- Kritzer Ruth Elisabeth, 'Qui Romam non adierit, nihil vidit. Intention und Vermittlungsabsicht von Romtopographen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', *Grazer Beiträge*, 26 (2008), 69-86.
- Merino Jerez Luis, *Retórica y artes de memoria en el humanismo renacentista: Jorge de Trebisonda, Pedro de Ravena y Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas* (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2007).
- Moss Ann, 'Thinking Through Similitudes', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 473-486.
- Otaola González Paloma, 'Dédicaces et inscriptions latines dans les livres de musique pour vihuela (1536-1576)', in *Cui dono*, pp. 217-249.
- Pagnini Caterina, 'Fonti per la storia della danza di Antico Regime fra Italia e Francia', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 421-457.

- Pineda González María Victoria, 'La preceptiva historiográfica renacentista y la retórica de los discursos: antología de textos', *Talia dixit. Revista interdisciplinar de retórica e historiografía*, 2 (2007), 95-219.
- Rhoby Andreas – Michael Grünbart, 'Präliminarien zu einem Verzeichnis der neugriechischen Briefanfänge (*Epistularum Neograecarum Initia [ENI]*)', *Medioevo greco*, 6 (2006), 163-169.
- Rodríguez Adrados Francisco, 'La travesía del cuento erótico de Homero a Boccaccio', *Estudios clásicos*, 134 (2008), 35-56.
- Schmidt-Beste Thomas, 'Dedicating Music Manuscripts: On Function and Form of Paratexts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sources', in *Cui dono*, pp. 81-108.
- Stone Martin W.F., 'Conscience in Renaissance moral thought: a concept in transition?', *RS*, 23 (2009), 423-444.
- Verbeke Demmy, "'Ergo cape et canta sanctos quos fecimus hymnos". Preliminaries in Sixteenth-Century Motet Editions by Composers from the Low Countries', in *Cui dono*, pp. 49-64.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*Réseaux de correspondance*); 1.2 (González – Valls; Maranini; Raffarin); 1.2: Finnia (Harsting – Viklund); 1.2: Germania (*Nova Literaria*); 1.2: Hispania (García Jurado); 1.2: Italia (Defilippis; Tateo); 1.3 (Giacomotto-Charra; Knape; Knight – Moul); 1.5 (Cislaghi – Giovini); 1.6 (Coulson); 1.8 (Ludwig); 2.1 (Benassi; Ludwig-1-2; Miraglia); et infra 4.2: Dantiscus (Skolimowska; Garrido Gallardo, Luján Atienza).

#### 4.2. Auctores

- DE ABBATIBUS OLIVERII IORDANII, HANNIBAL (Pisaurensis, 1708-1788): Ciarrocchi Victorius, 'Hannibal de Abbatibus Oliverii Iordanii, Pisaurensis, tertio pleno saeculo ab eius ortu', *Latinitas*, 56 (2008), 313-317.
- DE ACEVEDO, PETRUS PAULUS, S.I. (1522-1573): vide supra 2.2 et 3.2 sub nom. (*In festo Corporis Christi et In sacramento Corporis Christi*).
- ACONTIUS, IACOBUS (ca. 1492-ca. 1567): Cairns Francis, 'Jacopo Aconcio. The motives of an exponent of religious toleration', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 671-683.
- DE ACOSTA, IOSEPHUS, S.I. (1540-1600): Chaparro Gómez César, 'La retórica de José de Acosta: diversos métodos de persuasion y evangelización', in *Picón García*, pp. 577-589; — vide et infra: Sánchez (Lafuente Guantes).
- ADORNUS, ANSELMUS: Defilippis Domenico, 'Forme e modelli del sistema incipitario nell'*Itinerarium*, di Anselmo Adorno', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 73-91; — vide et supra 1.2: Belgium Vetus: Brugae (Kirkland-Ives).
- AEGIDIUS [GILLIS], PETRUS (1486-1533): vide infra: Morus (Deproost).
- AGRICOLA, RUDOLPHUS (Frisius, 1444-1485): van der Laan Adrie, 'Rudolph Agricola's Address to Innocent VIII', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 431-443.
- AITZINGER, MICHAEL (ca. 1530-1598): Guinard Patrice, 'Une traduction latine inconnue de l'*Almanach pour l'an 1565*', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 129 (2008), 258-259.
- ALBERTUS, LEO BAPTISTA (Florentinus, 1404-1472): *La Vita e il Mondo di Leon Battista Alberti. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Genova, 19-21 febbraio*

- 2004), 2 vols, *Ingenium*, 11 (Firenze: Olschki, 2008); — Albanese Gabriella, 'Leon Battista Alberti nella storiografia letteraria e artistica dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento', *RIN*, s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 49-91; — Bonazzi Nicola, "'Animale irrequieto e impazientissimo': naturalismo e moralità in Alberti, Machiavelli e Bruno', *Annali d'italianistica*, 26 (2008), 155-170; — Boschetto Luca, "'Chi dubiterà appellare questo tempio nido delle delizie?'". Leon Battista Alberti e Santa Maria del Fiore', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, n.s., 18 (2007), 141-168; — Calzona Arturo – Joseph Connors – Francesco Paolo Fiore – Cesare Vasoli (eds.), *Leon Battista Alberti, Architetture e committenti. Atti dei Convegni Internazionali del Comitato Nazionale VI Centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti (Firenze – Rimini – Mantova, 12-16 ottobre 2004)*, *Ingenium*, 12 (Firenze: Olschki, 2009); — Cardini Roberto (1), 'Un nuovo reperto albertiano', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 81-100; — Id. (2), 'Alberti e i libri', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 101-136; — Id. (3) — Mariangela Regoliosi (eds.), *Alberti e la cultura del Quattrocento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale del Comitato Nazionale VI Centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti (Firenze 16-17-18 dicembre 2004)*, 2 vols, *Strumenti*, 5 (Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2007); — De Gol Manuel, 'Progettare e costruire. Architettura e politica in Leon Battista Alberti', *Dianoia*, 13 (2008), 111-140; — Domokos György, 'La corvina albertiana di Olomouc', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 117-121; — Grayson Cecil (ed.), *Opusculi inediti di Leon Battista Alberti. Musca, Vita S. Potiti*. Ristampa anastatica con prefazione di Cesare Vasoli (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2005); — Korenjack Martin, 'Eine alte Gattung neu erfunden. Die *Apologi centum* des Leon Battista Alberti', *Philologus*, 152 (2008), 320-342; — Marsh David, 'The Self-Expressed. Leo Battista Alberti's Autobiography', *Albertiana*, 10 (2007), 125-140; — Piccardi Andrea, 'L'idea di *libertas* in Leon Battista Alberti: linee di un problema', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 481-487; — Pittaluga Stefano, 'Leon Battista Alberti e la libertà (Percorsi fra *Philodoxus*, *Intercenales* e *Momus*)', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 489-499; — Regoliosi Mariangela, 'La filologia umanistica oggi: l'Edizione Nazionale dell'Alberti', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 71-80; — Tateo Francesco, 'L'Alberti fra il Petrarca e il Pontano. La metafora della fortuna', *Albertiana*, 10 (2007), 45-67; — vide et supra 1.2 (Patetta); 2.2: Barozzi (Arfanotti); 3.2 sub nom.; 4.1 (Di Stefano).
- ALBINUS, IOHANNES (Lucanus, ca. 1445): Figliuolo Bruno, 'Giovanni Albino, storico e poeta cilentano del xv secolo. Con un'appendice di testi', *RIN*, s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 165-240.
- ALIGHIERI, DANTE: vide infra: Dante.
- ALIOTTUS, HIERONYMUS: Caby Cécile, 'Prime ipotesi a proposito del Dialogo *De optimo genere vite* di Girolamo Aliotti (1439)', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 245-279.
- ALLATIUS, LEO (1588-1669): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- AMERBACHIUS, IOHANNES (1443-1513): Gilomen-Schenkel Elsanne, 'Bücher von Jakob Louber und Johannes Amerbach für die Bibliothek der Basler Kartause', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 108 (2008), 13-37.

- ANONYMUS: González Rolán Tomás – Pilar Saquero Suárez-Somonte, 'Sobre el "catilinarismo" en el siglo XV: un texto latino inédito (ms. 57 de Burgo de Osma) de la conjura de Stefano Porcari contra el Papa Nicolás V', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica – Estudios Latinos*, 28 (2008), 75-94.
- ANONYMUS ITALUS: Perifano Alfredo, 'Un aspect du dialogue scientifique dans les années 1530: le *Barbaromastix* contenu dans les *Novae Academiae Florentinae Opuscula* (1533)', in *Les années trente*, pp. 301-313.
- AQUIVIVUS, ANDREAS MATTHAEUS: Tateo Francesco (1), '*Socrates ille sapientissimus*. La dedicatoria originale di Andrea Matteo Acquaviva in un codice adespoto di Plutarco', *RnR*, 2006, 115 sqq.; — Id. (2), 'Andrea Matteo Acquaviva e Giovanni Pontano: divergenze parallele', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 15-27.
- ARIAS MONTANUS, BENEDICTUS (1527-1598): Chaparro Gómez César, 'El arte de la memoria: de Arias Montano y Sánchez de las Brozas al universo de imágenes y los mundos virtuales', in *Humanidades clásicas*, pp. 323-358; — Morreale Margherita, 'De los sustitutos de la Vulgata en el s. XVI. La Biblia de Santes Pagnino enmendada por Benito Arias Montano', *Sefarad*, 61 (2007), 229-236; — Navarro Antolín Fernando – Luis María Gómez Canseco – Baldomero Macías Rosendo, 'Fronteras del Humanismo: Arias Montano y el Nuevo Mundo', in Navarro Antolín Fernando (ed.), *Orbis incognitus: avisos y legajos del Nuevo Mundo. Homenaje al profesor Luis Navarro* (Huelva: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Huelva – Asociación Española de Americanistas – Junta de Andalucía, 2007), pp. 101-136; — Paniagua Pérez Jesús (1), 'La visión del hombre americano en Benito Arias Montano y Pedro de Valencia', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 149-171; — Id. (2), 'La obra y relaciones de Arias Montano con las Indias', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 409-444; — Paradinas Fuentes Jesús L., 'Arias Montano y las ciencias. Avance de datos para el estudio de sus actividades científicas', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 211-220; — vide et infra: Lindanus (Dávila Pérez); et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- AUGUSTINUS, ANTONIUS (1517-1586): Barreda Adela – Joan Carbonell, 'Fonti occulte nelle *Familiae Romanae* di Antonio Agustín. L'esempio dell'epigrafia di Alife e di Palermo', *Athenaeum*, 96 (2008), 699-723; — Moraleda Díaz Javier, 'Las notas de Fulvio Ursino al texto de César en los "Fragmenta historicorum" de Antonio Agustín: fuentes e influencias', *RELat*, 7 (2007), 181-201; — Salvadó Recasens Joan, 'Antonio Agustín y la colección de concilios de Lorenzo Surio', *RELat*, 8 (2008), 161-178.
- AURELIUS, MARCUS (ca. 1435-post 1478): Laneri Maria Teresa, 'Contributo alla conoscenza dell'umanista Marco Aurelio', *Medioevo Greco*, 7 (2007), 119-148.
- BACHERIUS, PETRUS, O.P. (Gandavensis, 1517-1601): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- BADIUS, IODOCUS (Ascensius, 1462-1535): Gleis Reinhold F., 'Iodoci Badii Ascensii in Boethium de consolatione philosophiae grammaticalis explanatio, liber I', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 87-144.
- BAIUS, MICHAEL: vide infra: Marnixius Sanctaldegundius (De Smet).
- BALBUS, HIERONYMUS: D'Amico Juan Carlos, 'Le *De coronatione* de Girolamo Balbi et la fin de l'âge de fer', in *Les années trente*, pp. 85-97.

- BANDINI, DOMINICUS: Monti Carla Maria, 'Tacito nella biografia di Seneca di Domenico Bandini', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 105-122.
- BARBARUS, HERMOLAUS, Senior (1410-1471): *Aesopi fabulae Hermolao Barbaro seniore interprete*. A cura di Cristina Cocco, Edizione Nazionale delle traduzioni dei testi greci in età umanistica e rinascimentale, 4 (Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007).
- BARBARUS, HERMOLAUS, IUNIOR (Venetus, 1453/4-1493): vide supra 2.2: Politianus (Bausi).
- BARBERINUS, MAPHAEUS (URBANUS VIII, P.M.; 1568-1644): vide supra 1.2: Italia: Roma (Walter); 2.2 sub nom.; et infra: Campanella (Guerrini); 5: Italia: Roma (Simonato).
- BARLAEUS, CASPAR (1584-1648): vide infra: Catsius (Sacré).
- BARLANDUS, HADRIANUS CORNELII (1486-1538): vide infra: Erasmus (Verweij).
- BAROZZI, PETRUS (° Venetiae, 1443): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- BARRIENTUS, BARTHOLOMAEUS: Bécares Botas Vicente, 'Los cartapacios de un catedrático de Latín del siglo XVI: el maestro Barrientos', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 91-99.
- BARUFFALDI, HIERONYMUS (saec. XVIII): Varese Ranieri, 'Noterella intorno a Girolamo Baruffaldi e Andrea Bolzoni', *Annali dell'Università di Ferrara – Sezione Storia*, 4 (2007), 429-456.
- BARZIZZA / BARZIZZUS, GASPARIUS (ca. 1359-1431): Barbero Giliola, *L'Orthographia di Gasparino Barzizza*, I: *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, Percorsi dei classici, 12 (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2008); — Gualdo Rosa Lucia, 'Le strane vicende di Seneca nelle biografie umanistiche da Gasparino Barzizza a Erasmo, con qualche eccezione alla scuola di Pomponio Leto', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 19-32.
- BASSON, SEBASTIANUS: *Sébastien Basson, Philosophiae naturalis adversus Aristotelem libri XII*. Riproduzione anastatica dell'edizione Ginevra 1621 a cura di Antonio Lamarra e Roberto Palaia, Lessico intellettuale europeo, 106 (Firenze: Olschki, 2009).
- A BAUMGARTEN, MARTINUS: vide supra 1.2: Cyprus (Grailet).
- BEATUS RHENANUS (1485-1547): Hirstein James, 'Beatus Rhenanus et la publication d'auteurs néo-latins italiens: le témoignage de sa correspondance et d'une Druckvorlage de sa bibliothèque, le *Croacus* de Giovanni Elisio Calenzio', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 221-249; — Mundt Felix, *Beatus Rhenanus, Rerum Germanicarum libri III*. Text, Übersetzung, Untersuchungen (Unpublished Ph.D. Freie Universität Berlin, 2007); — vide et infra: Erasmus (Diu), Faber Stapulensis (Baumann).
- BEBELIUS, HENRICUS: vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- BECANUS, IOHANNES GOROPIUS (1519-1572): De Landtsheer Jeanine, 'Bacchus born from Jupiter's thigh tastes better than Bacchus born from Semele', in *Classical Mythology*, pp. 287-299; — vide et supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wikis.nl>).
- BEICHEMUS, MARINUS (1468-1526): Walter Hermann, '"M.B." = Marinus Beichemus? – Zur Handschrift Add. 24.072 der British Library', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 351-363. Attingitur et M. Bonus.
- BEDA, NATALIS († 1537): Farge James K., 'Noël Beda and the Defense of the Tradition', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 143-164.



- BEISSELIUS, IUDOCUS († 1514): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- BELLAIUS, IOHANNES, CARD. (1498-1560): *Cardinal Jean Du Bellay, Correspondance*, 3: 1537-1547. Édition de Rémy Scheurer et Loris Petris. Avec la collaboration de David Amherdt et Isabelle Chariatte, Société de l'Histoire de France, 533 (Genève: Droz, 2008); — Amherdt David, 'Le bilinguisme français-latin dans la correspondance de Jean Du Bellay', *HL*, 58 (2009), 53-79.
- BELLARMINUS, ROBERTUS, S.I., CARD. (1542-1621): Hermann de Franceschi Sylvio, 'Le modèle jésuite du prince chrétienne: à propos du *De officio principis Christiani* de Bellarmin', *XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 59 (2007), 713-728.
- BEMBUS, PETRUS, CARD. (1470-1547): Marchesi Valentina, 'Varianti bembiane: Guidubaldo nell'Ambr. O 205 sup.', *Humanistica*, 3/2 (2008), 11-19.
- BENTLEIUS [BENTLEY], RICHARDUS: vide supra 1.5: Horatius (Verbeke); et 2.2 sub nom.
- BEROALDUS, PHILIPPUS, SENIOR (1453-1505): Anselmi Gian Mario, 'Filippo Beroaldo umanista e commentatore interprete', *Esperienze letterarie*, 34/1 (2009), 17-25; — Labbé Thomas, 'La catastrophe et l'humaniste: le tremblement de terre de Bologne en 1504-1505 vu par Filippo Beroaldo dans son *opusculum de terraemotu*', *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, n.s., 58 (2007), 275-290; — vide et supra 2.1 (Robert).
- BERSMANNUS, GREGORIUS: vide infra: Zelius (Ludwig).
- BEZA, THEODORUS (1519-1605): *Théodore de Bèze, Correspondance*. Recueillie par Hippolyte Aubert, publiée par Alain Dufour, Béatrice Nicollier et Hervé Genton, 30: 1589, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 442 (Genève: Droz, 2008); 31: 1590, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 448 (Genève: Droz, 2009); 32: 1591, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 460 (Genève: Droz, 2009); — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- BISSELIUS, IOHANNES, S.I.: Manchón Gómez Raúl, 'Literatura neolatina sobre América: los *Argonautica Americanorum* (1647) de Johann Bissel', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 375-384.
- BISTICCIUS, VESPASIANUS (1421-1498): Betinni Celia, 'Tre "Valascos" nell'Italia del Quattrocento: "Meser Valasco" di Vespasiano da Bisticci, Petrus Vallascis di Cataldo Siculo e Vasco Fernandes de Lucena', *Humanitas*, 60 (2008), 205-226.
- BIZ(Z)AR(R)US, PETRUS: vide supra 1.2: Cyprus (Grailet).
- BLONDUS, FLAVIUS (1392-1463): Fubini Riccardo, 'All'origine della scienza antiquaria. Una paternità da rivedere', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 233-244; — vide et supra 1.2 (Raffarin); et 4.1 (Kritzer).
- BLOTIUS, HUGO: Molino Paola – Christian Gastgeber, 'Certe Viennae dicere idem mihi videtur atque olim Athenis, atque Romae dicere. Der Hofbibliothekar Hugo Blotius als Professor der Rhetorik an der Universität Wien, zwischen 1576 und 1578', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 177-230.
- BOCCATIUS [BOCCACCIO], IOHANNES (1313-1375): Babics Zsófia, 'Gli eroi mitologici dei romani nella *Genealogia deorum* ovvero l'Umanesimo particolare di Giovanni Boccaccio', *Verbum*, 7/1 (2005), 303-324; — Hedeman Anne D., *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's De*

- Casibus (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008); — vide et supra 1.3 (Scarabelli); 4.1 (Bartuschat); 4.1 (Rodríguez Adrados); et infra: Petrarca (Pelucani-2; Sciacovelli).
- BOCCHIUS, ACHILLES (Bononiensis, 1488-1562): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- BODINUS, IOHANNES (1530-1596): Fontana Letizia, 'Bilan historiographique de la question du séjour de Jean Bodin à Genève', *BHR*, 71 (2009), 101-111; — Isnardi Parente Margherita (1), 'Il volontarismo di Jean Bodin: Maimonide o Duns Scoto?', in *Rinascimento politico*, pp. 103-129; — Ead. (2), 'Jean Bodin su tirannide e signoria nella "République"', in *Rinascimento politico*, pp. 131-149; — Ead. (3), 'Le "metabolai politeion" rivisitate (Bodin, *République*, IV)', in *Rinascimento politico*, pp. 151-167; — Ead. (4), 'Per la storia della traduzione italiana di J. Bodin, "Les six livres de la République"', in *Rinascimento politico*, pp. 187-197; — Suggi Andrea, 'Una nota su religione e politica in Bodin. Tra il *Paradoxon* e la *Lettre de Monsieur Bodin*', *RIN*, s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 347-365; — Vasoli Cesare, *Armonia e giustizia. Studi sulle idee filosofiche di Jean Bodin*, Il pensiero politico. Biblioteca, 29 (Firenze: Olschki, 2008).
- BOERHAAVE, HERMANNUS (1668-1738): *Hermannus Boerhaave, Atrocis nec descripti prius morbi historia* (Utrecht: HES, 2009). Editio anastatica; — Lindeboom G.A. (†), *Herman Boerhaave. The Man and His Work*. Second edition. With an updated bibliography and an improved edition of Lindeboom's *Bibliographia Boerhaaviana* by Prof. dr. M.J. van Lieburg (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 2007).
- BONFADIUS, IACOBUS (ca. 1508-† 1550): Ferretto Silvia, 'La morte di Jacopo Bonfadio (1550) tra sensibilità erasmiana, riflessione filosofica e medicina', *Studi storici Luigi Simeoni*, 58 (2008), 17-38.
- BONFINI / BONFINIUS, ANTONIUS (1427-1502): Szörényi László (1), 'La storiografia umanistica latina ungherese e la sua trasformazione volgare: Antonio Bonfini e Gaspere Heltai', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 117-129; — Id. (2), 'Accenni storici ungheresi nel *Symposion* di Bonfini', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 275-286.
- BONIFACIUS, IOHANNES BERNARDINUS (Neapolitanus, 1517-1597): Sebastiano Valerio, 'La biblioteca umanistica di Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio', in *Bibliothèque nel Regno*, pp. 303-320.
- BORELLIUS, IOHANNES ALPHONSUS (1608-1679): Ciarrocchi Victorius, 'De Ioanne Alfonso Borelli (1608-1679)', *Melissa*, 148 (2009), 2-3.
- BORROMAEUS, FRIDERICUS, CARD. (1564-1631): Sparti Donatella Livia, 'Copie dipinte nell'educazione artistica seicentesca in Italia', in *Les Académies*, pp. 391-423; — vide et infra: Pinellius (Giuliani), Ryckius (Ferro).
- BOVILLUS, CAROLUS (1479-1566/7): Banks Kathryn, 'Opposites and Identities: Maurice Scève's *Délie* and Charles de Bovelle's *Ars oppositorum*', *French Studies*, 62 (2008), 389-403.
- BOXHORNIIUS, MARCUS ZUERIIUS: vide infra: Zuerius.
- BRAHE, TYCHO (1546-1601): Swerdlow N.M., 'The Lunar Theories of Tycho Brahe and Christian Longomontanus in the *Progymnasmata* and *Astronomia Danica*', *Annals of Science*, 66 (2009), 5-58; — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.

- BRANDOLINUS, AURELIUS (dictus LIPPUS) (ca. 1449/54-1497): Puskás István, 'Monumento al Principe. Il dialogo di Aurelio Lippo Brandolini intitolato *De comparatione rei publicae et regni*', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 187-193.
- BROCENSIS: vide infra: Sanctius Brocensis.
- BRODERICUS, STEPHANUS (ca. 1470-1539): Kasza Péter, "'Because I can see that some [...] tell the events differently to how they happened...". Comments to the Story of the Formation of István Brodaric's *Historia Verissima*', *CamHung*, 4-5 (2007-2008), 47-62.
- BROSCHIUS / BROSCIUS [BROŽEK], MIECISLAUS (1911-2000): Broschius Miecislau (1), 'Maximiliani Kolbe laudes', *Meander*, 52 (1997), 128; — Id. (2), 'Ad Sanctum fratrem Adalbertum pauperum patronum', *Meander*, 52 (1997), 120; — Korpanty Iosephus, 'De vita Miecislai Broschii', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 17-21; — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- BRUNUS, IORDANUS (1548-1600): Bassi Simonetta, 'Ancora su Bruno e Copernico', *RIN*, s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 107-121; — Lepri Valentina, 'Johann Wechel, Giovan Battista Ciotti e le ultime edizioni del Bruno', *RIN*, s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 367-388; — Mazzotta Giuseppe, 'Bruno's Radical Critique of Humanism', *Annali d'italianistica*, 26 (2008), 171-186; — vide et infra: Picus Mirandulanus (Safa).
- BRUNUS, LEONARDUS (Aretinus, 1370/4-1444): *Leonardo Bruni, History of the Florentine People*, 3: *Books IX-XII. Memoirs*. Edited and translated by James Hankins with D.J.W. Bradley, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 27 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U.P., 2007); — *Leonardo Bruni, Epistolarum libri VIII recensente Laurentio Mehus (1741)*. A cura di James Hankins, 2 vols, Rari (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007); — *Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Histoire, éloquence et poésie à Florence au début du Quattrocento*. Textes choisis, édités et traduits par Laurence Bernard-Pradelle, Textes de la Renaissance, 118 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008); — Anselmi Gian Mario, 'L'ideologia storiografica del Bruni', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 225-240; — Berti Ernesto, 'Leonardo Bruni traduttore', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 197-224; — Cabrini Anna Maria, 'Arezzo e gli Aretini nelle *Historiae* di Leonardo Bruni', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 241-260; — Cox Virginia, 'Leonardo Bruni on Women and Rhetoric: *De studiis et litteris* Revisited', *Rhetorica*, 27 (2009), 47-75; — Gualdo Rosa Lucia, 'L'umanesimo civile di Leonardo Bruni: revisionismo "made in U.S.A."', *Moderni e Antiche*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 185-196; — Isnardi Parente Margherita, 'Sulle *Epistolae Platonis* di Leonardo Bruni', in *Rinascimento politico*, pp. 1-21; — Marassi Massimo, 'Leonardo Bruni e la teoria della traduzione', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 123-141; — Viti Paolo, 'Le "Novità" di Leonardo Bruni', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 167-183; — vide et supra: Albertus (Bonazzi).
- BRUSCHIUS, GASPAR (1518-1557): vide supra 1.8 (Ludwig).
- BUCCARDUS [BOUCHARD], IOHANNES IACOBUS (1606-1641): vide infra: Erythraeus I.N. (Herklotz).
- BUCERUS, MARTINUS (1491-1551): vide infra: Erasmus (Carrington).
- BUDAEUS, GULIELMUS (1467/8-1540): *Guillaume Budé, Sommaire et epitome du livre De asse*. Édition critique par Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie et

- Luigi-Alberto Sanchi, *Les Classiques de l'Humanisme* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008); — Sanchi Luigi-Alberto, 'Dall'Italia alla Francia: l'erudizione di Guillaume Budé', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 311-321; — vide et supra 1.5: Homerus (Pontani).
- BUNELLUS, PETRUS: Bingen Nicole, 'Pierre Bunel, Miles Perrot, Renaud Chandon: pour une autre datation de certaines lettres de Bunel', *BHR*, 71 (2009), 319-343.
- BURCKHARD, IACOBUS: Ludwig Walther, 'De linguae Latinae in Germania fatis. Jacob Burckhard und der neuzeitliche Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 17-50.
- CAESIUS [CESI], FRIDERICUS (1585-1630): De Angelis Gilberto, 'Notizie inedite sulla prima giovinezza di Federico Cesi: una conferma delle fonti francescane della spiritualità cesiana', in *Federico Cesi*, pp. 17-105; — Schettini Piazza Enrica, 'Spigolando nell'archivio Cesi', in *Federico Cesi*, pp. 467-479; — vide et infra: Campanella (Guerrini), Eckius I. (Freedberg).
- CAIETANUS, CARD. (1469-1534): vide infra: De Vio.
- CALDERINUS, DOMITIUS (1446/7-1478): Coppini Donatella, 'I commentari ai classici di Domizio Calderini per la biblioteca di Mattia Corvino: il codice Acquisti e doni 233 della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 8-15.
- CALEPINUS, AMBROSIIUS (ca. 1435-1510/1): vide supra 4.1 (Charlet).
- CALVINUS, IOHANNES (1509-1564): *Ioannes Calvinus, In Epistolas Canonicas sive Catholicas commentarius*. Edidit Kenneth Hagen, Ioannis Calvini Opera omnia, s. II: *Opera exegetica*, 20 (Genève: Droz, 2009); — Pranger Burcht, 'Anselm, Calvin, and the Absent Bible', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 457-468; — Zahnd Ueli, *Calvin, l'âme humaine et la philosophie classique*, *Cahiers de la Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, 23 (Genève: Droz, 2009).
- DE CAMARGO, LUDOVICUS, S.I.: Sacré Dirk, 'De sicario Gandavensi epistula Ludovici de Camargo e S.I. inedita (1664)', *Melissa*, 149 (2009), 1-4.
- CAMERARIUS, IOACHIMUS: vide supra 4.1 (Agasse).
- CAMPANELLA, THOMAS (1568-1639): *Tommaso Campanella, Apologia pro Galileo*. A cura di Michel-Pierre Lerner. Traduzione di Germana Ernst (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006); — Ernst Germana – Caterina Fiorani (eds.), *Laboratorio Campanella. Biografia, contesti, iniziative in corso. Atti del Convegno della Fondazione Camillo Caetani (Roma, 19-20 ottobre 2006)*, Studi e documenti d'archivio, 14 (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2008); — Guerrini Luigi, 'De sole et api. Tommaso Campanella e Federico Cesi: un'amicizia filosofica nella Roma di Urbano VIII', in *Federico Cesi*, pp. 107-146; — Ricci Saverio, 'Inquisizione, censura e filosofia nella Controriforma. Il caso Campanella e alcune recenti edizioni', *RIN*, s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 411-423; — vide et supra 2.2: Barberinus M. (Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas: Guerrini).
- CAMPELLUS, ULRICUS (saec. XVI): Oertel Ludovicus, 'Quomodo Ulricus Campellus facta heroica Guilielmi Telli narraverit', *Vox Latina*, 44 (2008), 481-487.
- CARAMUEL A LOBKOWITZ, IOHANNES (1606-1682): vide infra: Martinus (Paternicò).
- CARDANUS, HIERONYMUS (Mediolanensis, 1501-1576): *Girolamo Cardano, Somniorum Synesiorum libri quatuor. Les quatre livres des songes de Synesios*.

- Édités, traduits et annotés par Jean-Yves Boriaud, Hyperchen. Testi e studi per la storia della cultura del Rinascimento, 1 (Firenze: Olschki, 2008) — *Girolamo Cardano, De sapientia libri quinque*. Edizione a cura di Marco Bracali, Hyperchen. Testi e studi per la storia della cultura del Rinascimento, 2 (Firenze: Olschki, 2008); — *Girolamo Cardano, De uno. Sobre lo uno*. Edición, traducción y notas de José Manuel García Valverde, Hyperchen. Testi e studi per la storia della cultura del Rinascimento, 3 (Firenze: Olschki, 2009); — Giorgio Domenico, 'Confusio ergo omnia. Osservazioni su alcuni temi del *Proxeneta* di Gerolamo Cardano', *Études françaises*, 44/2 (2008), 77-85; — McLean Ian, 'Cardano's Eclectic Psychology and its Critique by Julius Caesar Scaliger', *Vivarium*, 46 (2008), 392-417.
- CARMINA ET EPISTOLAE DE CONIUGIO AD D. DAVIDEM CHYTRAEUM (1562): vide supra 2.1 (Ludwig-2).
- CARTESIUS [DESCARTES], RENATUS (1596-1650): García-Hernández Benjamín (1), 'La revolución cartesiana: del culto mítico de la realeza a la proclamación del sujeto personal', in *Picón García*, pp. 687-699; — Id. (2), 'El cogito cartesiano y la cuestión de sus precursores españoles', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 17-37; — vide et infra: Hugenus Const. (Jorink).
- CARTHARIUS, CAROLUS (saec. XVII): vide supra 2.2: Barberinus M. (Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas: Connors).
- CARUS [CARO], HANNIBAL (1507-1566): vide infra: Vesalius (Simons – Kornell).
- CARUS, RUDERICUS (Baeticus, 1573-1647): vide infra: Quinterus (Pascual Barea).
- CASAUONUS, ISAACUS (1559-1614): Parenty Hélène, *Isaac Casaubon helléniste: des Studia humanitatis à la philologie*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 454 (Genève: Droz, 2009).
- CASELIUS, IOHANNES (1533-1613): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- CASPARIUS [ENS], CASPAR (1568/70-1649/52): Ludwig Walther, 'Zwei spanische Romane, lateinisch bearbeitet von einem Deutschen, in Amsterdam gedruckt für einen Danziger Buchhändler: Das *Vitae humanae proscenium* von Caspar Ens (1652) – Eine menippeische Satire', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 389-451.
- CATALDUS (PARISIUS) SICULUS (ca. 1450/55-post 1516): vide supra: Bisticcius (Betinni).
- CATSIUS, IACOBUS (1577-1660): Sacré Dirk, 'A Missing Link. An Overlooked Letter of Jacob Cats to Caspar Barlaeus', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 595-603.
- CAVALEIRO, STEPHANUS: vide supra: Eques Stephanus.
- CELSIUS, ANDREAS (1701-1744): *Three Dissertations under the Presidency of Anders Celsius*. Facsimile Edition (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2009). Denuo divulgantur Petri W. Wargentin *De satellitibus Iovis* (1741), Olavi Friberg *De pyxide nautica* (1743) et Isaci Svanstedt *De pluralitate mundorum* (1743).
- CELTES / CELTIS, CONRADUS (1459-1508): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- DE LA CERDA, IOHANNES LUDOVICUS, S.I. (1558-1643): vide supra 1.5: Vergilius (Kallendorf-3).
- DA CHIARI, ISIDORUS: *Isidoro da Chiari, Adhortatio ad concordiam*. Edizione, traduzione e commento a cura di Mario Cavarzere, Temi e testi, 63 (Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 2008).

- CHRYSORAS, EMMANUEL (ca. 1350-1415): Bíró Csilla, 'Maestri e allievi nell'Umanesimo: Manuele Crisolora, Guarino Veronese, Giano Pannonio', *Schifanoia*, 28-29 (2005), 25-31.
- CHYTRAEUS, DAVID (1530-1600): vide supra 2.1 (Ludwig-2).
- CILICIUS CIMBER, CHRISTIANUS: vide infra: H. Ran(t)zovius.
- CLAVIUS, CHRISTOPHORUS, S.I.: Claessens Guy, 'Clavius, Proclus, and the Limits of Interpretation: Snapshot-Idealization versus Projectionism', *History of Science*, 47 (2009), 317-336; — Curi Ettore, 'Clavio e l'eclisse fatale (1700)', *Studi storici Luigi Simeoni*, 57 (2007), 383-390.
- CLEMENS, LEONARDUS: vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- CLEOPHILUS, FRANCISCUS OCTAVIUS (Fanensis, 1447-1490): de Nichilo Mauro, 'De novis quibusdam ritibus Romanis dicere ordiar: Cleofilo e il carnevale romano del 1474', *RnR*, 2006, 53-64.
- CLUSIUS, CAROLUS (1526-1609): van Ommen Kasper (ed.), *The Exotic World of Carolus Clusius (1526-1609). Catalogue of an exhibition on the quatercentenary of Clusius' death, 4 April 2009*. With an introductory essay by Florike Egmond, Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, 80 (Leiden: Leiden University Library, 2009).
- CLUVERIUS, PHILIPPUS (1580-1623): vide supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wikis.nl>).
- COLOTIUS [COLOCCI], ANGELUS: Bernardi Marco, 'Angelo Colocci, la biblioteca e il milieu napoletano: nuovi interventi, qualche precisazione e un frammento inedito', *RnR*, 2008, 59-78; — Bologna Corrado – Marco Bernardi, *Angelo Colocci e gli studi romanzi*, Studi e Testi, 449 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008); — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- COLUMNA, FABIUS: Ottaviani Alessandro, 'La parte di Fabio Colonna nel *Tesoro messicano dei Lincei*', in *Federico Cesi*, pp. 367-393.
- COMENIUS, IOHANNES AMOS (1592-1670): vide supra 1.3 (Werle).
- COPERNICUS, NICOLAUS (1473-1543): Morren Paul, *Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543)*, Grondleggers, 6 (Antwerpen – Apeldoorn: Garant, 2008); — van der Poel Marc, 'Copernicus' *Praefatio in libros revolutionum*: Humanism and Scholarly Debate', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 339-351; — vide et supra: Brunus I. (Bassi); et 2.2: Sfondratus (Omedeo).
- CORDERO, MARTINUS: González Pérez Rosario, 'La preocupación por las lenguas vernáculas en Martín Cordero', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 151-159.
- CORNARIUS, IANUS (1500-1558): Pajorin Klára, 'Symposiaka Germanica. Janus Cornarius sulla parità tra gli antichi Greci e i "Germani"', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 291-301.
- CORNAZZANUS, ANTONIUS: Bisanti Armando, 'Suggerzioni senecane nella *Vita di Bartolomeo Colleoni* di Antonio Cornazzano', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 151-184; — Zancani Diego, 'Antonio Cornazzani *De laudibus urbis Florentiae* (1464)', *Letteratura italiana antica*, 8 (2007), 15-35.
- CORREAS, GONZALUS (1571-1631): vide infra: de Valentia (Nieto Ibáñez-1).
- DEL CORRO, ANTONIUS (1527-1591): García Pinilla Ignacio J., 'Valor de la *Epistola ad Potentissimum Philippum Austriacum Regem* de Antonio del Corro', *BHR*, 70 (2008), 595-607.
- CORVINUS, MATTHIAS: Gardenal Gianna, 'La corte e la biblioteca di Mattia Corvino: i rapporti con gli umanisti italiani', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008),

- 69-77; — Sciacovelli Antonio Donato, 'Mattia Corvino tra cronaca contemporanea e storiografia moderna', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 137-142; — Szörényi László, 'Discorso commemorativo del re Mattia', *CamHung*, 4-5 (2007-2008), 5-17; — vide et supra: Calderinus (Coppini); 2.2: Pannonius (Szörényi-1); et infra: Ficinus (Sita-1), Martius (Békés).
- COSTALIUS [COUSTAU], PETRUS (fl. ca. 1550/60): Hayaert Valérie, *Mens Emblematica et Humanisme juridique. Le cas du Pegma cum narrationibus philosophicis de Pierre Coustau (1555)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 438 (Genève: Droz, 2008).
- COTUGNO, DOMINICUS: Iurilli Antonio, 'I viaggi adriatici di Domenico Cotugno fra scienza e bibliofilia', in *Questioni odepatiche*, pp. 407-422.
- CRISPINUS [CRESPIN], IOHANNES (ca. 1520-1572): vide supra 2.2: Cognatus (Gilmont).
- CRUQUIUS, IACOBUS (° ca. 1520): vide supra 1.5: Horatius (Verbeke).
- CRUSIUS, MARTINUS (1526-1607): Rhoby Andreas (1), 'Beitrag zur Geschichte Athens im späten 16. Jahrhundert: Untersuchung der Briefe des Theodosios Zygomalas und Symeon Kabasilas an Martin Crusius', *Medioevo Greco*, 2 (2002), 177-191; — Id. (2), 'The "Friendship" between Martin Crusius and Theodosios Zygomalas: A Study of their Correspondence', *Medioevo Greco*, 5 (2005), 249-267; — vide et supra 1.2: Cyprus (Graillet); 1.8 (Ludwig).
- CUNAEUS, PETRUS (1586-1638): *Petrus Cunaeus, The Hebrew Republic*. Translated by Peter Wyetzner (Jerusalem – New York: Shalem Press, 2006).
- CURIO, CAELIUS SECUNDUS (1503-1569): vide infra: Morata (Romano).
- CUSANUS, NICOLAUS, CARD. (1401-1464): *Nicholas of Cusa, Writings on Church and Reform*. Translated by Thomas M. Izbicki, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 33 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U.P., 2008).
- CUSPINIANUS, IOHANNES (1473-1529): vide supra 1.8 (Ludwig).
- DANTE ALIGHIERI (Florentinus, 1265-1321): vide supra 1.3 (Scarabelli); 4.1 (Bartuschat).
- DANTISCUS, IOHANNES (1485-1548): *Ioannes Dantiscus' Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein*. Transcription from manuscript, commentary and annotation by Marek A. Janicki and Tomasz Ososiński, Corpus epistularum Ioannis Dantisci. Edited by Jerzy Axer with collaboration of Anna Skolimowska, II: *Amicorum sermones mutui*, 1 (Warsaw – Cracow: Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, Warsaw University [OBTA] – Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences [PAU], 2008); — Skolimowska Anna (ed.), *Letters – Speeches – Poems – Inscriptions*, Corpus epistularum Ioannis Dantisci. Edited by Jerzy Axer with collaboration of Anna Skolimowska, V: *Respublica Litteraria in Action*, 1 (Warsaw – Cracow: Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, Warsaw University [OBTA] – Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences [PAU], 2007): Continet: Albuquerque García Luis, 'García Matamoros: A Case in Point' (pp. 75-83); Badach Artur, 'Latin Inscriptions in the Interior of the Royal Castle in Warsaw during the Reign of Stanislaus Augustus' (pp. 115-127); De Wit Marijke, 'The correspondence between Joannes Dantiscus and Cornelius Scepperus. An introduction to the edition' (pp. 27-34); Domański Juliusz, 'Philippe Callimaque – Imitateur ou émule des poètes élégiaques

- romains?’ (pp. 95-101); Garrido Gallardo Miguel Ángel, ‘Rhétoriques espagnoles du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle écrites en Latin. Signification d’un corpus’ (pp. 49-62); Jönsson Arne, ‘Dantiscus and Sweden – Then and Now’ (pp. 21-24); Luján Atienza Ángel Luis, ‘Ciceronianism and Ramism in Sixteenth Century Spanish Rhetoric’ (pp. 63-73); Mossakowski Stanisław, ‘The Latin Inscriptions in the Royal Palace on the Wawel Hill in Cracow’ (pp. 105-114); Ososiński Tomasz, ‘Unknown epigrams by Dantiscus in a letter from Ioannes Dantiscus to prince Albrecht I of Prussia’ (pp. 35-45); Pittaluga Stefano, ‘Appunti su Callimaco esperiente “imitator sui”’ (pp. 87-93); Skolimowska Anna, ‘Series *Corpus Epistularum Ioannis Dantisci*, edited under the patronage of the International Union of Academies – presentation of the first volume’ (pp. 11-15).
- DEBURE / REBUDE, GULIELMUS FRANCISCUS (1731-1782): Viardot Jean, ‘Un épisode du collectionnisme en fait de livre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: le *Museum typographicum* ou le goût des raretés superlatives’, in *L’idée des bibliothèques*, pp. 161-178.
- DECEMBRIUS, ANGELUS (CAMILLUS) (1413/22-post 1466): Gualdoni Franco, ‘Su Angelo Decembrio: voci e impressioni di due corrispondenti’, *Aevum*, 82 (2008), 651-658; — Scappaticcio Maria Chiara, ‘Il PHerc. 817, Angelo Decembrio, Jean d’Armagnac’, *Vichiana*, s. IV, 10 (2008), 84-90; — Weische Alfons, ‘Vergils Verskunst in der Interpretation des Angelus Camillus Decembrio’, in *Festschrift Tschiedel*, pp. 483-491.
- DENIS, MICHAEL (1729-1800): Fladerer Ludwig, ‘Michael Denis (1729-1800) – Lateinische Sprache und Literatur im Leben eines österreichischen Aufklärers’, *NJ*, 10 (2008), 61-86.
- DIONYSIUS, NESTOR (fl. 1482/3): vide supra 4.1 (Charlet).
- DORPIUS, MARTINUS (1485-1525): Asso Cecilia, ‘Martin Dorp and Edward Lee’, in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 167-195.
- DRESSERUS, MATTHAEUS (1536-1607): vide infra: Lipsius (Papy-3).
- DREXELIUS, HIEREMIAS, S.I. (1581-1638): Cevolini Alberto, *De arte excerptendi. Imparare a dimenticare nella modernità*, Biblioteca dell’ “Archivum Romanicum”, I, 333 (Firenze: Olschki, 2006).
- DURERUS, ALBERTUS (1471-1528): vide infra: Erasmus (Theunissen-Faider).
- ECCHIUS / ECKIUS, VALENTINUS (Lindaviensis, 1494?-1555/6?): *Valentinus Ecchius Lindaviensis, De reipublicae administratione dialogus – Epistula consolatoria – Epitaphia in Ioannem Thursonem episcopum – De amicitiae et concordiae utilitate carmen*. Edidit Daniel Škoviera (Veda: Typis Universitatis Tyrnaviensis, 2006); — Glomski Jacqueline, ‘Patronage, Poetry, and the Furnishing of a Nobleman’s House: Valentin Eck’s *Supellectilium fasciculus* (1519)’, in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 261-269.
- ECKIUS / HECKIUS, IOHANNES (1486-1543): Freedberg David, ‘Heckius, Cesi and their mycological researches. The history and fate of the drawings of fungi in Paris, Montpellier and Windsor’, in *Federico Cesi*, pp. 317-365.
- ECKIUS, VALENTINUS: vide supra: V. Ecchius.
- EMMIUS, UBBO: von Martels Zweder, ‘Ubbo Emmius, the *Eternal Edict* and the Academy of Groningen’, in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 399-418; — vide et infra: Thuanus (Sacré).
- ENS, CASPAR: vide supra: Casparius.



- EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM*: vide supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,3).
- EQUES [CAVALEIRO], STEPHANUS: Sánchez Salor Eustaquio, 'El gramático humanista Cavaleiro: su *Grammatices ars*', *Humanitas*, 58 (2006), 273-290.
- ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS (ca. 1467/9-1536): *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, V.6: *Christiani matrimonii institutio*. Ed. A.G. Weiler – *Vidua christiana*. Ed. Maria Cytowska † (Amsterdam e.a.: Elsevier, 2008); — *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, VI.9: *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* (pars quinta). Ed. M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009); — *Érasme, louange de la sottise*. Traduit nouvellement du latin et annoté par Alain Van Dievoet (Bruxelles: Éditions du Hazard, 2008); — *Desiderius Erasmus, Verzameld werk*, 4: *Verweerschriften – De spons – De Ciceroniaan en Antwoord aan Prins Alberto Pio van Capri*. Vertaald en toegelicht door Chris Heesakkers en Ton Osinga (Amsterdam: Athenaeum – Polak & Van Gennep, 2007); — Bedouelle Guy, 'Érasme, Lefèvre d'Étaples et la lecture de la Bible en langue vulgaire', in *Lay Bibles*, pp. 55-67; — Bénévient Christine, 'La correspondance d'Érasme: fonctionnement, fonctions et fictions d'un réseau épistolaire', in *Réseaux de correspondance*, pp. 17-32; — Bloemendal Jan, 'Erasmus and Comedy between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period: an Exploration', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 179-186; — Bracke Wouter, 'Erasmus and Lorenzo Valla's *Adnotationes Novi Testamenti*: a note on Royal Library of Belgium, MS 4031-4033', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 163-178; — Burger Christoph, 'Erasmus of Rotterdam and Late Medieval Theologians on the Doctrine of Grace', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 225-234; — Carena Carlo (1), 'Notizie inedite su Erasmo da Rotterdam in un incunabolo di lirici latini, e un suo nuovo ritratto', *La Bibliofilia*, 110 (2008), 241-254; — Id. (2), 'L'Umanesimo erasmiano per l'Europa', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 25-33; — Carrington Laurel, 'Point and Counter-Point: Erasmus' Debate with Martin Bucer', *ERSY*, 28 (2008), 43-66; — Christ-von Wedel Christine – Urs B. Leu (eds.), *Erasmus in Zürich: Eine verschwiegene Autorität* (Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2007); — Citti Francesco, 'Gli epigrammi dell'*Anthologia Graeca* negli *Adagia* di Erasmo', *Lexis*, 25 (2007), 399-430; — Coroleu Alejandro, 'Anti-Erasmians in Spain', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 73-92; — Costa Ioana, 'De Erasmi panegyrico ad Philippum', *Studii clasice*, 42-44 (2006-2008), 153-165; — Crouzas Karine, *Érasme et le pouvoir de l'imprimerie* (Lausanne: Éditions Antipodes, 2005); — De Smet Rudolf, 'La figure mythologique comme élément d'argumentation rhétorique dans la correspondance d'Érasme', in *Classical Mythology*, pp. 67-78; — Diu Isabelle, 'Du modèle idéal de la bibliothèque humaniste à sa réalisation effective: Érasme et Beatus Rhenanus', in *L'idée des bibliothèques*, pp. 39-52; — François Wim, 'Erasmus' Plea for Bible Reading in the Vernacular: The Legacy of the *Devotio Moderna*?', *ERSY*, 28 (2008), 91-120; — Gielis Marcel, 'Leuven Theologians as Opponents of Erasmus and of Humanistic Theology', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 197-214; — Heesakkers Chris L., 'Erasmus epistolographus', in *Les grands intermédiaires*, pp. 29-60; — Isnardi Parente Margherita, 'L'Educazione del principe cristiano di Erasmo da Rotterdam', in

*Rinascimento politico*, pp. 23-55; — Koning Paula, *Erasmus op de markt* (Rotterdam: Ad Donker, 2009); — Ludwig Walther, 'Erasmus und die germanistische Lexicographie', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 781-794; — Manenti Lorenzo, 'Matrimonio e celibato sacro. Su una polemica tra Erasmo da Rotterdam e Ambrogio Catarino Politi', *Ricerche storiche*, 38 (2008), 23-62; — Ménager Daniel (1), 'Erasmus, the Intellectuals, and the Reuchlin Affair', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 39-54; — Id. (2), 'Philosophie et théologie de l'avarice chez Érasme', *Seizième siècle*, 4 (2008), 35-45; — Pasini Enrico – Pietro B. Rossi (eds.), *Erasmus da Rotterdam e la cultura europea. Atti dell'Incontro di studi nel V centenario della laurea di Erasmo all'Università di Torino* (Torino, 8-9 settembre 2006) / *Erasmus of Rotterdam and European Culture. Proceedings of the Symposium held on the Occasion of the 500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Erasmus' Doctorate in Turin* (Turin, September 8-9, 2006), *Millennio Medievale*, 79 – Atti di Convegni, 24 (Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008). Continet: Cancian Patrizia, '4 settembre 1506, Torino: il diploma di laurea di Erasmo' (pp. 313-315); Canfora Davide, 'Su Erasmo "politico": modelli umanistici e ricezione cinquecentesca' (pp. 251-274); Cortesi Mariarosa, 'Erasmo editore dei padri della Chiesa' (pp. 121-147); Gianotti Gian Franco, "'Utriusque linguae doctissimus": Erasmo e la storia degli studi classici' (pp. 61-120); Margolin Jean-Claude, 'Une sémantique engagée: "theologus" et "theologia" dans la pensée et les écrits d'Érasme' (pp. 317-339); Munk Reinier, 'Erasmus and the Jews' (pp. 275-288); Naso Irma, 'La laurea in teologia di Erasmo da Rotterdam a Torino' (pp. 291-312); Papy Jan, 'Erasmus, Europe and Cosmopolitanism: the Humanist Image and Message in his Letters' (pp. 27-42); Pasini Enrico, 'Dubbio e scetticismo in Erasmo da Rotterdam' (pp. 199-250); Ruffini Mario, 'Erasmo nell'arte figurativa e nella musica del Novecento: Corrado Cagli e Carlo Prosperi' (pp. 343-364); Steel Carlos, 'Erasmus and Aristotle' (pp. 149-174); Tosi Renzo, 'Gli "Adagia" di Erasmo e la presenza di Topoi classici nella letteratura europea' (pp. 43-59); van Ruler Han, "'Quid aliud est, quam insanire?": Erasmus, Valla and the Stoic-Epicurean Controversy' (pp. 175-197); Vasoli Cesare, 'Erasmo da Rotterdam e la cultura europea' (pp. 3-25); — Ribhegge Wilhelm, *Erasmus von Rotterdam. Der erste Europäer*, *Gestalten der Neuzeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009); — Ruiz Miguel José Luis, 'Los *Adagia* de Erasmo y las *Antiquae lectiones* de Celio Rodigino: entre la competición y el plagio', *Minerva*, 20 (2007), 163-189; — Steenbeek Andrea W., "'Pyramis universorum aut duo mundi?'" Invloeden van de angelologie op de polemiek tussen Erasmus en Lefèvre d'Étaples', *Nieuwsbrief Neolatinistenverband*, 22 (2009), 3-15; — Theunissen-Faïder Marie, 'Lettre d'Érasme à Pirckheimer (1528): nouvelles brèves de Dürer, Luther, Oecolampade', *Cahiers de Mariemont*, 37-38 (2008 [2009]), 77-105; — Tosi Renzo (1), 'Dai paremiografi agli *Adagia* di Erasmo: alcune precisazioni', in Piccione Rosa Maria – Matthias Perkams (eds.), *Selecta colligere*, II, *HelLENICA*, 18 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2005), pp. 435-444; — Id. (2), '*Homo homini lupus*: da Plauto a Erasmo a Hobbes', *Eikasmos*, 19 (2008), 387-395; — Vanautgaerden Alexandre, 'Érasme bibliographe: la querelle avec Polidoro Virgilio à propos des *Adages*', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 137-145; —

- Van der Coelen Peter, *Images of Erasmus*. With contributions by Marjolein Bol, Alexandra Gaba-van Dongen, Christian Rümelin, Hans Trapman (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2008); — Verweij Michiel, 'The Correspondence of Erasmus and Hadrianus Barlandus', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 233-249; — Voisset-Veysseyre Cécile, 'Le chant d'Érasme', *BHR*, 71 (2009), 77-88; — Wesseling Ari (1), 'Intertextual Play: Erasmus' Use of Adages in the Colloquies', *ERSY*, 28 (2008), 1-27; — Id. (2), 'How to Explore the World while Staying at Home: Erasmus on Maps', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 301-305; — vide et supra: Barzizza (Gualdo), Bonfadius (Ferretto); Abbreviationes (*Biblical Humanism*); 1.2 (Jones-Davies); 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,3); 1.2: Hungaria (Kiss); 1.3 (Werle); 1.5: Augustinus (Visser), Lucianus (Ní Chuilleanáin); 1.8 (Ludwig); 2.2: Colotius (Rowland); 3.2: Gnapheus (Demoed-2); et infra: Lipsius (Roose), Martyr Anglerius (Eatough-2), Scaliger I.C. (Conley), Steuchus (Delph), Torrentius (Charlo Brea), Zvinglius (Buzzi).
- ERICUS XIV, SUECIAE REX: Karlsson Magnus, 'Three Letters of Proposal from Erik XIV of Sweden to Elizabeth I of England: Edited with Introduction', *HL*, 58 (2009), 81-101.
- ERYTHRAEUS, IANUS NICIUS [= ROSSI, IOHANNES VICTORIUS]: Herklotz Ingo, 'Ianus Nicius Erythraeus und Jean-Jacques Bouchard. Zur schweren Geburt einer neulateinischen Vitensammlung des 17. Jahrhunderts', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 145-176.
- ERYTHRAEUS, MISON: vide infra: Mison Erythraeus.
- EUGUBINUS, AUGUSTINUS (1497-1548): vide infra: Steuchus.
- FABER, IOHANNES: De Renzi Silvia, 'Un linceo alla Sapienza: la natura del fuoco e dei metalli in un'orazione di Johannes Faber', in *Federico Cesi*, pp. 271-316.
- FABER, IOHANNES MATTHAEUS (1626-1702): vide infra: Schottus G. (Kreeb).
- FABER STAPULENSIS, IACOBUS (ca. 1453/5-1536): *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Three Maries Debates*. Introduction, Latin text, English translation and annotation by Sheila M. Porrer, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 451 (Genève: Droz, 2009); — Baumann Christoph Clemens, *Der Kommentar des Faber Stapulensis zur Isagoge des Porphyrios im Schülerheft des Beatus Rhenanus* (Unpublished Ph.D. Universität Zürich, 2008); — Bedouelle Guy, 'Attacks on the Biblical Humanism of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 117-141; — Veenstra Jan R., 'Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples: Humanism and Hermeticism in the *De magia naturali*', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 353-362; — vide et supra: Erasmus (Bedouelle; Steenbeek).
- FABRICIUS PEIRESCIUS, NICOLAUS CLAUDIUS (1580-1636): Miller Peter N., 'Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc and the Mediterranean World: Mechanics', in *Les grands intermédiaires*, pp. 103-125.
- FALLOPPIUS, GABRIEL (1523-1562): vide supra 4.1 (Agasse).
- FERNELIUS, IOHANNES FRANCISCUS (1497-1558): Ciarrocchi Victorius, 'De Ioanne Francisco Fernel (1497-1558)', *Melissa*, 148 (2008), 11-12; — Lavillatte Bruno, 'Expérience de la liberté, liberté de l'expérience dans le *De abditis rerum causis* de Jean Fernel', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 281-297.

- DE FERRARIIS (dictus 'GALATEUS'), ANTONIUS (1446/8-1517): Nuovo Isabella – Domenico Defilippis, 'Libertas e isonomia nella riflessione etico-politica di Antonio De Ferrariis Galateo', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 145-176.
- FERRERIUS, AUGERIUS: De Smet Ingrid, 'Of Doctors, Dreamers and Soothsayers: The Interlinking Worlds of Julius Caesar Scaliger and Auger Ferrier', *BHR*, 70 (2008), 351-376.
- FICINUS, MARSILIUS (1433-1499): Allen Michael J.B., "'Quisque in sphaera sua": Plato's *Statesman*, Marsilio Ficino's *Platonic Theology*, and the Resurrection of the Body', *RIN*, S. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 25-48; — Gentile Sebastiano – Stéphane Toussaint (eds.), *Atti del Convegno Marsilio Ficino. Fonti, testi, fortuna*, Studi e Testi del Rinascimento Europeo, 30 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2006); — Gilbhard Thomas – Stéphane Toussaint, 'Bibliographie ficinienne – Mise à jour pour les années 2004-2006', *Accademia*, 8 (2006), 7-21; — Hankins James, "'Malinconia mostruosa": Ficino e le cause fisiologiche dell'ateismo', *RIN*, s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 3-23; — North John, 'Types of Inconsistency in the Astrology of Ficino and Others', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 281-302; — Robichaud Denis J.-J., 'Marsilio Ficino's *De vita Platonis*, *Apologia de moribus Platonis*', *Accademia*, 8 (2006), 23-59; — Sita Michele (1), 'Marsilio Ficino e Mattia Corvino: tra teologia, filosofia e esoterismo', *Studia historica Adriatica ac Danubiana*, 1/2 (2008), 99-105; — Id. (2), 'La filosofia di Marsilio Ficino tra Italia e Ungheria', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 78-82; — Snyder James G., 'The Theory of *materia prima* in Marsilio Ficino's *Platonic Theology*', *Vivarium*, 46 (2008), 192-221; — Toussaint Stéphane, 'Humanitas vs. antropologia: l'attualità della rivoluzione umanista di Marsilio Ficino', *Annali d'italianistica*, 26 (2008), 61-75; — vide et supra 1.2 (Jones-Davies); 1.5: Plato (Simonutti); 2.1 (Robert).
- FILELFUS, FRANCISCUS (1398-1481): *Dione Crisostomo, Captivitatem Ilii non fuisse. Traduzione latina di Francesco Filelfo*. A cura di Serena Leotta (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2008); — Regoliosi Mariangela, 'Francesco Filelfo e l'Europa', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 15-24; — vide et supra: Decembrius (Gualdoni); 2.2 sub nom.; et infra: Nebrissensis (Martín Baños).
- FILELFUS, IOHANNES MARIUS (1426-1480): De Keyser Jeroen, 'Gian Mario Filelfo's "Lost" Writing against Poggio Bracciolini', *HL*, 58 (2009), 401-405.
- FLAVIUS: vide supra: Blondus Flavius.
- DE FLORENTIA, LEONARDUS, O.P.: vide infra: Leonardus de Florentia.
- FLORENTIUS, NICOLAUS: vide infra 5 (Vagenheim).
- FONTIUS, BARTHOLOMAEUS (1445/7-1513): vide infra: Scaliger I.C. (Leroux).
- FRAENKEL, EDUARDUS: Mariotti Italo, 'Carteggio Eduard Fraenkel – Giuseppe Albini', *Eikasmos*, 18 (2007), 415-427. P. 417 affertur epistula Fraenkelii ad Iosephum Albini data Latine (1926).
- FREHERUS, PAULUS: Siegel Steffen, 'Bildnisordnungen. Visuelle Pragmatik in Paul Frehers Gelehrtenlexikon *Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum* (Nürnberg 1688)', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 90 (2008), 79-108.
- FRIBERG, OLAVUS: vide supra: Celsius (*Three Dissertations*).
- FRISCHLINUS, NICODEMUS (1547-1590): vide supra 1.8 (Ludwig).

- FURIUS CERIO LANUS, FREDERICUS († 1592): Truman Ronald W., 'Fadrique Furió Ceriol's *Institutionum rhetoricarum libri III* (Leuven, 1554)', in *Syntagma-tia*, pp. 371-383.
- GAFFURIUS, FRANCHINUS: Kreyszig Walter Kurt, 'Beyond the Music-Theoretical Discourse in Franchino Gaffurio's Trilogy: The Significance of the Paratexts in Contemplating the Magic Triangle Between Author, Opus, and Audience', in *Cui dono*, pp. 161-193.
- GALATEUS, ANTONIUS: vide supra: de Ferrariis.
- GALILAEUS, GALILAEUS (1564-1642): Gingerich Owen, 'The curious case of the M-L *Sidereus Nuncius*', *Galilaeana*, 6 (2009), 141-165; — Wootton David, 'New light on the composition and publication of the *Sidereus Nuncius*', *Galilaeana*, 6 (2009), 123-140; — vide et supra: Campanella (*Apologia pro Galileo*); et infra: Licetius (Ongaro).
- GALLUS, IODOCUS: vide supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,3).
- GARSIA MATAMORUS, ALPHONSUS: vide supra: Dantiscus (Skolimowska: Albuquerque García).
- GASSENDUS, PETRUS (1592-1655): Gasparri Giuliano, 'Documenti dell'Archivio del Sant'Uffizio per servire alla storia del gassendismo in Italia (1668-1723)', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 28 (2008), 75-110; — Taussig Sylvie – Anthony Turner, *Mémoire de Gassendi. Vies et célébrations écrites avant 1700*, Les styles du savoir, 8 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2008). Continet multa epicedia in Petrum Gassendum.
- GAZA, THEODORUS: Tissoni Francesco, *Le Olimpiche di Pindaro nella scuola di Gaza a Ferrara* (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2009).
- GEBWILERIUS, HIERONYMUS: vide supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,3).
- GELLIUS, IOHANNES BAPTISTA (1498-1563): Radif Ludovica, 'Rimanere maiali nonostante Circe', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 437-444.
- GEMINUS, THOMAS: Samson Alexander, 'Mapping the Marriage: Thomas Geminus's "Britanniae Insulae Nova Descriptio" and "Nova Descriptio Hispaniae" (1555)', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 31 (2008), 95-115.
- GEMMA, CORNELIUS (1535-1578): Hirai Hiro (ed.), *Cornelius Gemma: Cosmology, Medicine and Natural Philosophy in Renaissance Louvain*, Brunelliana & Campanelliana, Supplementa, 24 (Pisa – Roma: Fabrizio Serra, 2008).
- GENESIUS SEPULVEDA, IOHANNES: vide infra: Sepulveda.
- GERALDINUS, ALEXANDER (Amelinus, 1455-1525): González Vázquez Carmen, 'Las Islas Canarias en el *Itinerarium ad regiones sub aequinoctiali plaga constitutas* de Alejandro Geraldini', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 301-326.
- GESNERUS, CONRADUS (1515/6-1565): *Conrad Gessner, Mithridate — Mithridates (1555)*. Introduction, texte latin, traduction française, annotation et index par Bernard Colombat et Manfred Peters, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 452 (Genève: Droz, 2009); — Delisle Candice, 'Une correspondance scientifique à la Renaissance: les *Lettres médicales* de Conrad Gesner', in *Réseaux de correspondance*, pp. 33-44; — Furno Martine, 'De quelques paradoxes: la peinture et les *Artes illiteratae* dans les *Pandectae* de Conrad Gesner', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 359-368.

- GEULINCX, ARNOLDUS (1624-1669): Nicusanti Veronica, 'Arnold Geulincx e Guglielmo Philippi: alle origini dell'occasionalismo moderno', *Studi Urbini*, Serie B: *Scienze Umane e Sociali*, 77 (2007), 99-124.
- GILLIS, PETRUS: vide infra: Morus (Deproost).
- GIRALD(I)US / GYRALD(I)US CYNTHIUS, IOHANNES BAPTISTA (Ferrariensis, 1504-1573): Cherchi Paolo – Micaela Rinaldi – Mariangela Tempera (eds.), *Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinzio gentiluomo ferrarese*, Pubblicazioni dell'Università di Ferrara, 10 (Firenze: Olschki, 2008); — Jossa Stefano, 'All'ombra di Renata. Giraldi e Castelvetro tra umanesimo ed eresia', *Schifanoia*, 28-29 (2005), 247-254.
- A GOES, DAMIANUS (1502-1574): Earle T., 'Damiao de Góis, *Deploratio Lapiannae gentis*: text and translation', *Humanitas*, 58 (2006), 347-368.
- GOROPHUS BECANUS, IOHANNES: vide supra: Becanus.
- GOSLICIUS, LAURENTIUS (fl. 1568): Stępkowski Aleksander (ed.), *O senatorze doskonałym. Studia. Prace upamiętniające postać i twórczość Wawrzyńca Goślickiego* (Warszawa: Kancelaria senatu, 2009). *Commentationes de Laurentii Goslicii opere quod inscribitur De optimo senatore* (1568).
- DE GOTTIGNIES, AEGIDIUS FRANCISCUS, S.I.: vide supra: de Camargo (Sacré).
- GOULARTIUS, SIMO (1543-1628): Bauderier Gilles, 'Simon Goulart et ses correspondants (1574-1624)', in *Réseaux de correspondance*, pp. 45-57.
- GRATIUS, ORTWINUS (ca. 1480-1542): Haye Thomas, 'Ortwin Gratius als Förderer des Prudentius', *Daphnis*, 32 (2003), 683-697; — vide et supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I.3).
- GROTIUS, HUGO (1583-1645): Berns Thomas, 'Droit naturel et âge de Saturne chez Grotius', in *Classical Mythology*, pp. 255-270; — Laes Christian – Toon Van Houdt, 'Over Goten, Germanen en Indianen: de controverse Grotius-De Laet', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 25 (2009), 120-136; — Nellen Henk, 'The Correspondence of Hugo Grotius', in *Les grands intermédiaires*, pp. 127-164; — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.; 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wikis.nl>); et infra: Heinsius (Bloemendal – Nellen).
- GRÜNINGER [REINHARD], IOHANNES (Argorentatensis, ca. 1455-ca. 1533): Morford Mark P.O., 'Johann Grüninger of Strasbourg', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 119-135.
- GRYPHIUS, SEBASTIANUS (1493-1556): Morisse Gérard, 'Un document méconnu: le *Tumulus* de Sébastien Gryphe (1561)', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 129 (2008), 219-252.
- GUARINUS, GUARINUS = GUARINUS VERONENSIS (1374-1460): Bandini Michele, 'Un nuovo libro della biblioteca di Guarino Veronese', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, 136 (2008), 257-266; — vide et supra: Chrysoloras (Bíró); 2.2 sub nom.; 2.2: Pannonius (Kiss Farkas).
- GYRALD(I)US CYNTHIUS, IOHANNES BAPTISTA: vide supra: Giral(d)i(us).
- VON HALLER, ALBERTUS (1708-1777): Ciarrocchi Victorius, 'Quaedam de Alberti von Haller (1708-1777) vita et scriptis', *Melissa*, 151 (2009), 6-8.
- HAVEMAN, GEORGIUS: vide supra 1.2: Finnia (Riikonen).
- DE HAVRECH, IULIANUS: vide infra: Pictorius (Enenkel).
- HECKIUS, IOHANNES: vide supra: Eckius I.
- HEINSIUS, DANIEL (1580-1655): Bloemendal Jan (1), 'Mythology on the early modern humanists' and rhetoricians' stage in the Netherlands: the case of

- Heinsius's *Herodes infanticida*', in *Classical Mythology*, pp. 333-350; — Id. (2) – Henk Nellen, 'Early Enlightenment or High Philology? Biblical textual criticism and exegesis by two famous alumni of Leiden University, Daniel Heinsius and Hugo Grotius', in Mitterauer Gertraud – Ulrich Müller – Margarete Springeth – Verena Vitzthum (eds.), *Was ist Textkritik? Zur Geschichte und Relevanz eines Zentralbegriffes der Editionswissenschaft*, Beihefte zu *Editio*, 28 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2009), pp. 113-128; — vide et supra 1.10 (Verbeke); 2.2 et 3.2 sub nom.
- VAN HELMONT, IOHANNES BAPTISTA (1577-1644): Ducheyne Steffen, 'J.B. Van Helmont's *De Tempore* as an Influence on Isaac Newton's Doctrine of Absolute Time', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 90 (2008), 216-228.
- HENSCHENIUS, GODEFRIDUS, S.I. (1601-1681): vide infra: Intorcetta (Golvers).
- HERBERTUS, GUILIELMUS: *Sir William Herbert, Ad Campianum Iesuitam eiusque Rationes Decem Responsio*. Edited by Arthur Keaveney and John A. Madden, *Noctes Neolatinae*, 11 (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2009). Editio princeps.
- HERRARIENSIS / DE HERRERA, FERDINANDUS ALPHONSUS (1460?-ante 1527): vide infra: Trapezuntius (Sánchez Manzano).
- HOLSTENIUS, LUCAS (1596-1661): Stork Hans-Walter (ed.), *Lucas Holstenius (1596-1661). Ein Hamburger Humanist im Rom des Barock. Material zur Geschichte seiner Handschriftenschenkung an die Stadtbibliothek Hamburg*. Bearbeitet von Gernot Bühring, Eva Horváth, Marina Molin Pradel, Burkhard Reis, Bianca-Jeanette Schröder, Hans-Walter Stork, Beiträge und Mitteilungen des 'Vereins für Katholische Kirchengeschichte in Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein e.V.', 9 (Husum: Verein für Katholische Kirchengeschichte in Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2008). Continet i.a.: Bühring Gernot (1), 'Gedichte, Lucas Holstenius betreffende, in den 'Poemata' des Ferdinand von Fürstenberg' (pp. 100-103); Id. (2), 'Die lateinische Korrespondenz des Hamburger Senats mit Kardinal Barberini über den Nachlass des Lucas Holstenius' (pp. 105-118); Molin Pradel Marina, 'Beschreibungen der griechischen Handschriften aus der Bibliothek des Holstenius' (pp. 119-136); Schröder Bianca-Jeanette (1), 'Lucas Holstenius als Handschriftensammler. Einige Informationen aus den edierten Briefen' (pp. 47-56); Ead. (2), 'Beschreibungen der lateinischen Handschriften aus der Bibliothek des Holstenius' (pp. 137-148); — vide et supra 2.2: Barberinus (Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas: Morello).
- HOSIUS, THEODATUS († 1699): vide infra: Strozzi G. (Wuidar).
- HОВIUS, MATTHIAS: Verleyen Wilfried, 'De relaties van Matthias Hovius, derde aartsbisshop van Mechelen, met de abdij van Affligem (1589-1620)', *Eigen Schoon & De Brabander*, 92 (2009), 67-108.
- HUGENIUS [HUYGENS], CHRISTIANUS (1629-1695): Icke Vincent, *Christiaan Huygens in de onvoltooid verleden tijd* (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 2009<sup>2</sup>); — van Meerkerk Edwin, 'The correspondence network of Christian Huygens (1629-1695)', in *Les grands intermédiaires*, pp. 21-228.
- HUGENIUS [HUYGENS], CONSTANTINUS (1596-1687): Jardine Lisa (1), *The Reputation of Sir Constantijn Huygens: Networker or Virtuoso?* KB Lecture, 5 (Wassenaar: NIAS, 2008); — Ead. (2), *De reputatie van Constantijn Huygens: netwerker of virtuoos?* Vertaald door Henk Schreuder (Amsterdam: Bert

- Bakker, 2008); — Jorink Eric, 'Geef zicht aan de blinden'. *Constantijn Huygens, René Descartes en het Boek der Natuur*, Constantijn lezing 2007 (Leiden: Primavera Pres, 2008); — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- HUGO, HERMANNUS, S.I. (1588-1629): vide supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- HUTTENIUS, UDALRICUS: vide supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,3).
- HYVANUS [IVANI], ANTONIUS (Sergianensis, 1430-1482): *Antonio Ivani da Sarzana, Opere storiche*. A cura di Paolo Pontari e Silvia Marcucci, Il ritorno dei classici nell'Umanesimo, 4 – Edizione nazionale dei testi della Storiografia umanistica, 1 (Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006).
- IASON, HENRICUS: Maestre Maestre José María, 'Ironía y buen humor en la *Disquisitio responsoria Henrici Iason in magistri Francisci Sanctii editam assertionem de non loquendo latine*' in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 175-210.
- INTORCETTA, PROSPER, S.I. (1625-1696): Golvers Noël, 'An Unobserved Letter of Prospero Intorcetta, S.J. to Godefridus Henschens, S.J. and the Printing of the Jesuit Translations of the Confucian Classics (Rome – Antwerp, 2 June 1672)', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 679-698.
- IOVIUS, BENEDICTUS (1471-1545): Buzzi Franco, 'Como illustre: i due Plinio nei tre Giovio', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 119-133.
- IOVIUS, IOHANNES BAPTISTA (1748-1814): vide et supra: Iovius B. (Buzzi).
- IOVIUS, PAULUS (Novocomensis, 1483-1552): *Paolo Giovio, La descrizione del Lario, 1537*. A cura di Franco Minonzio, La biblioteca perduta, 17 (Milano: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 2007); — Agosti Barbara, *Paolo Giovio. Uno storico lombardo nella cultura artistica del Cinquecento*, Fondazione Carlo Marchi, Quaderni, 37 (Firenze: Olschki, 2008); — Maffei Laura – Franco Minonzio – Carla Sodini (eds.), *Sperimentalismo e dimensione europea della cultura di Paolo Giovio*, Raccolta storica, 24 (Como: Società Storica Comense, 2007); — vide et supra: Iovius B. (Buzzi).
- IUNIUS, FRANCISCUS: Dundas Judith, *Sidney and Junius on Poetry and Painting: From the Margin to the Center* (Cranbury: University of Delaware Press, 2007).
- IVANI / IVANUS, ANTONIUS: vide supra: Hyvanus.
- KEPLER, IOHANNES (1571-1630): Chen-Morris Raz, 'From Emblems to Diagrams: Kepler's New Pictorial Language of Scientific Representation', *RQ*, 62 (2009), 134-170.
- KILIANUS, CORNELIUS (Dufflaeus, 1528/30-1607): Delsaerd Pierre, 'De kennismachines van Cornelis Kiliaan. Een typografische analyse van drie Nederlandse woordenboeken uit de 16<sup>de</sup> eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, 87 (2009), 9-36.
- KIRCHER, ATHANASIUS, S.I. (1601/2-1680): Di Fiore Antonio, 'Note sulla *Turris Babel* di Athanasius Kircher', *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s., 56 (2007), 173-188.
- LAETIUS, IOHANNES (1581-1649): vide supra: Grotius (Laes – Van Houdt); 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- LAETUS / LETUS, POMPONIUS: Accame Maria, *Pomponio Leto. Vita e insegnamento* (Roma: Edizioni Tored, 2008); — Bianca Concetta, 'Pomponio Leto e l'invenzione dell'Accademia romana', in *Les Académies*, pp. 25-56; — Stok Fabio, 'Il commento di Pomponio Leto all'*Eneide* di Virgilio', *SUP*, 29



- (2009), 251-273; — Tura Adolfo, 'Precisazioni sull'edizione bolognese del *Regionario* di Pomponio Leto (1520)', *BHR*, 71 (2009), 309-312; — vide et supra: Barzizza (Gualdo).
- LANDINUS, CHRISTOPHORUS (Florentinus, 1424-1492): Pieper Christoph, '*Cicero-nis sub aegide tutus. De Praefatio in Tusculanis* van Cristoforo Landino', *Lampas*, 42 (2009), 57-72; — vide et supra 1.8 (Ludwig); 2.2 sub nom.
- LANTERIUS, FRANCISCUS: vide infra: Vallaurius (Balbo).
- LASCARIS, IANUS / IOHANNES: vide supra 1.5 (Speranzi).
- LATOMUS, BARTHOLOMAEUS: vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- LEIBNITIUS [LEIBNIZ], GOTHOFRIDUS GULIELMUS (1646-1716): Gädeke Nora, 'Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz', in *Les grands intermédiaires*, pp. 257-306; — vide et infra: Nizolius (Leduc).
- DE LEÓN, LUDOVICUS (1527/8-1591): Chiappini Gaetano, 'La libertà agostiniana nei *Nombres de Cristo* di Fray Luis de León', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 57-76; — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- LEONARDUS DE FLORENTIA, O.P.: Bianca Concetta, 'Leonardo ser Uberti, bibliotecario di San Marco', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 281-296.
- LEONICENUS, OMNIBONUS: vide infra: Omnibonus.
- LEONICUS THOMAEUS, NICOLAUS (1456-1531): vide infra: Thomaeus.
- LEOPARDI, IACOBUS (1798-1837): Rossi Iohannes Carolus, 'Iacobi Leopardi et Alexandri Manzoni scripta Latina', *Latinitas*, 56 (2008), 325-330.
- LESSIUS, LEONARDUS, S.I. (1554-1623): Decock Wim, 'L'usure face au marché: Lessius (1554-1623) et l'escompte des lettres obligatoires', in Girollet Anne (ed.), *Actes des Journées Internationales de la Société d'Histoire du Droit (Dijon, 30 mai – 1<sup>er</sup> juin 2007). Le droit, les affaires et l'argent. Bicentenaire du code de commerce*, Mémoires de la Société pour l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions des Anciens Pays Bourguignons, 65 (Dijon: Société pour l'Histoire du Droit, 2008), pp. 221-238.
- LETUS, POMPONIUS: vide supra: Laetus.
- LHOMOND, CAROLUS FRANCISCUS: *Caroli Francisci Lhomond Epitome historiae sacrae brevi Christi vitae narratione addita*. Integrum opus ad usum discipulorum edidit Robertus Carfagni paucissimis verbis mutatis (Montella: Edizioni Accademia Vivarium Novum, 2009).
- LICET(I)US, FORTUNIUS (1577-1657): Ongaro Giuseppe, 'Fortunio Liceti e la *Lettera al principe Leopoldo di Toscana* di Galileo Galilei (1640)', *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Galileiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Padova*, 120/3 (2007-2008), 33-59.
- LIGORIUS, PYRRHUS (ca. 1513-1583): Vagenheim Ginette, 'Les *Antichità romane* de Pirro Ligorio et l'*Accademia degli sdegnati*', in *Les Académies*, pp. 99-127.
- LINDANUS, GULIELMUS: Dávila Pérez Antonio, '"Regnavit a ligno Deus. Affirmat Arias Montanus; negat Lindanus." Revisión de la polémica Benito Arias Montano – Wilhelmus Lindanus a la luz de nuevos documentos', *HL*, 58 (2009), 125-189.
- LINNAEUS, CAROLUS (1707-1778): Broberg Gunnar, *Carl Linnaeus* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 2006).
- LIPPUS, AURELIUS: vide supra: Brandolinus Lippus.

- LIPSIUS, IUSTUS (1547-1606): Ballesteros Sánchez Juan Ramón, *Historia romana para tiempos modernos: los Admiranda de Justo Lipsio*, 2 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. Universidad de Huelva, 2008); — Bass Marisa, 'Justus Lipsius and His Silver Pen', *JWCI*, 70 (2007), 157-194; — De Bom Erik (1), 'Een subtiële transformatie van Justus Lipsius' *Monita et exempla politica*? De Staatkundige vermaningen en voorbeelden van J.H. Glazemaker', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 24 (2008), 210-226; — Id. (2), *Geleerden en politiek. Receptie van Justus Lipsius' Monita et exempla politica (1605) in de Nederlanden in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Unpublished Ph.D. K.U.Leuven, 2009); — De Landtsheer Jeanine (1), 'Juste Lipse et son *De bibliothecis syntagma*', in *L'idée des bibliothèques*, pp. 81-91; — Ead. (2), 'Towards the Edition of ILE IV (1591): a Revision of its 1974 Version Extended with Five Overlooked Letters', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 507-520; — Ead. (3), "'Per patronos, non per merita gradus est emergendi": Lipsius's Careful Choice of *patroni* as a Way of Career Planning', in *Cui dono*, pp. 251-268; — Deneire Tom, "*Laconicae cuspidis instar*". *The Correspondence of Justus Lipsius: 1598*. Critical edition with introduction, annotations and stylistic study, 2 vols (Unpublished Ph.D. K.U.Leuven, 2009); — Isnardi Parente Margherita, 'La storia della filosofia antica nella *Manuductio in Stoicam philosophiam* di Giusto Lipsio', in *Rinascimento politico*, pp. 169-185; — Papy Jan (1), 'Le sénéquisme dans la correspondance de Juste Lipse. Du *De Constantia* (1583) à la *Epistolarum Selectarum Centuria Prima Miscellanea* (1586)', *Journal de la Renaissance*, 6 (2008), 49-62; — Id. (2), 'The First Christian Defender of Stoic Virtue? Justus Lipsius and Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 139-153; — Id. (3), 'An Unknown Satirical Dialogue on Latin Style by Justus Lipsius against Matthaeus Dresserus and David Peifer', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 521-536; — Peeters Hugo, 'L'édition des *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* de l'année 1596: description du ms. 3(17) et la datation de lettres par Juste Lipse', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 537-546; — Roose Alexander, 'De schipbreuk van een filosofie en de filosofie van een schipbreuk. Over het verband tussen de filosofie van Erasmus, Justus Lipsius, en de relazen van Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Willem Bontekoe en Francisco Pelsaert', *Spiegel der Letteren*, 51/2 (2009), 127-149; — Schmid Alois (ed.), *Justus Lipsius und der europäische Späthumanismus in Oberdeutschland* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2008); — Tarrête Alexandre, 'D'un usage Néo-stoïcien de Plutarque: le traité *Sur les Délais de la Justice divine* relu par Juste Lipse et Guillaume du Vair', in Guerrier Olivier (ed.), *Moralia et Œuvres morales à la Renaissance. Actes du Colloque International de Toulouse (19-21 mai 2005)*, Colloques, congrès et conférences de la Renaissance européenne (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008), pp. 131-151; — Tournoy Gilbert, 'Lipsiana novissima III: Another Overlooked Letter Written by Lipsius in 1604', *HL*, 58 (2009), 409-413; — van der Poel Marc, 'Lipsius and the Splitting of Propertius 1,8', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 495-505; — Young Robert V., '*Constantia nos armat*: Lipsius' Letters and the Trials of Constancy', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 547-555; — vide et supra 1.10 (Verbeke); 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>); et infra: Oudaert (De Landtsheer), Vernulaeus (De Bom).
- LISTRIOUS, GERARDUS (ca. 1485/90-ca. 1535): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.

- LOCHER (= PHILOMUSUS), IACOBUS (1471-1528): Delègue Yves, *Théologie et poésie ou la parole de vérité: La querelle entre Jacques Locher et Jacques Wimpheling (1500-1510)*, Études et essais sur la Renaissance, 77 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008); — vide et supra 3.2 sub nom.
- LONGOMONTANUS, CHRISTIANUS: vide supra: Brahe (Swerdlow).
- LÓPEZ DE SEGURA, RODERICUS (ca. 1540-1580): Protomártir Vaquero Santos (1), 'Las fuentes de autoridad en la Gramática de Rui López de Segura', *Revista de estudios extremeños*, 63 (2007), 429-444; — Id. (2), 'El género gramatical: Ruy López y el Brocense', in *Humanidades clásicas*, pp. 205-246.
- LUTHERUS, MARTINUS (1483-1546): vide supra: Erasmus (Theunissen-Faider); et infra: Zvinglius (Buzzi).
- MACROPEDIUS, GEORGIUS (1487-1558): vide supra 2.2 et 3.2 sub nom.
- MAGIUS, HIERONYMUS (fl. 1523-1572): Hellemans Geert, *Klokken. De tintinnabulis van Hieronymus Magius*. Vertaling met aantekeningen (Unpublished Thesis Mechelen [Beiaardschool], 2009).
- MAIANSIUS / MAYANSIUS, GREGORIUS (1699-1781): Pérez Durà F. Jordi, 'Los rhetores latini minores en la preceptiva de la retórica de Gregorio Mayans', in *Picón García*, pp. 905-917.
- MAIOR [MAIR], IOHANNES: Broadie Alexander, 'John Mair's *Dialogus de materia theologo tractanda*: Introduction, Text and Translation', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 419-430.
- MAIUS, IUNIANUS (fl. Neapoli, 1475-1492): Palumbo Gianni Antonio, 'La biblioteca di un grammatico', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 193-208.
- MALDONATUS [MALDONADO], IOHANNES (1485-1554): *Spanish Humanism on the Verge of the Picaresque: Juan Maldonado's Ludus Chartarum, Pastor bonus and Bacchanalia*. Edited with introduction, translation, and notes by Warren Smith and Clark Colahan, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (Leuven: Leuven U.P., 2009).
- MAL-LARA, IOHANNES (Hispalensis, 1524-1571): Arcos Pereira Trinidad – María Elisa Cuyás de Torres, 'Los Scholia de Juan de Mal-Lara al "progymnasma" de la fábula de Aftonio', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica – Estudios Latinos*, 28 (2008), 115-137.
- MANUTIUS, PAULUS (1512-1574): vide supra 1.9 sub nom.
- MARINEUS, LUCAS / LUCIUS (Siculus, 1460-1533): Schlelein Stefan, 'Lucio Marineo Sículo como historiador de la "nación española"', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 243-251.
- MARNIXIUS SANCTALDEGUNDIUS, PHILIPPUS (1540-1598): De Smet Rudolf, 'The "Postrema Responsio" by Marnix of Saint Aldegonde: the Tailpiece of his Polemic with Michel de Bay', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 487-494.
- MARSCALCUS, NICOLAUS: vide infra: Niger (Lozano Guillén).
- MARSUS, PETRUS: vide supra 1.2: Italia (*Dizionario biografico*, 71: Benedetto).
- MARTÍNEZ LUSITANUS, FRANCISCUS: Sánchez Salor Eustaquio (1), 'La Gramática del maestro Martínez Lusitano: entre Nebrija y el Brocense', *RPH*, 10 (2006), 53-80.
- MARTINIUS, MARTINUS, S.I.: Paternicò Luisa, 'Martino Martini e Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz, la *Grammatica linguae Sinensis*', *Studi trentini di scienze storiche*, 87 (2008), 407-424.

- MARTIUS, GALEOTTUS (1427-1497): Békés Enikő, 'Galeotto Marzio and the Court of King Matthias Corvinus (*De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Matthiae*)', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 287-296; — D'Alessandro Alessandro, 'Galeotto Marzio e la scelta di Montagnana: case, terre e libri', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 106-116.
- MARTYR ANGLERIUS / DE ANGLERIA, PETRUS (1457-1526): Castrillo González Carmen, 'La edición de 1516 del *De orbe nouo decades* de Mártir de Anglería: algunas observaciones y una noticia', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 151-164; — Collard Patrick, 'Oro y hambre en la primera Década de Pedro Mártir de Anglería', *Neophilologus*, 92 (2008), 617-625; — Eatough Geoffrey (1), 'Peter Martyr's Response to Hernán Cortés', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 271-286; — Id. (2), 'Erasmian Agenda: Peter Martyr's Plain Latin for a New World', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 297-309; — Gauvin Brigitte, '"Accipe non noti praeclaria [*sic!*] volumina mundi": les dédicaces du *De orbe nouo* de Pierre Martyr d'Anghiera', in *Cui dono*, pp. 195-216.
- MARULUS, MARCUS (Spalatensis, 1450-1524): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- MAYANSIUS, GREGORIUS: vide supra: Maiansius.
- DEL MEL, RAYNALDUS (ca. 1554-ca. 1598): Corswarem Emilie, 'Les dédicaces latines des livres de motets de René del Mel (ca. 1554-ca. 1598)', in *Cui dono*, pp. 269-291.
- MELANCHTHON, PHILIPPUS (1497-1560): *Philipp Melanchthon, Initia Doctrinae Physicae, Dictata in Academia Vuitebergensi. Die Anfänge der physikalischen Lehre, vorgetragen an der Universität Wittenberg*. Übersetzt von Walther Ludwig, *Subsidia classica*, 11 (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2008); — Pauls Rob, 'The World as Sin and Grace: the Theology of Melanchthon's *Loci communes* of 1521', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 469-478.
- MENCKENIUS, OTTO (1644-1707): Laeven Huub, 'Otto Mencke (1644-1707): The outlines of his network of correspondents', in *Les grands intermédiaires*, pp. 229-256.
- MERBITZ, IOHANNES VALENTINUS (1650-1704): vide supra 1.5: Priscianus (Hernández González).
- MERCURIALIS, HIERONYMUS (1530-1606): *Girolamo Mercuriale, De arte gymnastica*. Edizione critica a cura di Concetta Pennuto. Traduzione inglese a fronte di Vivian Nutton (Firenze: Olschki, 2008).
- MEXIA, DIDACUS: Gil Fernández Juan, 'Diego Mexía de Fernangil, un perulero humanista en los confines del mundo', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 67-141.
- MICYLLUS, IACOBUS: vide supra 1.8 (Ludwig) et 2.2 sub nom.
- MISON ERYTHRAEUS: vide infra: Rettenpacher.
- MOLINARIUS, SIMON (ca. 1565/70-1634): Poulos Peter S., 'Dedication and Devotion in Simone Molinaro's *Motectorum quinis, et missae denis vocibus, liber primus* (1597)', in *Cui dono*, pp. 293-315.
- MONTANUS, BENEDICTUS ARIAS (1527-1598): vide supra: Arias Montanus.
- MORALES, AMBROSIUS (1513-1591): Serrano Cueto Antonio, 'Notas sobre Gades en las Antigüedades de las ciudades de España (1577) de Ambrosio de Morales', *Revista cultural del Ateneo de Cádiz*, 8 (2008), 177-182.

- MORATA, OLYMPIA FULVIA (1526-1555): Düchting Reinhard, 'La dotta Heidelberg intorno al 1550 come ultimo asilo (1554-1555) di Olimpia Fulvia Morata', *Schifanoia*, 28-29 (2005), 343-348; — Flood John L., 'Olimpia's German Friends', *Schifanoia*, 28-29 (2005), 331-341; — Franceschini Chiara, "'Litterarum studia nobis communia': Olimpia Morata e la corte di Renata di Francia', *Schifanoia*, 28-29 (2005), 207-232; — Pandolfi Claudia, 'Olimpia Morata "puella supra sexum ingeniosa"', *Schifanoia*, 28-29 (2005), 291-302; — Prandi Stefano, "'Ex sola Dei benignitate": Olimpia Morata e la tradizione latina delle prime due novelle del *Decameron*', *Schifanoia*, 28-29 (2005), 265-278; — Romano Angelo, 'Olimpia Morata e Celio Secondo Curione: aspetti letterari di un sodalizio eterodosso', *Schifanoia*, 28-29 (2005), 315-330.
- MORHOFIUS, DANIEL GEORGIUS (1639-1691): vide supra 1.3 (Werle).
- MORUS, THOMAS (ca. 1477/8-1535): Cave Terence (ed.), *Thomas More's Utopia in Early Modern Europe. Paratexts and Contexts* (Manchester: The University of Manchester Press, 2008); — Cummings Brian, 'Conscience and the Law in Thomas More', *RS*, 23 (2009), 463-485; — Deproost Paul-Augustin, 'À la marge d'*Utopia*. De Thomas More à Pierre Gillis, dédicace ou préface?', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 207-220; — Goodrich Jaime, 'Thomas More and Margaret More Roper: A Case for Rethinking Women's Participation in the Early Modern Public Sphere', *SCJ*, 39 (2008), 1021-1040; — Havas Ladislaus (1), 'Patrimonium litterarium et politico-philosophicum Sancti Thomae Mori in Hungaria Latina historica', in *Classica – Mediaevalia – Neolatina III*, pp. 191-200; — Havas László (2), 'Morus Hungaricus sive speculum regium ad principem eius saeculi scriptum quod aevum lucum seu luminum vel summae eruditionis aut illuminationis nominatur, sive fortuna Thomae Mori in Hungaria Latina', *CamHung*, 4-5 (2007-2008), 121-130; — Isnardi Parente Margherita, 'L'*Utopia* di Thomas More', in *Rinascimento politico*, pp. 57-77; — Kaufman Peter Iver, *Incorrectly Political: Augustine and More* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007); — Kushner Eva, 'Liberté et non-liberté dans quelques textes de Thomas More', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 685-693; — Norland Howard B., 'More's and Elyot's perspectives and their classical antecedents', *Moreana*, 40/153-154 (2003), 121-140; — Owens Patricius, 'Quis fuerit Thomas Morus?', *Vox Latina*, 45 (2009), 310-324; — Perrini Matteo, 'Thomas More, il laico cristiano dei tempi nuovi', *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia*, 203 (2004), 93-109; — Rickett Willia, 'The Case against Thomas More', *SCJ*, 39 (2008), 1065-1093; — Rognoni Francesco (ed.), *Tommaso Moro*, Lettere scelte, tradotte e commentate da Alberto Castelli (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2008); — vide et supra 1.5: Lucianus (Ní Chuilleanáin).
- MORUS ROPER, MARGARETHA (1505-1544): vide supra: Morus (Goodrich).
- MOSCHUS, IOHANNES: Bertolo Francesca, 'Giovanni di Corone o Giovanni Mosco?', *Medioevo greco*, 2 (2002), 21-48; — vide et supra 1.5 (Speranzi).
- MURMELLIUS, IOHANNES (1480-1517): vide supra: Gratius (Haye).
- MUSOPHILUS [GERBEL], NICOLAUS: vide supra 1.2: Germania (Worstbrock-I,3).
- MYLIUS, ABRAHAM (1563-1637): vide supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- NATALIS [NADAL], HIERONYMUS, S.I.: *Jerome Nadal S.J., Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels, II: The Passion Narratives*. Translated by Frederick

- A. Homann, S.J., with an introductory study by Walter S. Melion (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's U.P., 2007).
- NAUDAUS, GABRIEL (1600-1653): Bianchi Lorenzo, 'L'Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque de Gabriel Naudé: prolégomènes pour une bibliothèque libertine?', in *L'idée des bibliothèques*, pp. 133-142; — Teyssandrier Bernard, 'L'ethos érudit dans l'Avis pour dresser une bibliothèque de Gabriel Naudé', in *L'idée des bibliothèques*, pp. 117-131.
- NEBRISSENSIS [NEBRJA], (AELIUS) ANTONIUS (1441/4?-1522): *Antonio de Nebrija, Retórica*. Introducción, edición crítica y traducción de Juan Lorenzo, Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis grammatici opera, 6 (Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2006); — Bonmatí Sánchez Virginia (1), 'La repetitio quinta sobre la analogía de Elio Antonio de Nebrija (11 de junio de 1508)', in *Picón García*, pp. 561-576; — Ead. (2), 'La Filología Bíblica del humanista Elio Antonio de Nebrija', *SPV*, 10 (2007), 47-63; — del Valle Rodríguez Carlos, 'Antonio Nebrija's Biblical Scholarship', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 57-72; — Fernandes Gonçalo, 'As Introduções Latinas (1481) de Élio António de Nebrija', *Humanitas*, 58 (2006), 253-272; — González Vega Felipe, 'Gramática y estilo en Antonio de Nebrija: a propósito del lenguaje figurativo', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 435-443; — Martín Baños Pedro, '¿Nebrija alumno de Filelfo? Nuevos datos sobre el bachiller de la Pradilla y la estancia de Antonio de Nebrija en Italia', *RELat*, 7 (2007), 153-179; — Martín Nieto Dionisio A., *Antonio de Nebrija y sus hijos: relaciones con Extremadura* (Madrid: Editorial Campanario – Villanueva de la Serena: Asociación Cultural Torres y Tapia, 2007); — Mourelle de Lema Manuel, *Elio A. de Nebrija y la génesis de una gramática vulgar: conceptos que, desde el ensayo gramatical castellano que supusieron las Introducciones Latinas, pasaron a la Gramática Castellana de Nebrija* (Madrid: Grugalma, 2006); — Sánchez Salor Eustaquio (1), 'Maestros de latinidad de la Mancha a comienzos del siglo XVII: entre Nebrija y el Brocense', *RELat*, 7 (2007), 203-228; — Id. (2), 'Cambios en la Gramática latina de Nebrija a lo largo del siglo XVI: las figuras de construcción', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 359-368; — vide et supra: Martínez Lusitanus (Sánchez Salor); 1.2: Italia (Villalonga – Miralles – Prats).
- NEWTONUS, ISAAC (1642/3-1727): vide supra: Van Helmont (Ducheyne).
- NIGER, FRANCISCUS: Lozano Guillén Carmen, 'Elementos de poética en la gramática Latina: el género lírico', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica – Estudios Latinos*, 28 (2008), 95-113.
- NIZ(Z)OLIUS, MARIUS (1488-1566): Leduc Christian, 'Le commentaire leibnizien du *De veris principiis* de Nizolius', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 38-39 (2006-2007), 89-108.
- NODOT, FRANCISCUS (ca. 1650-1710): Steinberg María Eugenia, 'Interpolaciones en el texto de Petronio: F. Nodot y las traducciones del *Satyricon*', *Anales de Filología Clásica* [Buenos Aires], 18-19 (2005-2006), 145-161; — Stucchi Silvia, 'La fine della storia: la conclusione del *Satyricon* secondo la *Traduction entière de Pétron* di F. Nodot. Spunti per una riflessione sulla ricezione di Petronio nel XVII secolo', *Paideia*, 63 (2008), 355-390.
- NORRELIUS, ANDREAS (1679-1749): vide supra 1.2 (Van Houdt).

- NOVAE ACADEMIAE FLORENTINAE OPUSCULA (1533): vide supra: Anonymus Italus (Perifano).
- ODAXIUS [ODASI], LUDOVICUS: Benedetti Stefano, “‘In funere illustrissimi principis Guidobaldi’”: Ludovico Odasi e l’orazione per la morte di Guidubaldo da Montefeltro’, *Humanistica*, 3/1 (2008), 15-33.
- OECOLAMPADIUS [H(E)USSGEN], IOHANNES (1482-1531): vide supra: Erasmus (Theunissen-Faider).
- OLAHUS [OLÁH], NICOLAUS (1493-1568): Neagu Cristina, ‘The *Processus sub forma Missae* and Nicolaus Olahus’, *SUP*, 29 (2009), 387-395.
- OMNIBONUS LEONICENUS (1412-1474): *Athanasii Alexandrini opuscula Omnibono Leonicensi interprete*. A cura di Silvia Fiaschi, Edizione nazionale delle traduzioni dei testi greci in età umanistica e rinascimentale, 2 (Firenze: SIS-MEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006).
- OPITIUS, MARTINUS: Kosellek Gerhard, ‘Martin Opitz im Dienst des pölnischen Königs Władysław IV. – Wahrheit und Legende’, *Germanoslavica*, 19 (2008), 17-33; — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- ORTELIUS, ABRAHAMUS: Gysens Steven, “‘Gekocht op de openbare veiling op 7 oktober 1598’”. Handschriften uit Ortelius’ bibliotheek “teruggevonden” in Brussel’, *De Gulden Passer*, 86 (2008), 29-42.
- OUDAERT, NICOLAUS: De Landtsheer Jeanine, “‘Die wereldvreemde proffen van Leuven in hun ivoren toren’”. Een vergeten brief van Nicolaas Oudaert aan Christoffel Plantijn’, *De Gulden Passer*, 87 (2009), 34-52.
- PACHECUS, FRANCISCUS (1539/40-1599): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- PANNONIUS, ANDREAS: Kertész Balázsne – Csilla Biró, ‘La *vita activa* e la *vita contemplativa* nel commentario del Cantico dei cantici di Andreas Pannonius’, *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 83-91.
- PARRHASIUS, AULUS IANUS (1470-1522?): Gualdo Rosa Lucia, ‘Tra filologia e passione bibliografica: la biblioteca del Parrasio e il suo *Liber de rebus per epistolam quaesitis*’, in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 119-133.
- PATINUS, CARULUS: Benucci Franco, ‘Charles Patin: la casa, gli ultimi anni di vita a Padova, la famiglia’, *Quaderni per la storia dell’Università di Padova*, 41 (2008), 3-81.
- PATRICIUS / PATRITIUS, FRANCISCUS (1529-1597): Vasoli Cesare, ‘La critica di Francesco Patrizi alla dottrina aristotelica degli elementi: il fuoco, l’aria e l’acqua’, *RIN*, n.s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 93-106.
- PÉCSÉLI KIRÁLY, IMRE: Kecskeméti Gábor, ‘Latin Rhetoric of Imre Pécseli Király and the early 17<sup>th</sup> century European rhetoric theory’, *CamHung*, 4-5 (2007-2008), 83-100.
- PEIFER, DAVID: vide supra: Lipsius (Papy-3).
- PEIRESCIUS, NICOLAUS CLAUDIUS (1580-1636): vide supra: Fabricius Peirescius.
- PEREIRA / PEREYRA, GOMETIUS (1500-1558): vide supra: Cartesius (García-Hernández-2).
- PERINGER, GUSTAVUS (1651-1710): Eskhult Mats – Josef Eskhult, ‘Gustaf Peringer as Hebraist’, *Orientalia Suecana*, 57 (2008), 145-164; — Helander Hans, ‘Gustaf Peringer’s speech in praise of the Oriental languages (1674)’, *Orientalia Suecana*, 57 (2008), 135-144; — Utas Bo, ‘Gustaf Peringer and the Roots of Comparative Philology’, *Orientalia Suecana*, 57 (2008), 173-182.

- PEROTTUS, NICOLAUS (1429-1480): Maddalo Silvia – Eva Panzi, 'Dalla stampa al manoscritto. Un caso inedito e qualche riflessione', *RnR*, 2006, 43-52; — Perotti Pier Angelo, 'Perotti, per una definizione di Zeus-Luce: spunti esiodei', *Minerva*, 20 (2007), 23-37; — Ramminger Johann, 'Perotti's Latin Letters: Style in Theory and Practice', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 85-94; — vide et supra 4.1 (Charlet); et infra: Tortellius (Charlet), Valla (Charlet).
- PETRARCA, FRANCISCUS (Florentinus, 1304-1374): Baglio Marco, 'San Paolo nella biblioteca del Petrarca: le postille del codice di Napoli e del Par. Lat. 1762', *Aevum*, 82 (2008), 357-427; — Ballarini Marco, 'La libertà nelle *Familiares* di Francesco Petrarca', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 177-186; — Barolini Teodolina – H. Wayne Storey (eds.), *Petrarch and the Textual Origins of Interpretation*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 31 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); — Bausi Francesco, *Petrarca antimoderno: studi sulle invettive e sulle polemiche petrarchesche*, Strumenti di letteratura italiana, 26 (Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 2008); — Blasio Maria Grazia – Anna Morisi – Francesca Niutta, *Petrarca e Roma. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Roma, 2-4 dicembre 2004)* (Roma: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2006); — Capitani Ovidio, 'Petrarca e l'autunno del Medioevo in alcune notazioni nella storiografia europea', *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, n.s., 74 (2006), 135-143; — Cappelli Guido M., 'Petrarca e l'Umanesimo politico del Quattrocento', *Verbum*, 7/1 (2005), 153-175; — Conaway Bondanella Julia, 'Petrarch's Rereading of *Otium* in *De vita solitaria*', *Comparative Literature*, 60 (2008), 14-28; — Falkeid Unn, 'Style, the Muscle of the Soul. Theories on Reading and Writing in Petrarch's Texts', *Quaderni d'italianistica*, 29 (2008), 21-38; — Foti Giuseppe, *La lettera di Petrarca a Omero: l'ingresso della cultura greca in Italia agli albori dell'Umanesimo* (Parma: Monte Università Parma, 2007); — Frasso Giuseppe, 'Tra spiritualità e cultura: Francesco Petrarca e il vescovo Ildebrandino Conti', *Verbum*, 7/1 (2005), 235-245; — Galateri di Genola Marco, 'L'*Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri Ihesu Christi* del Petrarca e gli itinerari di Terra Santa dei viaggiatori toscani del Trecento', *Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze*, n.s., 67-68 (2005-2006 [2007]), 179-193; — Gallo Alberto, 'La musica nel *De remediis*', *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, n.s., 74 (2006), 163-166; — Griggio Claudio, 'Petrarca a Udine nel 1368', *Studi Petrarcheschi*, n.s., 20 (2007), 1-56; — Hermant-Schebat Laure, 'Pétrarque lecteur du *Cato Maior*', in *Le plaisir*, pp. 429-446; — Kaposi Márton, 'La concezione della Fortuna in Petrarca', *Verbum*, 7/1 (2005), 247-261; — Kirkham Victoria – Armando Maggi (eds.), *Petrarch. A Critical Guide to the Complete Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); — Koprda Pavol, 'Il sentimento del tempo nel *Canzoniere* e nel *De ignorantia* di Petrarca', *Letteratura italiana antica*, 8 (2007), 299-307; — Křsálková Jitka, 'Die erste Petrarca-Biographie in den böhmischen Ländern', *Germanoslavica*, 19 (2008), 35-44; — Martinelli Bortolo, 'Petrarca e l'esperienza del Ventoso', *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia*, 203 (2004), 75-92; — Monti Carla Maria, "'Opto te incolumem videre". Petrarca e la scoperta del Quintiliano integro', *Studi Petrarcheschi*, n.s., 20 (2007), 105-123; — Pelucani



- Claudio (1), 'Corrispondenti di Petrarca tra medici e umanisti: Guglielmo da Ravenna', *Studi di filologia italiana*, 65 (2007), 285-302; — Id. (2), 'Della presunta autografia del codice Marc. Lat. XIV. 223 (4340)', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, n.s., 18 (2007), 55-76; — Pradelle Laurence, 'Pétrarque et les livres: de la bibliothèque réelle à la bibliothèque idéale', *In Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 1 (2008), 135-152; — Puskás István, 'Petrarca nella corte: un modello di comportamento del cortegiano-umanista', *Verbum*, 7/1 (2005), 177-183; — Sciacovelli Antonio Donato, 'Dal *De viris illustribus* al *De mulieribus claris*', *Verbum*, 7/1 (2005), 263-279; — Secchi Tarugi Luisa, 'Alcuni principi del ben vivere nel *De remediis utriusque fortunae* di Francesco Petrarca', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 447-463; — Špička Jiří (1), 'La speranza e le sue sirocchie nel *De remediis* di Petrarca', *Verbum*, 7/1 (2005), 221-234; — Id. (2), 'Petrarcha politicus redivivus', *La Rassegna della letteratura italiana*, 112 (2008), 442-453; — Id. (3), 'La libertà politica in città e in campagna da Petrarca ad Alamanno Rinuccini', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 413-424; — Suitner Franco, 'Francesco Petrarca nel suo epistolario', *GSLI*, 185 (2008), 249-259; — Szörényi László, 'L'umorismo nel *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 57-67; — Tombi Beáta, "'Uscire dalla vita" – il *Secretum* come biografia non-vera di Petrarca', *Verbum*, 7/1 (2005), 281-289; — Torre Andrea, *Petrarcheschi segni di memoria. Spie, postille, metafore* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2008); — Venier Matteo – Enrico Fenzi, 'Il Virgilio ambrosiano del Petrarca: discussioni e nuovi percorsi di ricerca', *Studi Petrarcheschi*, n.s., 20 (2007), 153-194; — vide et supra: Albertus (Tateo); 1.2: Italia: Neapolis (Tateo); 1.3 (Scarabelli); 1.5: Ennius (Houghton); 2.2 sub nom.; 4.1 (Bartuschat).
- DE PETRUCIUS, ANTONELLUS (ca. 1420-1487): Ruggiero Raffaele, "'Homines talem scribendi qualem vivendi formulam tenent". La biblioteca di Antonello Petrucci, "secretario" ribelle', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 171-192.
- PHILELPHUS, FRANCISCUS: vide supra: Filelfus F.
- PHILELPHUS, IOHANNES MARIUS: vide supra: Filelfus I.M.
- PHILIPPI, GULIELMUS (1600-1665): vide supra: Geulincx (Nicusanti).
- PHILOMUSUS: vide supra: Locher.
- PICCOLOMINEUS, AENEAS SILVIUS (PIUS II, P.M.; 1405-1464): Arnold Klaus – Franz Fuchs – Stephan Füssel (eds.), *Enea Silvio Piccolomini nördlich der Alpen. Akten des interdisziplinären Symposions vom 18. bis 19. November 2005 an der LMU München*, Pirkheimer-Jahrbuch, 22 (2008) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz: 2008). Continet i.a.: Arnold Klaus, 'Enea Silvio als Erzieher' (pp. 143-157); Henderson Duane, 'Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung des sogenannten *Dialogus de donatione Constantini* des Enea Silvio Piccolomini' (pp. 97-120); Iaria Simona, 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini und das Basler Konzil' (pp. 77-96); Knödler Julia, 'Überlegungen zur Entstehung der *Historia Austriasis*' (pp. 53-76); Paisey David, 'Searching for Pirkheimer's books in the remains of the Arundel Library at the Royal Society' (pp. 159-218); Vollmann Benedikt Konrad, 'Der Literat Enea Silvio Piccolomini' (pp. 9-19); Wagendorfer Martin, 'Eneas Silvius Piccolomini und die Wiener Universität – Ein Beitrag zum Frühhumanismus in Österreich' (pp. 21-52);

- Wesche Markus, 'Herrscherbild und Türkenkreuzzug. Über das Aufkommen päpstlicher Medaillen und Ereignismünzen im 15. Jahrhundert' (pp. 121-141); — Bertolini Lucia, 'Le *Epistole in cardinalatu* edite del Piccolomini', *RnR*, 2008, 43-50; — Fernández Sanz Domingo, 'Un texto inédito de Eneas Silvio Piccolomini acerca de Hispania', *Exemplaria Classica*, 11 (2007), 197-206; — Szörényi László, 'L'edizione dei *Commentarii* di Pio II da Iván Boronkai e la filologia neolatina in Ungheria', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 317-328; — Wagendorfer Martin, 'Adolf Rusch, Die *Historia Austriacalis* und St. Paul, Cod. Blas. Chart. 7/2. Zu Datierung und Überlieferung der Wien-Beschreibungen des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 89-102; — vide et supra 3.2 sub nom.
- PICTORIUS, GEORGIUS: Enenkel Karl, 'The Development of 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Mythography: Georgius Pictorius's *Theologia Mythologica*, *Apotheosis [...]* *Deorum* and Julien de Havrech's *De cognominibus Deorum gentilium*', in *Classical Mythology*, pp. 211-253.
- PICUS MIRANDULANUS, IOHANNES (1463-1494): *Pico della Mirandola, Rede over de menselijke waardigheid*. Vertaald en van aantekeningen voorzien door Michiel Op de Coul, ingeleid en van een nawoord voorzien door Jan Papy, *Filosofie & Rhetorica*, 2 (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 2008); — Bacchelli Franco, 'Appunti per la storia del testo delle *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* di Giovanni Pico', *Dianoia*, 13 (2008), 141-159; — Black Crofton, *Pico's Heptaplus and Biblical Hermeneutics* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2006); — Dougherty M.V. (ed.), *Pico della Mirandola: New Essays* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge U.P., 2008); — Lentzen Manfred, 'Il libero arbitrio e la dignità dell'uomo. A proposito dell'*Oratio de hominis dignitate* di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e della *Fabula de homine* di Juan Luis Vives', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 401-411; — Pescatori Rossella, 'Elementi cabalistici in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e Leone Ebreo', *Annali d'italianistica*, 26 (2008), 97-110; — Safa Karine, 'Antiquité et métamorphose à la Renaissance. Pic de la Mirandole et Giordano Bruno', *Anabases*, 8 (2008), 127-136; — Wirszubski Chaïm, *Pic de la Mirandole et la cabale*. Traduit de l'anglais et du latin par Jean-Marc Mandosio. Suivi de: Gershon Scholem, *Considérations sur l'histoire de la cabale chrétienne*, Philosophie imaginaire (Paris – Tel Aviv: Édition de l'Éclat, 2007); — vide et supra 2.2: Politianus (Bausi).
- DE PILEO, BENEDICTUS: Petoletti Marco, 'Scrivere in catene: il *Libellus penarum* di Benedetto da Piglio', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 195-210. Editur textus.
- PILLER, ANDREAS: Schreiner Sonja M., '*Quis enim scientiarum athleta atrociores hostes numerat quam philosophus?* Die Positionierung der Fakultäten in Andreas Pillers *Nova fortuna, id est Catharina, facultatis philosophicae patrona tutelar* (Wien 1671)', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 261-286.
- PINELLIUS, IOHANNES VINCENTIUS: Giuliani Marzia, 'Cum eruditissimis viris. Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, Federico Borromeo e gli scritti di Agostino Valier presso la Biblioteca Ambrosiana', *Studia borromaica*, 21 (2007), 229-268.
- PINUS [DE PINS], IOHANNES (1470?-1537): *Jean de Pins, Letters and Letter Fragments*. Edition, commentary and notes by Jan Pendergrass, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 433 (Genève: Droz, 2007).

- PIRCKHE(I)MERUS, BIL(L)IBALDUS / VIL(L)IBALDUS (1470-1530): vide supra: Erasmus (Theunissen-Faider), Piccolomineus (Arnold – Fuchs – Füssel: Paisey).
- PIUS, IOHANNES BAPTISTA: Venuti Martina, 'L' *Editio princeps* delle *Mythologiae* di Fulgenzio. Ioannes Baptista Pius, *Enarrationes allegoricae fabularum fulgentii placiadis*, Mediolani 1498', *Paideia*, 63 (2008), 407-426.
- PIUS II, P.M.: vide supra: Piccolomineus.
- PIUS CARPENSIS, ALBERTUS (1475-1531): Minnick Nelson H., 'Alberto Pio's Defense of Scholastic Theology', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 277-295.
- PLACCIUS, VINCENTIUS (1642-1699): vide supra: Drexelius (Cevolini).
- PLANTINUS, CHRISTOPHORUS (ca. 1520-1589): vide supra: Oudaert (De Landtsheer).
- PLATINA, BARTHOLOMAEUS (1421-1481): Farenga Paola, 'Due ricette per un banchetto a Roma', *RnR*, 2006, 65-73.
- POGGIUS BRACCIOLINUS (1380-1459): vide supra: Filelfus I.M. (De Keyser); 1.2 (Raffarin); et 4.1 (Agasse).
- POLITIANUS, ANGELUS (1454-1494): *Angelo Poliziano, Oratio in expositione Homerii*. A cura di Paola Megna, Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Umanistici, 7 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007); — *Le note del Poliziano alla traduzione dell'Iliade*. A cura di Paola Megna, Progetto Poliziano, L'Opera, 1 (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2009); — *Angelo Poliziano, I Latini*. A cura di Simona Mercuri, Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Umanistici, 8 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008); — Bevegni Claudio, 'Poliziano lettore dei *Moralia* di Plutarco: alcuni dati di ordine statistico', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 205-219; — Gionta Daniela, *Iconografia erodiana. Poliziano e le monete di Lorenzo*. Con una premessa di Fiorenzo Catalli, Progetto Poliziano, Cultura e contesto, 1 (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2008); — Oliva Anna Maria, 'Breve nota su Jorge da Costa fratello del Cardinale Lusitano', *RnR*, 2006, 75-86; — Silvano Luigi (1), 'Angelo Poliziano: prolusione a un corso sull'*Odissea*', *Medioevo greco*, 2 (2002), 241-259; — Id. (2), 'Citazioni poliziane dal *Lessico* dello Pseudo-Zonara: una postilla sulla fortuna del testo in età umanistica', *Medioevo greco*, 3 (2003), 273-280; — Id. (3), 'Estratti dal *Commento all'Odissea* di Eustazio di Tessalonica in due zibaldoni autografi di Angelo Poliziano (mss. Mon. gr. 182 e Par. gr. 3069)', in Piccione Rosa Maria – Matthias Perkams (eds.), *Selecta colligere, 2: Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus*, Hellenica. Testi e strumenti di letteratura greca antica, medievale e umanistica, 18 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2005), pp. 403-433; — vide et infra: Valla (Severi).
- POLITUS, AMBROSIUS CATHARINUS, O.P. (1484-1553): vide supra: Erasmus (Manenti).
- POLYDORUS VIRGILIUS: vide infra: P. Vergilius / Virgilius.
- POMPONIUS L(A)ETUS: vide supra: P. Laetus.
- PONTANUS, IACOBUS, S.I. (1542-1626): Iglesias Montiel Rosa María – María Consuelo Álvarez Morán, 'Sobre las anotaciones de Jacobus Pontanus a las *Metamorfosis* de Ovidio', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 491-500.
- PONTANUS, IOHANNES IOVIANUS (1429-1503): de Nichilo Mauro (1), 'Tradizione e fortuna delle opere del Pontano. Il Cod. Laur. 90 Sup. 47 e il *De principe*',

- Esperienze letterarie*, 34/1 (2009), 3-16; — Id. (2), 'Per la biblioteca del Pontano', in *Biblioteche nel Regno*, pp. 151-169; — Monti Sabia Liliana – Salvatore Monti, *Studi su Giovanni Pontano*. A cura di Giuseppe Germano, 2 vols, Biblioteca Umanistica, 11 (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2009); — Rinaldi Raffaele, 'La leggenda di Belisario nel *De fortitudine* di Giovanni Pontano e la sua ricezione fra oriente e occidente', *Paideia*, 63 (2008), 245-273; — Tateo Francesco (1), 'Giovanni Pontano fra grammatica e stile', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 307-314; — Id. (2), 'La prefazione originaria e le ragioni del *De Fortuna* di Giovanni Pontano', *RIN*, s. II, 47 (2007 [2008]), 125-163; — vide et supra: Albertus (Tateo), *Aquivivus* (Tateo-2); et 2.2 sub nom.
- POSSELIUS, IOHANNES (1528-1591): vide supra 1.8 (Ludwig).
- POSSEVINUS, ANTONIUS, S.I. (1534-1611): Dekoninck Ralph, 'Une bibliothèque très sélective: Possevino et les arts', in *L'idée des bibliothèques*, pp. 71-80; — vide et supra 1.3 (Werle).
- PRASCHIUS, IOHANNES LUDOCIVUS (1637-1690): Tunberg-Morrish Jennifer, 'Jean de La Fontaine's *Les amours de Psiché et de Cupidon* (1669) as a Source for *Psyche Cretica* (1685), a Neo-Latin Novel by Johannes Ludovicus Praschius', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 699-707.
- PRAY, GEORGIUS, S.I. (1723-1801): Báthory Orsolya, 'György Pray's Unpublished Manuscript: *Epitome rerum sub Josepho II., Leopoldo II. et Francisco I. regibus Hungariae gestarum*', in *Classica – Mediaevalia – Neolatina III*, pp. 407-417.
- PULMANNUS, THEODORUS (1507/8-1581): Imhof Dirk, 'A Chest Full of Manuscripts between Antwerp and Nijmegen: The Library of the Sixteenth-Century Textile Merchant and Philologist Theodorus Pulmannus', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 401-414.
- PUTEANUS [DUPUY], CLAUDIUS (1545-1594): vide infra: Puteanus I. (Delatour).
- PUTEANUS, ERYCIUS (1574-1646): Iurilli Antonio, 'Biblioteca e saperi: il progetto di Erycius Puteanus', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 605-621; — Vanpaemel Geert, 'Dubbelportret: Michiel-Florent Van Langren (ca. 1600-1675) als ingenieur en astronoom', *Studium*, 1 (2008), 13-31; — Welkenhuysen Andries, 'Scrabbling with Erycius Puteanus. The Album of his Friends and Correspondents in *De Anagrammatismo*, 1643', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 639-677; — vide supra 1.10 (Verbeke); et infra: Ryckius (Ferro).
- PUTEANUS [DUPUY], IACOBUS (1582-1651): Delatour Jérôme, 'Les frères Dupuy et leurs correspondances', in *Les grands intermédiaires*, pp. 61-101.
- PUTEANUS [DUPUY], PETRUS (1591-1656): vide supra: Puteanus I. (Delatour).
- QUINTERUS, HYACINTHUS CAROLUS: Pascual Barea Joaquín, 'La *Epistola commendatitia* de Jacinto Carlos Quintero para la proyectada edición en Flandes de los *Veteres Hispaniae Dei* de Rodrigo Caro', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 623-637.
- RAMÍREZ DE PRADO, LAURENTIUS (1583-1658): Mañas Núñez Manuel, 'Aproximación al Penteconarchos de Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado: gramática, retórica y filosofía', *SPV*, 10 (2007), 379-409.
- RAMUS, PETRUS (1515-1572): vide supra: Dantiscus (Skolimowska: Luján Atienza).

- RAN(T)ZOVIVS [RANTZAU], HENRICVS = CILICIVS CIMBER, CHRISTIANVS (1526-1598): *Heinrich Rantzau (Christianus Cilicius Cimber), Belli Dithmarsici vera descriptio. Wahre Beschreibung des Dithmarscher Kriegeres*. Übersetzt, ediert und eingeleitet von Fritz Felgentrau, Veröffentlichungen des Landesarchivs Schleswig-Holstein, 86 (Schleswig: Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, 2009).
- RATIO ET INSTITUTIO STUDIORUM SOCIETATIS IESU: Müller Paola, 'La retorica e l'uso dei classici nella *Ratio studiorum*', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 375-385.
- DE RAVENNA, GULIELMVS: vide supra: Petrarca (Pelucani-1).
- DE RAVENNA, PETRVS: vide supra 4.1 (Merino Jerez).
- REBUDE, GULIELMVS FRANCISCVS: vide supra: Debur.
- VON RECHENBERG, WOLFGANGVS: Ludwig Walther, 'Bildungsreise und Stammbuch des Schlesiers Wolfgang von Rechenberg zu Püschkau und die Tübinger Adelsakademie im frühen 17. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 67 (2008), 63-127 = in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 711-780.
- REINHARD, IOHANNES: vide supra: Grüninger.
- REMÓN, ILDEPHONSUS: Reguera Feo Antonio – Crescencio Miguélez Baños, 'Entradas anómalas y curiosas de la *Etimología sacra* de Ildefonso Remón', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 221-233.
- RESENDIVS, (LVCIVS ANGELVS) ANDREAS (Lusitanus Eborensis, ca. 1500-1573): Maestre Maestre José María, 'El obispo Amador Arraiz, divulgador de las obras históricas en latín y portugués de André Resende', *Euphrosyne*, 37 (2009), 415-426.
- RETTENPACHER, SIMO, O.S.B. (= MISON ERYTHRAEVS) (1634-1706): Coroleu Oberparleiter Veronika, 'L'ibrorum ad plerasque scientias notitia: der Schriftstellerkatalog des Benedictiners Simon Rettenpacher (1634-1706)', *Grazer Beiträge*, 26 (2008), 87-113; — vide et supra 3.2 sub nom.
- REUCHLINVS, IOHANNES (1455-1522): vide supra: Erasmus (Ménager-1).
- REVIIVS, IACOBVS (1586-1658): de Bruijn Enny – Henk Florijn, *Revius. Dichter, denker, dominee* (Houten: Den Hertog, 2006).
- RHENANVS: vide supra: Beatus Rhenanus.
- RHODIGINVS / RODIGINVS, (LVDOVICVS) CAELIVS (1469-1525): vide supra: Erasmus (Ruiz Miguel).
- RICCHIERI, LVDOVICVS CAELIVS (1469-1525): vide supra: Rhodiginus (Ludovicus Caelius).
- RICCIARDVS, ANTONIVS: Antonio Ricciardi, *Commentaria symbolica, Venetiis, apud Franciscum de Francischis Senensem, 1591*. Reprint. Introduction de Mino Gabriele, 2 vols (Trento: La Finestra Editrice, 2005).
- RINUCCINVS, ALAMANNVS (1426-1499): vide supra: Petrarca (Špička-3).
- RITIIVS, PAVLVS († 1541): Roling Bernd, *Christliche Kabbalah und aristotelische Naturphilosophie im Werk des Paulus Ritius (gest. 1541)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2007).
- RODIGINVS, (LVDOVICVS) CAELIVS: vide supra: Rhodiginus.
- ROSSI, IOHANNES VICTORIIVS: vide supra: I.N. Erythraeus.
- ROTA, BERNARDINVS: Toscano Tobia R., 'Dalla Senna al Sebeto: Simon de Val-lambert, medico umanista, 'socio' dell'Accademia dei Sereni di Napoli (in

- margine a una inedita orazione accademica)', in *Les Académies*, pp. 197-209.
- RYCKIUS, IUSTUS: Ferro Roberta, 'Accademia dei Lincei e *res publica litteraria*: Justus Ryckius, Erycius Puteanus e Federico Borromeo', in *Federico Cesi*, pp. 203-270.
- SACCHINI, FRANCISCUS, S.I.: vide supra 4.2: Drexelius (Cevolini).
- SALMASIUS, CLAUDIUS (1588-1653): vide supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- DE SALUTIIS, AMEDEUS, CARD. (1362-1419): Rosso Paolo, *Cultura e devozione fra Piemonte e Provenza. Il testamento del cardinale Amedeo di Saluzzo (1362-1419)*. Con una *Nota numismatica* di Giorgio Fea, *Marchionatus Saluciarum monumenta*, Fonti, 6 (Cuneo: Società per gli Studi Storici della Provincia di Cuneo – Città di Saluzzo – Consiglio Regionale del Piemonte, 2007).
- SALUTATUS, COLUCCIUS (1330/1-1406): *Catalogo della mostra Coluccio Salutati e l'invenzione dell'Umanesimo*, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 2 novembre 2008 – 30 gennaio 2009 (Firenze: Mandragora, 2008); — Astorri Antonella, 'Libri in tribunale all'epoca del Salutati. Note sulla circolazione del libro a Firenze nel Trecento', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 131-154; — Baldassarri Stefano U., 'Prime ricerche per un'edizione critica della *Invectiva in Antonium Luscum*', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 105-129; — Bianca Concetta, 'Il "Sermo" per il Cardinale Philippe d'Alençon', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 173-180; — Borgognoni Rocco, 'Da Stignano a Giustignano: Coluccio Salutati e un percorso mancato', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 181-207; — Caby Cécile, 'Coluccio Salutati e Santa Maria degli Angeli: nuovi documenti, nuovi approcci', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 87-103; — Nuzzo Armando, 'Per le lettere edite e inedite di Coluccio Salutati nel codice 17652 della Biblioteca Nacional di Madrid', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 155-172; — Tanzini Lorenzo, 'Note sul personale di Cancelleria ai tempi di Coluccio Salutati', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 5-21; — Viti Paolo, 'Salutati critico', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 22 (2008), 59-86; — Witt Ron, 'Coluccio Salutati in the Footsteps of the Ancients', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 3-12; — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- SALVATIUS, GEORGIUS BENIGNUS (ca. 1448-1520): Edelheit Amos, 'Human Will, Dignity, and Freedom: A Study of Giorgio Benigno Salviati's Early Discussion of the Will, Urbino 1474-1482', *Vivarium*, 46 (2008), 82-114.
- SÁNCHEZ, FRANCISCUS (1550/2-1623): Lafuente Guantes M<sup>a</sup>. Isabel, 'El problema de las ciencias en el *Quod nihil scitur* de Francisco Sánchez', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 39-55; — vide et supra: Cartesius (García-Hernández-2).
- SÁNCHEZ DE ARÉVALO, RODERICUS (1404-1470): González Rolán Tomás – Pilar Saquero Suárez-Somonte, 'La primera huella de Plutarco latinizado en la Castilla de mediados del siglo XV: el tratado pedagógico de Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo', *RELat*, 7 (2007), 131-152.
- SANCTIUS BROCENSIS, FRANCISCUS (1523-1601): *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (el Brocense), El arte de hablar (1556)*. Introducción, edición crítica, traducción anotada e índices a cargo de Luis Merino Jerez. Prólogo de Eustaquio Sánchez Salor, Palmyrenus, Serie Textos, 19 (Alcañiz: Instituto de Estudios

- Humanísticos – Madrid: Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007); — Chaparro Gómez César, ‘La enseñanza de la astronomía en el Renacimiento: el testimonio de Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas’, in *La transmisión de la ciencia*, pp. 11-34; — Mañas Viniegra Francisco Javier, ‘Las “Anotaciones” del Brocense a la Égloga I de Virgilio’, in *Humanidades clásicas*, pp. 85-130; — vide et supra: Arias Montanus (Chaparro Gómez), Iason (Maestre Maestre), López de Segura (Protomártir Vaquero-2), Martínez Lusitanus (Sánchez Salor), Nebrissensis (Sánchez Salor-1); 4.1 (Merino Jerez); et infra: de Valentia (Nieto Ibáñez-1).
- DE SANDE, EDUARDUS, S.I. (1531/47-1600): *Duarte de Sande, Embaixadores Japoneses à curia romana*. Prefacio, tradução e comentário da Americo da Costa Ramalho. Estabelecimento do texto latino da Sebastião Tavares de Pinho, Portugaliae Monumenta Neolatina, 1-2 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra – Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2009).
- SCALA, BARTHOLOMAEUS (1430-1497): *Bartolomeo Scala, Essays and Dialogues*. Translated by Renée Neu Watkins. Introduction by Alison Brown, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 31 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U.P., 2008).
- SCALIGER, IOSEPHUS IUSTUS (1540-1609): Vrolijk Arnoud – Kasper van Ommen (eds.), “All My Books in Foreign Tongues”. *Scaliger’s Oriental Legacy in Leiden 1609-2009*. Catalogue of an exhibition on the quatercentenary of Scaliger’s death, 21 January 2009. With an introductory essay by Alastair Hamilton, Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, 79 (Leiden: University Library, 2009); — vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.; 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- SCALIGER, IULIUS CAESAR (1484-1558): Conley Thomas M., ‘No Way to Pick a Fight: A Note on J.C. Scaliger’s First *Oratio contra Erasmus*’, *Rhetorica*, 26 (2008), 255-265; — Leroux Virginie, ‘Poétique du début, poétique de la fin de l’épopée, d’Aristote à Jules-César Scaliger’, in *Commencer et Finir*, pp. 26-290; — Sánchez Marín José A., ‘Sobre las figuras de pensamiento en la Poética de J.C. Escalígero (*Idea* 3, 28-94)’, *RPH*, 10 (2006), 331-347; — vide et supra: Cardanus (McLean), Ferrerius (De Smet).
- SCEPPERUS, CORNELIUS: vide supra: Dantiscus (Skolimowska: De Wit).
- SCHILTER, IOHANNES: Kössinger Norbert, ‘Die Anfänge der Mittelalterphilologie: Zur Wiederentdeckung und Edition deutschsprachiger Texte des Mittelalters in der frühen Neuzeit. Mit einer Fallstudie zu Johann Schilters *Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum* (Ulm 1726-1728)’, *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, 38 (2008), Heft 151, 32-51.
- SCHOTTUS, ANDREAS: Brout Nicolette, ‘La Mythologie et le bon usage de l’antiquité paienne selon André Schott’, in *Classical Mythology*, pp. 181-209.
- SCHOTTUS, GASPAR, S.I. (1608-1666): Kreeb Eckhard, ‘Caspar Schott’s Korrespondenz mit Johann Matthäus Faber’, *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kunst*, 60 (2008), 116-121.
- SCHREVELIUS, THEODORUS: van de Venne Hans (ed.), *Album amicorum van Theodorus Schrevelius* (Amersfoort: Florivallis, 2009).
- SCHRIECKIUS, ADRIANUS (1560-1621): vide supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- SEPULVEDA, IOHANNES GENESIUS (Cordubensis, ca. 1490-1573): Bellido Díaz José Antonio, ‘*Indefensae labor limae Sepulvedanae* en los libros 19 y 20 de

- la *De rebus gestis Caroli Quinti historia*', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica – Estudios Latinos*, 28 (2008), 115-137; — Martínez Castilla Santiago, 'Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda y la guerra justa en la conquista de América', *Pensamiento y cultura*, 9 (2006), 111-136.
- SIMPLICIANUS NEAPOLITANUS: Florio Emilia (1), '*Physica experimentalis sive scientia naturae* di P. Simpliciano da Napoli. La collocazione dell'autore rispetto ai "Veteres" e ai "Recentiores": un tentativo di ricostruire il contesto culturale in cui si muove', *Atti e memorie della Accademia Nazionale di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Modena*, 8 (2005), 419-441; — Ead. (2), 'Le diverse specie di moto nel manoscritto *Physica experimentalis sive scientia naturae* (1764) di P. Simpliciano da Napoli', *Atti e memorie della Accademia Nazionale di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Modena*, 10 (2007), 57-83; — Ead. (3), 'Il movimento come "stato" dei corpi nel manoscritto *Physica experimentalis sive scientia naturae* (1764) di P. Simpliciano da Napoli', *Laurentianum*, 48/1-2 (2007), 201-223; — Ead. (4), 'Il corpo finito e la sua infinita divisibilità nella visione di P. Simpliciano da Napoli (1764)', *Physis. Rivista di storia della scienza*, 44-45 (2007), 31-64.
- SINAPIUS, IOHANNES: vide supra: Morata (Flood).
- SLEIDANUS, IOHANNES (1506-1556): vide supra 1.8 (Ludwig).
- SOTERIUS, GEORGIUS (1673?-1728): *Georg Soterius, Cibinium. Eine Beschreibung Hermannstadts vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Zweisprachige Ausgabe. Aus dem Neulateinischen ediert und ins Deutsche übertragen von Lore Poelchau, *Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens*, 31 (Köln: Böhlau, 2006).
- SPINOSA, BENEDICTUS (1632-1677): *Spinoza, Verhandelning over de verbetering van het verstand*. Vertaald, ingeleid, van aantekeningen en een nawoord voorzien door Theo Verbeek (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 2009); — Akkerman Fokke, 'Humanism and Religion in the Works of Spinoza', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 211-223.
- SPONDANUS, IOHANNES: vide supra 2.2 sub nom.
- SPRINGHETTI, AEMILIUS, S.I. (1913-1976): *Aemilii Springhetti, Litterae Latinae Humanisticae*. Cura et studio Cleti Pavanetto publici iuris factae in Civitate Vaticana (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2007).
- STANIHURSTIUS, RICHARDUS (1547-1618): Meghan King, 'Richard Stanihurst's *Hebdomada Mariana*. Catholic devotion and Spanish zeal', *De Gulden Passer*, 87 (2009), 53-64.
- STEPHANUS, HENRICUS II (1530/1-1598): vide supra: Erasmus (Coroleu).
- STEUCHUS (= EUGUBINUS), AUGUSTINUS (1497-1548): Delph Ronald K., 'Emending and Defending the Vulgate Old Testament: Agostino Steuco's Quarrel with Erasmus', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 297-318.
- STROZ(Z)A [STROZZI], CYRIACUS / CHIRICUS (1504-1565): Zorzi Niccolò, 'Il grecista Chirico Strozzi (1504-1565). Notizie sulla biografia, le lettere, gli scritti', in Fiacadori Gianfranco, con la collaborazione di Andrea Gatti e Sergio Marotta (eds.), *"In partibus Clii"*. *Scritti in onore di Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli* (Napoli: Vivarium, 2006), pp. 355-459.
- STROZZI, GREGORIUS (ca. 1615-1687): Wuidar Laurence, *Musique et astrologie après le Concile de Trente*, *Studies over kunstgeschiedenis*, 10 (Brussel – Rome: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, 2008).



- STURMIUS, IOHANNES (1507-1589): Arnold Matthieu – Julien Collonges (eds.), *Jean Sturm: quand l'humanisme fait l'école*. Catalogue de l'exposition tenue à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg du 10 octobre au 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 2007 (Strasbourg: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, 2007).
- SURIUS [SAUER], LAURENTIUS (1522-1578): vide supra: Augustinus (Salvadó Recasens).
- SVANSTEDT, ISACUS: vide supra: Celsius (*Three Dissertations*).
- SZUHÁNYI, FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS, S.I.: vide supra: Morus (Havas-2).
- THOMAEUS / TOMAEUS, NICOLAUS LEONICUS (1456-1531): Papanicolaou Maria, 'Origini e nome di Nicolò Leonico Tomeo. La testimonianza di Giovanni Benedetto Lampridio', *Bizantinistica*, s. II, 6 (2004), 217-248.
- THUANUS [DE THOU], IACOBUS AUGUSTUS (1553-1617): Sacré Dirk, 'Entre historiens. Une lettre inédite de Jacques-Auguste de Thou à Ubbo Emmius (1613)', *Cahiers de Mariemont*, 37-38 (2008 [2009]), 107-117; — vide et supra 2.2: Barberinus M. (Mochi Onori – Schütze – Solinas: Delatour).
- TITELMANNUS, FRANCISCUS (Hasselenensis, 1502-1537): Sartori Paolo, 'Frans Titelmans, the Congregation of Montaigu, and Biblical Scholarship', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 215-223.
- TOMAEUS, NICOLAUS LEONICUS (1456-1531): vide supra: Thomaeus.
- TORRENTIUS, LAEVINUS (1525-1595): Charlo Brea Luis, 'Estudio de las cartas de Torrencio a la luz del *De conscribendis epistolis* de Erasmo', in *Picón García*, pp. 591-608; — vide et infra 5 (Vagenheim).
- TORTELLIUS, IOHANNES (ca. 1400-1466): Charlet Jean-Louis, 'Les Sibylles: Varron, Lactance, Servius, Tortellius et Perotti', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 135-147; — Notarloberti Giuditta, 'L'*Orthographia* di Giovanni Tortelli', *RnR*, 2008, 37-42; — vide et infra: Valla (Charlet).
- DE TOVAR, SIMON (1528-1596): López Pérez Miguel – Mar Rey Bueno, 'Simón de Tovar (1528-1596): redes familiares, naturaleza Americana y comercio de maravillas en la Sevilla del siglo XVI', *Dynamis*, 26 (2006), 69-91.
- TRAPEZUNTIUS, GEORGIUS: Calboli Montefusco Lucia, 'Ciceronian and Hermogenean Influences on George of Trebizond's *Rhetoricorum Libri V*', *Rhetorica*, 26 (2008), 139-164; — Merino Jerez Luis, 'Sobre la historia de los *Rhetoricorum Libri V* de Jorge de Trebisonda: introducción, edición, notas e índices', *Talia dixit. Revista interdisciplinar de retórica e historiografía*, 2 (2007), 27-65; — Sánchez Manzano María Asunción, '*Rhetoricorum libri V* de Jorge de Trebisonda en la recepción de Hernando Alonso de Herrera', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 361-371; — vide et supra 4.1 (Merino Jerez).
- TRAVERSARIUS, AMBROSIUS (1386-1439): Valda Paolo, 'L'*Homilia I ad populum Antiochenum (de statu)* di Giovanni Crisostomo nella versione latina di Ambrogio Traversari', *Medioevo greco*, 6 (2006), 215-257.
- TREMELLIUS, EMMANUEL (ca. 1510-1580): Austin Kenneth, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510-1580)*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
- TREVETUS, NICOLAUS, O.P. (1261-ca. 1334): Pittaluga Stefano, 'Errori "obligati" nel commento di Nicola Trevet alla *Phaedra* di Seneca', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 1-8.

- URBANUS VIII, P.M.: vide supra: Barberinus M.
- URSINUS [ORSINI], FULVIUS (1529-1600): vide supra: Augustinus (Moraleda Díaz).
- DE VALDÉS, IOHANNES: vide infra: Vives (Coronel Ramos).
- DE VALENTIA / VALENTIAE, PETRUS (1555-1600): Nieto Ibáñez Jesús-M<sup>a</sup>. (1), 'Humanismo y moral estoica: Epicteto traducido por Pedro de Valencia', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 57-68; — Id. (2), 'El *De lapidibus* de San Epifanio en Pedro de Valencia: interés exegético y científico', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 333-346; — Paradinas Fuentes Jesús, 'La educación en America según las *Relaciones de Indias* de Pedro de Valencia', in *El Humanismo español*, pp. 173-188; — Sánchez-Bordona María Dolores, 'Las ideas artísticas en el *Epistolario* de Pedro de Valencia', in *Entre el viejo mundo y el nuevo*, pp. 17-31; — vide et supra: Arias Montanus (Paniagua Pérez-1).
- DE VALERA, CYPRIANUS (1532-1602): Colón Calderón Isabel, 'Cipriano de Valera y la libertad religiosa en el siglo XVI', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 101-116.
- VALERIANUS, (IOHANNES) PIERIUS (Bolzanus, 1477-1558): Piovan Francesco, 'Il privilegio di notariato di Pierio Valeriano', *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 41 (2008), 199-202; — Rolet Stéphane, 'Pierio Valeriano ou la tentation de l'Académie', in *Les Académies*, pp. 369-390.
- VALERIUS [VALIER], AUGUSTINUS (1530-1606): vide supra: Pinellius (Giuliani).
- VALLA, LAURENTIUS (1406/7-1457): Lorenzo Valla (*Laurentii Valle*), *Raudensiane note*. A cura di Gian Matteo Corrias, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Lorenzo Valla, 4: Opere linguistiche, 3 (Firenze: Polistampa, 2007); — Chambers Mortimer, *Valla's Translation of Thucydides in Vat. Lat. 1801 with the reproduction of the codex*, Studi e Testi, 44 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008); — Charlet Jean-Louis, 'Lorenzo Valla, Giovanni Tortelli, Niccolo Perotti: la restauration du latin', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 47-60; — Corrias Gian Matteo, 'La redazione primitiva delle *Raudensiane Note* di Lorenzo Valla', *Moderni e Antichi*, 2-3 (2004-2005), 459-490; — Ghisalberti Alessandro, 'Lorenzo Valla e il dibattito sulla teologia scolastica', *SUP*, 29 (2009), 143-150; — Laffranchi Marco, 'Libertà e fede tra Severino Boezio e Lorenzo Valla', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 117-127; — Margolin Jean-Claude, 'Prescience divine et libre-arbitre humain chez Lorenzo Valla', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 37-56; — Nauta Lodi (1), 'From an Outsider's Point of View: Lorenzo Valla on the Soul', *Vivarium*, 46 (2008), 368-391; — Id. (2), *In Defense of Common Sense. Lorenzo Valla's Humanist Critique of Scholastic Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U.P., 2009); — Regoliosi Mariangela (1), 'Lorenzo Valla e la Riforma del XVI secolo', *SPV*, 10 (2007), 25-45; — Ead. (2), 'Nihil crescit sola imitatione: il rapporto di Lorenzo Valla con la tradizione', in *Munus quaesitum meritis*, pp. 765-773; — Severi Andrea, 'Valla e Poliziano: due filologie, due approcci etici', *Annali d'italianistica*, 26 (2008), 111-130; — vide et supra: Erasmus (Bracke; Pasini – Rossi: van Ruler); 1.2 (Jones-Davies); 1.2: Italia (Villalonga – Miralles – Prats); 2.2 sub nom.
- VALLAMBERTUS, SIMO: vide supra: Rota (Toscano).
- VALLAURIUS, THOMAS: Balbo Andrea, 'La storia di un "cocchio rovesciato e spezzato". Francesco Lanteri, professore di Eloquenza latina', *Quaderni di storia dell'Università di Torino*, 8 (2005), 3-25.

- VALTURIUS, ROBERTUS (ca. 1413-1484): Muccioli Federicomaria, 'Esempi greci e strategie di citazione nel *De re militari* di Roberto Valturio. Note di lettura', *Studi romagnoli*, 58 (2007), 137-154; — Paci Valentina, 'La figura di Scipione l'Africano nel *De re militari* di Roberto Valturio', *Studi romagnoli*, 58 (2007), 155-167.
- VARENIUS, BERNARDUS (1622-1650?): Schuchard Margret (ed.), *Bernhard Varenius (1622-1650)*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 159 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
- VECERIUS, CONRADUS: vide supra 2.2: Latomus (Melchior – Loutsch).
- VERBIEST, FERDINANDUS, S.I. (1623-1688): Golvers Noël, 'Ferdinand Verbiest als polyglot: case-study van de taalkundige situatie van een Europees missionaris in China (17<sup>e</sup> eeuw)', *Verbiest-Koerier*, 20 (2008), sept., 14-18.
- VERGERIUS, PETRUS PAULUS (1370-1444): Pajorin Klára, 'Per la storia della novella. Due *narrationes* umoristiche e un frammento di "racconto" di Pier Paolo Vergerio', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 33-45.
- VERGILIUS / VIRGILIUS, POLYDORUS (ca. 1470-1555): Terzariol Sylvie, 'Les *Dialogorum de prodigiis libri tres* de Polydore Vergile (1470-1555)', in *Les années trente*, pp. 147-162; — vide et supra: Erasmus (Vanautgaerden).
- VERNULAEUS, NICOLAUS (1583-1649): De Bom Erik, 'Mirroring the Prince. Classical and Humanist Models in the Funeral Orations for Archduke Albert by Nicolaus Vernulaeus and His Contemporaries', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 41-59.
- VERONENSIS, GUARINUS: vide supra: Guarinus Guarinus.
- VESALIUS, ANDREAS (Bruxellensis, 1514-1564): Simons Patricia – Monique Kornell, 'Annibal Caro's After-Dinner Speech (1536) and the Question of Titian as Vesalius's Illustrator', *RQ*, 61 (2008), 1069-1097.
- VICTORIUS, PETRUS (1499-1585): Lo Re Salvatore, 'Tra filologia e politica. Un medaglione di Piero Vettori (1532-1543)', in *Les années trente*, pp. 285-299.
- VIGLIUS AB AYTTA: Postma F., 'Van bescheiden humanist tot vechtjas. Viglius van Aytta en de crisis van 1566-1567', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 123 (2008), 323-340.
- DE VIO, THOMAS, O.P. CARD. (dictus 'CAIETANUS') (1469-1534): Osculati Roberto, 'In libertatem vocati estis, fratres: il cardinale Tommaso De Vio (1469-1534) commentatore di san Paolo', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 129-144.
- VIRGILIUS, POLYDORUS: vide supra: Vergilius.
- VIVES, IOHANNES LUDOVICUS (Valentinus, 1492-1540): Beltrán Serra Joaquín, 'Vives contra los sofistas', *SPV*, 10 (2007), 279-299; — Calero Calero Francisco, 'Luis Vives y la reforma luterana', *SPV*, 10 (2007), 301-309; — Colish Marcia L., 'The *De veritate fidei Christianae* of Juan Luis Vives', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 173-197; — Coronel Ramos Marco Antonio, 'Juan Luis Vives y Juan de Valdés frente a Mt. 5-7: traducción y exégesis', *SPV*, 10 (2007), 321-378; — Fantazzi Charles, 'Vives and the Pseudodialectians', in *Biblical Humanism*, pp. 93-114; — George Edward V., 'Cynicism Enhanced: Late Additions to Juan Luis Vives's *Third Sullan Declamation*', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 317-328; — Moreno Gallego Valentín, 'Manuscritos vivesianos', *SPV*, 10 (2007), 241-278; — Thomas David, 'Vives, Boastuau and John Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593): Some Borrowings of a "Witty Grammarian"', *BHR*, 70 (2008), 545-565; — vide et supra: Picus Mirandulanus (Lentzen).

- VOLMARIUS, MELCHIOR (1496/??-1560): Ford Philip, 'Melchior Volmar's Commentary on the *Iliad*', in *Syntagmata*, pp. 287-299.
- VOLSCUS, ANTONIUS: vide supra 2.1 (Robert).
- VOLUSENUS [WILSON], FLORENTIUS: MacDonald Alasdair A., 'Florentius Volusenus and Tranquillity of Mind: Some Applications of an Ancient Ideal', in *Christian Humanism*, pp. 119-138.
- VOSSIUS, GERARDUS IOHANNES (1577-1649): Deraedt Francisca, 'In horto verborum ambulatiuncula', *Melissa*, 151 (2009), 3-5; — vide et infra: Vossius I. (Blok – Rademaker); et supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- VOSSIUS, ISAAC (1618-1689): Blok F.F. (†) – C.S.M. Rademaker, 'Isaac Vossius's Grand Tour, 1641-1644. The Correspondence between Isaac and his Parents, II', *Lias*, 35 (2008), 209-279.
- VREDIUS, OLIVARIUS (1596-1652): vide et supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- VULCANIUS [DE SMET], BONAVENTURA (1538-1614): vide supra 2.2 sub nom.; et 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- WARGENTIN, PETRUS GULIELMUS (1717-1783): vide supra: Celsius (*Three Dissertations*).
- WIMPFELINGUS / WIMPHELINGIUS, IACOBUS (1450-1528): Jakob Wimpfeling, *Catalogus archiepiscoporum Moguntinorum. Geschichte der Mainzer Erzbischöfe*. Kommentierte Ausgabe mit Übersetzung und Einleitung von Sigrid von der Gönna, *Jacobi Wimpfelingi opera selecta*, II, 2 (München W. Fink, 2007); — vide et supra: Locher (Delègue).
- WOVERIUS, IOHANNES (Antverpiensis): vide supra: Lipsius (Bass).
- ZACHARIAS, IACOBUS: Mulas Alessandra, 'L'Inscriptionum libellus di Jacopo Zaccaria e l'Umanesimo romano', *Albertiana*, 10 (2007), 153-177.
- ZELIUS, MARTINUS (1567-1611): Ludwig Walther, 'Bremen – Zerbst – Wittenberg. Das philippistische Stammbuch des Martinus Zelius (1589-1596) und die antilutheranischen Invektiven des Gregor Bersmann', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 643-709.
- ZUERIUS, MARCUS BOXHORNIUS (Bergobzomanus, 1612-1653): vide supra 4.1 (<http://tuin-der-talen.wik.is>).
- ZVINGLIUS / ZWINGLIUS, UDALRICUS: Buzzi Franco, 'Libero arbitrio e provvidenza divina nel pensiero di Huldrych Zwingli tra Erasmo e Lutero', in *Il concetto di libertà*, pp. 25-35.

## 5. Inscriptiones

- Magin Christine – Ulrich Schindel – Christine Wulf (eds.), *Traditionen, Zäsuren, Umbrüche. Inschriften des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit im historischen Kontext. Vorträge der 11. Internationalen Tagung für Epigraphik, Greifswald 9. bis 12. Mai 2007* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2008).
- Schupp Waldemar, 'Numismatische Chronogrammatik', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 93-108.
- Vagenheim Ginette, 'Un épisode inédit dans la genèse de l'épigraphie latine à la Renaissance: la collection d'inscriptions romaines de Nicolaus Florentius de Haarlem dans les manuscrits de Laevinus Torrentius à la Bibliothèque

Royale de Bruxelles (MS. 4347-50)', *In Monte Artium. Journal of the Royal Library of Belgium*, 1 (2008), 153-183.

#### AUSTRIA:

- SALISBURGUM / SALISPURGUM (= IUUVUM): vide supra 1.2: Austria: Salisburgum (*Lokalhistorische Texte: Salzburg*).
- VINDOBONA: vide supra 2.1 (Zajic).

#### BELGIUM VETUS:

- LOVANUM: Bearda Twan – Jacques Sergeys – Jef Teugels (eds.), *Campanae Lovanienses. Het klokkentrakpatrimonium van Groot-Leuven* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008).

#### DANIA:

- vide et supra: 5 (Magin – Schindel – Wulf).

#### FINNIA:

- vide et supra: 5 (Magin – Schindel – Wulf).

#### GERMANIA:

- vide et supra: 5 (Magin – Schindel – Wulf).
- AQUISGRANUM: Krüssel Hermann, 'Berdolet fördert Napoleonkult im Aachener Dom. Eine Grabinschrift für das ehemalige Grab Karls des Grossen', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 158-160; — vide et supra 2.1 (Krüssel).
- BARUTHUM: vide supra 1.2: Germania: Baruthum (*Lokalhistorische Texte: Bayreuth*).
- BEROLINUM: Rücker Veronika, *Die Grabinschriften der Hohenzollern*. Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar, *Spolia Berolinensia*, 30 (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2009).
- MOGUNTACUM: *Siste viator et lege – Bleib stehen, Wanderer, und lies. Die lateinischen Inschriften der Stadt Mainz von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*. Texte mit Übersetzungen und kurzen Erläuterungen. Illustriert von Jürgen Blänsdorf, S. Kirsch und R. Müller. Übersetzt von Jürgen Blänsdorf (Essen: Verlag Prof. Dr. J. Blänsdorf, 2008).
- SAXONIA: vide supra 1.2: Germania: Saxonia (*Lokalhistorische Texte: Sachsen-Anhalt*).

#### HISPANIA:

- MATRITUM: Jiménez Garnica Ana M<sup>a</sup>, 'Funcionalidad de la Epigrafía efímera en las fiestas nupciales madrileñas de Felipe II y Ana de Austria (26-28 de noviembre de 1570)', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 49 (2003-2004), 225-247.

#### ITALIA:

- Narducci Luisa, 'L'erudito Vincenzo Forcella: un appassionato cultore di tradizioni ludiche e *studia litterarum*', *Studi Romani*, 54 (2006 [2009]), 497-519.

- vide et supra 1.2: Italia (Stenhouse).
- MEDIOLANUM: Sartori Antonio, 'Vincenzo Forcella e le epigrafi milanesi: una scelta illuminata', *Studi Romani*, 54 (2006 [2009]), 481-496.
- ROMA: Buonocore Marco, 'Vincenzo Forcella, Roma e la Biblioteca Vaticana', *Studi Romani*, 54 (2006 [2009]), 443-465; — Caldelli Maria Letizia, "'Iscrizioni delle chiese di Roma..." di Vincenzo Forcella alla luce di una recente esperienza', *Studi Romani*, 54 (2006 [2009]), 466-480; — Simonato Lucia, *"Impronta di Sua Santità". Urbano VIII e le medaglie* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2009).

#### POLONIA:

- CRACOVIA: vide supra 4.2: Dantiscus (Skolimowska: Badach, Mossakowski).

#### RUSSIA:

- vide et supra: 5 (Magin – Schindel – Wulf).

#### SUECIA:

- vide supra: 5 (Magin – Schindel – Wulf).
- SKOKLOSTER: Losman Arne, *Ord på vägg. Skynda långsamt och andra tänkespråk – Writing on the wall. Hasten slowly and other maxims* (Stockholm: Byggeförlaget, 2002).

#### TRANSYLVANIA:

- vide supra 2.2: Köszeghi (Szörényi-1).

### 6. Latinitas novissima

- Dowlasz Barbara, 'De poesi Latina hodierna Austriaca', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 35-48. Attinguntur G. Alesius, C. Chloris, M. Freundorfer, T. Lindner et R. Wallisch.
- Verbeke Demmy, 'Learning Latin in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. A look at some course materials for the adult reader', *CA News*, 40 (June 2009), 6-7.
- vide et supra: Abbreviationes (*LVPA Cracoviensis*); 2.1 (Seidel).
- vide et commentarios q.t. *Latinitas, Melissa et Vox Latina*.

ALESIIUS [ALLESCH], GERARDUS: Allesch Gerd (1), 'De principe Eugenio carmen anno 2008', in *1708*, pp. 143-146; — Id. (2), 'Versiculi ephemerii Cracovienses', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 137-138; — Krüßel Hermann, 'Eine Ode auf Europa. Gerardus Alesius, Ode XLIII. Eine Friedensehnsucht im antiken Gewande', *Ianus. Informationen zum Altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 29 (2008), 21-25; — Wagner Wolfram (1), *In tempore irae für gemischten Chor a cappella (Text: Gerardus Alesius) (2001)* (Wien – München: Ludwig Doblinger, 2002). Est Alesii carmen modis musicis instructum; — Id. (2), *3 lateinische Gesänge nach Oden von Gerardus Alesius für vierstimmigen*

- gemischten Chor a cappella (Solovioline ad lib.)* (Wien – München: Ludwig Doblinger, 2006); — vide et supra 6 (Dowlasz).
- BUTTERFIELD, DAVID: 'Epigramma Aldenardense Memor', in 1708, p. 146.
- CHLORIS [ZELENY], CARINA: Zeleny Karin (1), 'Three poems (almost) about Oudenarde', in 1708, pp. 153-155; — Ead. (2), 'Die Wespensänfte des Franciscus. Ein neugefundenes lateinisches Epigramm der Chloris', in *Universität Wien*, pp. 415-448; — vide et supra 6 (Dowlasz).
- CORRADINI H. BROUSSARD, DOMENICUS (° 1942): Domenico Corradini H. Broussard, 'Per amica silentia', *Scrittori italiani*, 2006-2007, 39-41. Poemata dubiae interdum Latinitatis.
- DERAEDT, FRANCISCA: le Maire Antonin, *Diarium "Europa"* [Latine vertit Francisca Deraedt] (Bruxellis: Generation Europe Foundation, 2009). Est diarium scholasticum quod interspergitur pagellis Latinis quibus agitur de Unione Europaea: haec omnia utilia et emendate scripta. Vide et interrete: <http://www.generation-europe.org/page.asp?menuID=79>.
- FORD, THOMAS: Tom Ford, 'Proelium Incipit', in 1708, pp. 138-139. Poemation.
- FREUNDORFER, MARTINUS: Freundorfer Martin, 'De proelio Aldenardensi', in 1708, pp. 140-142. Carmen; — vide et supra 6 (Dowlasz).
- GOGUE, VICTORIA: Jean Mambrino, *Le mot de passe. 400 distiques en langue française et latine* (Troyes: Andas, 2009).
- GROSS, CHRISTINA: Christine Gross (1), *Felidae aut Fabula vera de Caesare et Cleopatra. Katzen oder Die wahre Geschichte von Caesar und Kleopatra. Ein lateinisches Theaterstück* (Hochheim am Main: Gabriele Nick Verlag, 2006); — Ead. (2), *Romanus in caelo. A Roman in heaven. En lateinisch-englisches Theaterstück nach Ludwig Thoma "Der Münchner im Himmel"* (Hochheim am Main: Gabriele Nick Verlag, 2008).
- JIMÉNEZ GAZAPO, PILAR: Jiménez Gazapo Pilar – Francisca Morillo Ruiz, 'Verborum ludi, carmen amicitiae. Centón jubilar para Vicente Picón', in *Picón García*, pp. 37-50.
- KADAN, ROLANDUS: *Cantare necesse est. Lieder in Lateinischer Sprache* (Wien: Braumüller, 2008).
- KOCH, CAECILIA: 'De seminario Latino Cracoviensi [...]', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 141-143. Est carmen; — 'De ara Victoriae sive de impenetrabilibus viis Domini. Drama a Caecilia Koch finctum [sic], in cena finali actum', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 144-150.
- KREUZ, GODEFRIDUS EUGENIUS: Kreuz Gottfried Eugen, 'Curtio Smolak', *Wiener Studien*, 122 (2009), 6. Carmen in honorem Conradi Smolak, professoris Vindobonensis quinisexagenarii.
- LEACH, COLIN: Colin Leach, 'Astyanax', *CA News*, 37 (2007), 6. Est carmen Latinum.
- LELIÈVRE, FRANK: Frank Lelièvre, 'Prayer for November 5<sup>th</sup>', *CA News*, 37 (2007), 18. Est ode Latina.
- LICOPPE, GAIVS: Licoppe Gaius, *De portu Itio et Caesaris navigationibus in Britanniam* (Brussels: Melissa, 2009).
- LINDNER, THOMAS: vide supra 6 (Dowlasz).
- MIRAGLIA, ALOYSIUS: Miraglia Aloysius, *Humanitas. Omnium gentium conventus de humanitate nostra aetate restituenda. Neapoli inde a die xv usque ad diem*

- XXIII mensis Iulii a. MMVII* (Montella: Accademia Vivarium Novum, 2008). Est DVD; — González Germán, 'Hodie con Miraglia', *Saguntina*, 5 (2009), 30-31; — vide et supra 1.12: Miraglia (2).
- MONEY, DAVID: 'Four poems on the 1708 campaign', in *1708*, pp. 147-152.
- MORILLO RUIZ, FRANCISCA: vide supra: Jiménez Gazapo.
- MORTIMER, MARCUS: Mark Mortimer, 'A Carol for Christmas. Away in a manger', *CA News*, 37 (2007), 7. Est poematium Latinum.
- NEEDHAM, PETRUS: Elfassi Jacques, 'Harry Potter en latin', *Anabases*, 7 (2008), 231-237.
- NEUHAUSEN, CAROLUS AUGUSTUS: Neuhausen Karl August, 'Nova varii generis documenta Latinitate donata (VIII)', *NJ*, 10 (2008), 404-411.
- PISINI, MAURUS: *Mauro Pisini, Meteora (Stelle brevi)*. Prefazione di Mario Geymonat. Appunti di Nicola Scapecchi con la collaborazione di Chiara Savini, Zig Zag (Roma: Sandro Teti Editore, 2008). Sunt carmina Latina.
- PYTLIK, ALEXANDER: Pytlik Alexander (ed.), *Ad Verbum. Festschrift für Heinrich Reinhardt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Lindenberg: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2009), p. 5 ('Henrico Reinhardt').
- RADKE, ANNA ELISSA: 'Paucae scenae ex spectaculis meis', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 110-128; — 'Carmina Cracoviensia 2007', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 129-131; — 'Florilegium Cracoviense', in *LVPA Cracoviensis*, pp. 132-135; — vide et infra 7: Thiel (Radke-1-2).
- RAEDLE, FIDELIS: Rädle Fidelis, *Carmen valedictorium* ([Budapestini, 2008]). Est carmen dactyloscriptum recitatumque cum conventus Neolatinus Segedinensis et Budapestinensis concluderetur prid. Kal. Aug. A° 2008.
- RIEMER PETRUS: vide infra 7: Bauer (Riemer).
- RIHMER, ZOLTANUS: Rihmer Zoltanus (1), *Corona eburnea* (Budapestini: Societas Sancti Stephani, 2007). Sunt poematia; — Id. (2), *Pugnae Ramilliensis memoria rogante Davide Money amico tribus exactis saeculis suscitanda* ([Budapestini, 2007]). Est carmen dactyloscriptum.
- ROHACEK, MARTINUS: Rohacek Martin, 'Finis cum terrore vel terror sine fine. VII annis post stragem diei XI. Septembris praeteritis', *Ianus. Informationen zum Altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 29 (2008), 29-32. Narratiuncula.
- RÖMER, FRANCISCUS: Römer Franz, 'K/Eine Neuentdeckung: Die Vita Rhodolphi', *Wiener Humanistische Blätter*, 49 (2007), 90-95. Vitam Rudolphi Hanslik (1907-1982) Suetonium imitatus scripsit F. Römer.
- SCHLOSSER, FRANCISCUS: *Fabulae! Zehn Lateinische Märchenparodien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008). Apologi versibus astricti; — *Cantate Latine: Lieder und Songs auf Lateinisch*. Übersetzt, illustriert und herausgegeben von Franz Schlosser. Revidierte und erweiterte Ausgabe, Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, 18531 (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 2008).
- SCORSONE, MAXIMUS: Scorsone Massimo, 'Columna Aldenardiana Triumphalis. With an English Translation by Frances Petty', in *1708*, pp. 156-176.
- TUSIANI, IOSEPHUS (Neo-Eboracensis, °1924): Iosephus Tusiani Neo-Eboracensis, *Fragmenta ad Aemilium*. Italice vertit Aemilius Bandiera. Praefatus est Theodericus Sacré (Galatina: Congedo, 2009); — Bandiera Emilio, 'Brevi osservazioni sulla lirica *Si fugit tempus* di Joseph Tusiani', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. 815-820; — Gianfrede Massimo, "*Tempus symphoniae: lentum.*" *Lirica*



- per tenore, 2 violini, viola, violoncello e pianoforte*. Versi latini di Joseph Tusiani. Traduzione di Emilio Bandiera (Lecce: *editio privatio*, 2009); — Sacré Dirk, 'Recent werk van Joseph Tusiani', *Kleio*, 38 (2008-2009), 38-46.
- VAN DAM, HARM-JAN: Annie M.G. Schmidt, *Jippus et Jannica*. Imagines pinxit Fiep Westendorp. Vertit Harm-Jan van Dam (Amstelodami: Athenaeum – Polak & Van Gennep, 2008').
- VAN ROOIJ, MARCUS: van Rooij Marc, 'Qualis Domus', *Kleio*, 38 (2008-2009), 98-100. Poemation.
- WALLISCH, ROBERTUS: vide supra 6 (Dowlasz).
- WEISCHE, ALPHONSUS: 'In honorem professoris Dr. Hans Jürgen Tschiedel pridie Kalendas Octobres A.D. 2007 in Conventu Societatis quae nomine Iosephi Görres gloriatur', in *Festschrift Tschiedel*, p. xv. Est carmen.
- ZELENY, CARINA: vide supra: Chloris.

## 7. Historia studiorum humanisticorum et neolatinorum

- Grendler Paul F., 'Renaissance and Reformation scholarship in the Next Forty Years', *SCJ*, 40 (2009), 182-184.
- Piepho Lee, 'Neo-Latin and the Internationalization of Early Modern Studies', *SCJ*, 40 (2009), 270-271.

### HUNGARIA:

- vide supra 4.2: Piccolomineus (Szörényi).

- ANGELINO, VIDO: Rossi Iohannes Carolus, 'In memoriam inclutissimam Vidonis Angelino', *Vox Latina*, 44 (2008), 456-459.
- BARTELS, KLAUS: Pietsch Wolfgang J., 'Klaus Bartels – Septuagenarius', *Ianus. Informationen zum altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 27 (2006), 90.
- BAUER, IOHANNES PAULUS: Albert Sigrides, 'De sollemnitate in honorem Prof.ris D.ris Iohannis Pauli Bauer instituta', *Vox Latina*, 44 (2008), 444-446; — Riemer Petrus, 'Agricolae honorifico', *Vox Latina*, 44 (2008), 447. Est poematium.
- BLOK, FRANS (1913-2007): van der Horst Koert, 'Frans F. Blok, 26 september 1913 – 28 september 2007', *Quaerendo*, 38 (2008), 6-8.
- EICHENSEER, CAELESTIS (1924-2008): Papini Iulianus, 'In memoriam Patris Caelestis Eichenseer', *Vox Latina*, 44 (2008), 454. Poematium; — Weise Stephanus, 'Planctus Camenae Latinae super obitum domini reverendissimi et linguae Latinae peritissimi Patris Caelestis Eichenseer doctoris theologiae', *Vox Latina*, 44 (2008), 451-453.
- FORCELLA, VINCENZO: vide supra 5: Italia (Narducci); 5: Italia: Mediolanum (Sartori), Roma (Buonocore; Caldelli).
- GOFFIS, CESARE FEDERICO (1910-2004): Bernardi Parini Giorgio, 'Goffis: una vita con i fratelli Folengo', *Quaderni folenghiani*, 5 (2004-2005 [2006]), 15-16.
- KARDOS, TIBOR: Takács József, 'Tibor Kardos e gli studi sull'Umanesimo', *Nuova Corvina*, 20 (2008), 92-97.

- KLANICZAY, TIBOR: Szörényi László, 'Commemoration de Tibor Klaniczay', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 363-369.
- LUDWIG, WALTHER: Ludwig Walther, 'Veröffentlichungen 2003-2008', in Ludwig, *Supplementa*, pp. 823-830.
- MARTELLI, MARIO (1925-2007): Bausi Francesco, 'Mario Martelli (1925-2007)', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, n.s., 18 (2007), 391-398; — Marcelli Nicoletta (1), 'In memoriam Mario Martelli (1.VIII.1925 – 13.VII.2007)', *Albertiana*, 10 (2007), 3-5; — Ead. (2), 'Bibliografia degli scritti di Mario Martelli (1958-2008)', *Albertiana*, 10 (2007), 7-30.
- MUND-DOPCHIE, MONIQUE: Sacré Dirk – Jan Papy, 'Praefatio', in *Syntagmatia*, pp. XI-XIII.
- NURUS [SCHNUR], C. ARRIUS (1907-1979): vide et supra 2.2 sub nom.
- PICÓN GARCÍA, VICENTE: NN (1), 'Curriculum vitae del Profesor D. Vicente Picón García', in *Picón García*, pp. 19-21; — NN (2), 'Publicaciones', in *Picón García*, pp. 23-33.
- REINHARDT, HENRICUS: Pytlík Alexander (ed.), *Ad Verbum. Festschrift für Heinrich Reinhardt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Lindenberg: Kunstverlag Josef Fink, 2009), pp. 197-202 ('Verzeichnis der Schriften Heinrich Reinhardts').
- REULOS, MICHEL (1909-2007): Margolin Jean-Claude, 'Michel Reulos (1909-2007)', *BHR*, 70 (2008), 483-484.
- SIEDL, SUITBERTUS, O.C.D. (1923-2006): Kucher Felix, 'P. Suitbertus a S. Joanne a Cruce mortuus', *Ianus. Informationen zum altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 27 (2006), 91-92.
- SIZOO, ALEXANDER (1889-1961): Zwaan J., *Alexander Sizoo: Calvinistisch classicus* (Amstelveen: De Zaak Haes, 2007).
- SZÖRÉNYI, LÁSZLÓ: Quondam Amedeo, 'La Repubblica delle lettere e l'unità d'Europa', in Szörényi, *Fasti Hungariae*, pp. 15-35.
- THIEL, NORBERTUS († 15-VII-2008): Radke Anna Elissa (1), 'Ad Norbertum Thiel. Obiit d. 15 m. Iul. a. 2008 / Idibus Iuliis a. MMVIII°', *Vox Latina*, 44 (2008), 455. Poematium; — Ead. (2), 'Ad Norbertum Thiel', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 9. Poematium; — Krüssel Hermann, 'Quiesce pace, pacis amator! Nachruf auf unsere Vereinsmitglieder', *Pro Lingua Latina*, 10 (2009), 9.
- TOURNOY, GILBERT: vide supra: Mund-Dopchie (Sacré – Papy).
- WALTER, HERMANN: Agapiou Natalia (1), 'Hermann Walter', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 11-31; — Ead. (2), 'Bibliografia Hermann Walter', in *Anagnorismos*, pp. 33-44.

## INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

apparavit D. Sacré

### 1. NOVA LEXICA

Charlet Jean-Louis, 'Vers un dictionnaire du latin humaniste. À propos de René Hoven – Laurent Grailet, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance*', *Humanistica*, 3/1 (2008), 89-101.

*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*. Prepared by D.R. Howlett (...), XII: *Pos- Pro* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

'Latinitatis Italicae medii aevi lexicon (saec. V ex. – saec. XI in.) conditum a Francisco Arnaldi (...), Addenda, ser. II, 5: *gabalus – hyvernus*, ed. Iohannes Polara', *Archivum Latinitatis medii aevi*, 65 (2007), 5-43.

*Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, 8, 6 (68): *scrinium – septimana* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk, 2008).

*Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert* (...). (...) herausgegeben von der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, IV, 1: *f – fero* (München: Beck, 2008)

Tegey Emericus, *Glossarium totius Latinitatis Latino-Hungaricum*, I, 2: *C – confusio* (Debrecenii: Societas Neolatina Hungarica, 2005).

*Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (...), X, 2, XVI: *pubertas – pulso* (Berlin – New York: W. de Gruyter, 2008).

### 2. INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano* (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellulis (\*) notavimus; cruciculis (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven), orbiculis (°) quae in indice verborum neolatinorum Iohannis Ramminger interretiali offenduntur. Uncinulos (I) eis praemisimus verbis, quae quidem reperiuntur apud veteres, at intellectu insigniuntur diverso. Nomina locorum virorumve et mulierum quaeque ex eis sunt derivata, aliaque id genus vocabula non nisi raro afferuntur.

\*Acquiescere: *to admit defeat*: 24  
 Adventurire, -o: *to want to come*: 175  
 \*+°Agyrta, -ae, m.: *charlatan*: 209  
 \*Anglicanus, -a, -um: *Anglican*: 26, 36  
 \*+Archiepiscopalis, -is, -e: *archiepiscopal*: 219  
 Aulicoacademicus, -a, -um: *belonging to court and academy*: 235

[\*+Breviarium, -ii, n.: *breviary*: 182

+°Calvinisticus, -a, -um: *related to Calvin*: 174  
 [\*+°Cancellarius, -ii, m.: *chancellor*: 96  
 \*+Cardinalicius, -a, -um: *of a Cardinal*: 154  
 [\*+°Cardinalis, -is, m.: *Cardinal*: 53, 64, 129, 154, 162  
 °Christomachia, -ae, f.: *fight against Christ*: 174  
 °Christomachus, -i, m.: *who fights against Christ*: 188  
 \*+°Clericulus, -i, m.: *young, unexperienced cleric*: 48, 50  
 \*+Commenda, -ae, f.: *ecclesiastical benefice*: 59  
 \*+Crediticius, -a, -um: *credential* (*litterae crediticiae*): 98  
 [+°Cudere, -o: *to print*: 152

Diallacticon, -i, n.: *way of reconciliation*: 36

\*Doctrinale, -is, n.: *manual*: 48-51

\*Electricus, -a, -um: *v. vis electrica*  
 \*+Elucidatio, -onis, f.: *commentary*: 127, 139  
 [\*+°Excudere, -o: *to print*: 150, 152-154, 156-157, 204  
 \*Expurgatrix, -icis, f.: *she who purifies*: 50

Fata: *v. Morgania Fata*

\*+°Florenus, -i, m. (*in appendice vocum reiectarum habet Forc.*): *florin*: 144

Hecatodistichon, -i, n.: *poem of hundred elegiac couplets*: 15

\*+°Heraldus, -i, m.: *herald*: 23-24

[\*+°Imprimere, -o: *to print*: 128-129

\*+°Infamatrix, -icis: *she who brings into disrepute*: 146

\*+Intermedium, -ii, n. (*inter voces dubias memorat ThLL*): *intermezzo*: 233

Interspargere, -o = interspergere: 208

\*+Licentiatus, -i, m.: *licentiate*: 166

\*+°Lutheranus, -a, -um: *Lutheran*: 148

\*+°Ma(c)humetanus, -i, m. / -a, -um: *Mohammedan*: 148, 184

\*+Marquio = \*marchio: 103

Morgania Fata, -ae, f.: *fata morgana*: 380

[\*+Officialis, -is, m.: *an Official*: 412

- \*+°Pariformiter, adv.: *in the same form, similarly*: 129  
\*+Pelagianismus, -i, m.: *Pelagianism*: 184, 186  
\*Perdolenter, adv.: *with much sorrow*: 156  
Philoglottus, -i, m. = philologus: 14  
+°Pseudologia, -ae, f.: *false opinion, misleading speech*: 144  
Psychologia, -ae, f.: *psychology*: 219
- \*+°Rabbinus, -i, m.: *rabbi*: 134, 153  
\*+Ratificare, -o: *to ratify*: 96  
+°Recudere, -o: *to reprint*: 146
- \*+°Sacellanus, -i, m.: *chaplain*: 148  
\*+°Sacramentarius, -ii, m.: *Sacramentarian*: 175  
\*+Schediasma, -atis, n.: *draft*: 192, 195-198, 201-202, 205, 208  
\*+Suffraganeus, -ei, m.: *suffragan*: 129  
\*+Sycophanticus, -a, -um: *deceitful, malicious*: 146  
\*+Symbolum, -i, n.: *maxim*: 22
- \*+°Typographus, -i, m. (*inter voces reiciendas memorat Forc.*): *printer*: 53, 174, 206, 235, 411  
[\*+°Typus, -i, m.: *type*: 12, 150, 156
- \*Vis electrica: *electricity*: 398

## INDICES

### 1. INDEX CODICUM MANU SCRIPTORUM<sup>1</sup>

- Brussel, *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, I 115, n° 3714: 126-127, 133, 144, 150, 156, 160, 162, 168-170, 174, 184
- Cambridge, *University Library*, ms. Ff.v.14: 10; ms. Ii.v.37: 8
- Den Haag, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 133 M 5 A.A: 202
- Dresden, *Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv*, Geheimer Rat (Geheimes Archiv), Loc. 10426/47: 101
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Plut. 53.6: 404
- Greifswald, *Universitätsbibliothek*, ms. 681: 402
- Leiden, *Universiteitsbibliotheek*, ms. Lips. 3(23): 410; 3(24): 410; Vulc. 103: 197
- London, *British Library*, Add. 17: 34; Burney 371: 201; Cotton Vespasianus F.III: 31; Harl. 1860: 35; Royal 7 D X: 34; 12 A I: 39; 12 A II: 39; 12 A III: 39; 12 A IV: 39; 13 B I: 89, 98, 100; 15 A IX: 38; *Public Record Office*, Domestic Elizabeth 289: 39; *The National Archives*, SP 69/11: 100; 70/3: 100; 70/5: 87, 92, 100; 70/6: 89; 70/8: 89; 70/11: 89, 92; 70/13: 92, 100; 70/18: 86, 100; 70/43: 101; 70/50: 89; 70/62: 89, 101; 70/64: 101; 70/72: 101; 70/75: 101; 70/76: 101; 70/78: 89, 101; 70/80: 89; 70/85: 101; 70/89: 101
- Madrid, *Biblioteca Nacional*, 5/1686: 112-118; R. 2859: 112-118
- Milano, *Bibliotheca Trivulziana*, 873: 403
- Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Bodley 6: 35; e Musaeo 55: 39
- Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Nouv. acq. lat. 1770: 401
- Praha, *Národní knihovna České republiky*, 9 J 231: 205
- Salzburg, *Universitätsbibliothek*, M I 196 (olim V 2 H 141): 235-373
- Stockholm, *Kungliga Biblioteket*, A 902: 142; *Riksarkivet*, Anglica, vol. 517: 89, 98; vol. 531: 100-101; K 334: 100; Kungliga koncept 4: 97, 100-101; *Riksregistraturet* vol. 34: 100-101; vol. 35: 89, 100-101; Strödda historiska handlingar 5: 92, 94, 100
- Uppsala, *Uppsala universitetsbibliotek*, E 277: 87, 89-90, 97-98, 100-101; C 917: 402, 404; Palmskiöld 27: 92, 94, 100.
- Utrecht, *Universiteitsbibliotheek*, 837 (Var. 366): 200; Addenda 837: 200
- Valladolid, *Archivo General de Simancas*, E, 583/160: 135

<sup>1</sup> Composuit Tom Deneire.

## 2. INDEX NOMINUM<sup>1</sup>

- Adlgasser, Anton Cajetan: 218, 229  
Aeschylus: 234  
*Aetna*: 121  
Aitzema, Foppius ab: 195, 207  
Albert of Austria: 411  
Alessio, Francesco Sofia: 375-400  
Almonacir, Jerónimo de -: 142  
Aloise, Francesco: 420  
Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel, Fernando,  
duke of Alba: 145  
Andreas, Valerius: 411  
Andrelinus, (Publius) Faustus: 106, 119  
Anna of Austria, regina Hispaniarum: 103-  
124, 163  
Anne of Denmark, regina Britanniae: 14  
Antonius, Nicolaus: 103, 134  
Aquinas, Thomas, s.: 34, 141, 178-179, 225-  
232  
Aristoteles: 226, 401  
Arius: 189  
Arminius: 230  
Ascham, Roger: 13, 23, 39, 89  
Augustinus, Aurelius, s.: 107, 128, 139, 141,  
176-179, 181  
Augustus of Saxony, elector: 84  
Augustus, imp.: 47  
  
Bacon, Anne Cooke: 6, 8-10, 25, 29, 36,  
41-42  
Baldhoven, (Georg) Martin von -: 12, 32,  
202  
Bale, John: 34-35  
Balenus, Andreas: 130-131  
Ballard, George: 11  
Barbarus, Franciscus: 405  
Baronius, Caesar, card.: 139  
Bartoli, Alfredo: 375, 377-378, 381, 396-  
397  
  
Barvitijs, Iohannes: 12, 195  
Basset, James: 36  
Baius, Michael (de Bay): 140-141  
Bayo, Francisco del: 103  
Beda Venerabilis: 141, 176, 179  
Bellarmine, Roberto, card.: 37  
Bellay, Jean Du -, card.: 53-79  
Bellay, Joachim Du -: 15, 53  
Bembus, Petrus: 62  
Bentley, Thomas: 13  
Bercher, William: 5  
Berghes, Robert de -: 187  
Bersmannus, Georgius: 210  
Berthelet, Thomas: 4  
Bertius, Petrus: 197, 204-205, 214  
Bertius, Wenceslaus: 205  
Bertrand, Jean: 60, 73, 76-77  
Bessarion, Basilus, card.: 128-129  
Beurreus, Dionysius: 81-82, 85, 95-96, 98  
Beza, Theodorus: 208  
Biber, Heinrich Ignaz Franz von -: 218  
Biechteler von Greiffenthal, Matthias Sieg-  
mund: 218  
Blanchus Bohemus, Adamus: 194  
Blesilla, s.: 27  
Bochetel, Bernardin: 60, 73  
Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus: 39-40  
Bonomo, Pietro, episc.: 111  
Bosco, Giovanni, s.: 382-383, 399  
Bourbon, Camus de -: 75  
Bourbon, Charles de -: 59  
Bretzner, Christoph: 225  
Brie, Germain de -: 61  
Broia, Josephus M.: 381  
Bruno, Giordano: 386  
Brunus, Leonardus (Aretinus): 3, 404-405  
Bucer, Martin: 26  
Buchelius, Arnoldus: 200

<sup>1</sup> Composuit Tom Deneire.

- Bullinger, Henry: 26-28  
 Burchius, Adrianus: 199-200  
 Burchius, Lambertus: 199  
  
 Caesar, Gaius Iulius: 19, 70-71, 227-228  
 Campanus Vodnianus, Iohannes: 192, 203, 212  
 Canius: 199  
 Carafa (dictus Theatinus), Giovanni Pietro (Paulus IV), 66-67, 77  
 Caraffa, Antonio: 139  
 Cardosus, Georgius: 103  
 Carducci, Giosuè: 420  
 Carolides, Georgius: 192  
 Casaubonus, Isaac: 208  
 Cassiodorus, Flavius Magnus Aurelius: 203  
 Cassius Dio: 410  
 Castillo, Hernando del -: 142  
 Castro, León de -: 126-127, 134-137, 150, 156-161  
 Catherine of Aragon, regina Britanniae: 4-5, 34  
 Catullus, Gaius Valerius: 106-109, 123, 420  
 Cecil (Lady Burleigh), Mildred Cooke: 10-11, 42  
 Cecilia, Margravine of Baden-Rodemachern: 82  
 Cerdanus, Franciscus (Cerdá y Rico): 103, 111-112, 112  
 Cervantes, Miguel de -: 103-104  
 Chapone, Hester: 42  
 Chare, Thomas: 5  
 Charles de Guise, card. (Charles de Lorraine): 58-64, 66-67, 69-72, 74-78  
 Charles I, rex Britanniae: 14, 18  
 Charles II, rex Britanniae: 19  
 Charles V, imp.: 53, 88, 108, 119, 121, 163  
 Chimarraeus, Iacobus: 194  
 Cholinus, Maternus: 147  
 Christine of Hesse: 82, 84  
 Christopherson, John: 35  
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius: 30, 33, 49, 62, 71, 75-77, 88, 226, 401  
 Ciris: 121  
 Clarke Basset, Mary: 34, 41  
 Claude of France, dutchess: 106, 119  
 Claudianus, Claudius: 104-105, 107-110, 120, 122-123  
 Clemens VII, papa: 58  
 Clemens, Iohannes: 129-130  
 Clingerius, Henricus: 210  
 Clusius, Carolus: 197  
 Colloredo, Hieronymus, archiepisc.: 218  
 Commelinus, Hieronymus: 204  
 Cooke, Sir Anthony: 28, 41  
 Coppola, Nunzio: 381  
 Coraducius: 204  
 Correr, Gregorio: 45  
 Corselius, Gerardus (de Courcelle): 409-414  
 Cortés, Fernando, margrave: 103  
 Costa, Manuel da -: 108-109  
 Cotugno, Raffaele: 385-387, 389  
 Cranmer, Thomas: 27  
 Crescenzi, Marcello: 64  
 Cristiani di Rallo, Gerolamo: 231  
 Croce, Benedetto: 386  
 Curione, Celio Secondo: 29  
  
 Damasus, s. papa: 128  
 Dante Alighieri: 234  
 Dering (later Locke), Anne: 8, 10, 41  
 Dering, Edward: 8  
 Dinteville, François de -: 60-61, 71  
 Dionysius (Ps-): 105-106  
 Domenichi, Ludovico: 5  
 Donatus, Aelius: 50  
 Dousa, Didericus: 196  
 Dousa, Ianus: 31, 192-193, 195-197, 201-202, 208, 211, 409  
 Dracontius, Blossius Aemilius: 104  
 Durham, Henry: 13  
 Duthier, Jean: 60, 70, 72  
 Dymock, John: 97-98  
  
 Eberlin, Johann Ernst: 218  
 Eck, Johannes: 88  
 Edward VI, rex Britanniae: 13, 26, 30, 35, 42  
 Élisabeth (Isabel) of Valois: 104, 108, 110, 119  
 Elizabeth I, regina Britanniae: 8, 11, 17, 20-25, 29-31, 34-35, 38-39, 41, 81-101  
 Elizabeth of Scotland: 19



- Elizabeth of York: 106  
 Elyot, Sir Thomas: 38  
 Emmanuel Philibert, duke: 187  
 Ennius, Quintus: 30  
 Ennodius, Magnus Felix: 104  
 Erasmus, Desiderius: 4, 25-26, 31, 33-34, 38-40, 69-71, 74, 85-88, 404  
 Erik XIV, rex Sueciae: 81-101  
 Erinna: 6  
 Esseiva, Pierre: 416  
 Eufrenius Amstelrodamensis, Albertus (Albert Joriszoon Goedhart): 204-205, 214  
 Euripides: 38  
 Eusebius, episc.: 35  
 Eustochium, s.: 27  
  
 Farnesius, Alexander (Paulus III): 58, 73  
 Fedele, Cassandra: 22  
 Federico, Gennaro: 222  
 Ferdinand, Paltsgrave of Bavaria: 411  
 Firmian, Anton Eleutherius von -, archiepisc.: 231  
 Fischer, Jacob: 205  
 Fisher, Christopher: 404  
 Fitzalan Howard, Mary: 38-39, 41  
 Fitzalan, Jane (Joanna Lumley): 38-39, 41  
 Foscolo, Ugo: 420  
 Francis, John: 17, 32  
 François I, rex Galliae: 53, 59, 61, 106, 119  
 Frederick II, rex Danorum: 84  
 Frederick V, elector palatine: 19, 21, 200  
  
 Gaius: 71  
 Galante, Gennaro Aspreno: 381  
 Galdi, Marco: 381, 395-397  
 Gansfoort, Wessel: 168-169  
 García Galarza, Pedro: 103  
 Gasthius, Mathias: 153, 157  
 Gentilis, Scipio: 192  
 Gherinx, Eugenius: 166-167  
 Giannuzzi, Giuseppe: 379  
 Gigli, Giovanni: 106, 108  
 Gisbice, Matthäus a -: 192  
 Gisbicius (*distinguendus a Matthäo a Gisbice, cf. supra*), Matthaeus: 204  
 Gisbicius, Paulus (a Gisbice): 191-215  
  
 Gisbicius, Wenceslaus: 204  
 Gluck, Christoph Willibald Ritter von -: 225  
 Gómez de Castro, Álvaro: 104  
 Gournay, Marie de -: 31-32  
 Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de -, card.: 132, 134, 137, 162-163  
 Gravius, Bartholomaeus: 139  
 Gravius, Henricus: 127, 139-141, 153, 168-174, 176-177, 184  
 Gray, Alexia: 37-38, 41  
 Gregorius XIII, papa: 132  
 Grey, Lady Jane: 13, 26-28, 41  
 Griffin, Edward: 14  
 Grotius, Hugo: 195, 202, 208, 211  
 Gruningius, Wolfgang: 31  
 Gruterus, Ianus: 195, 204-206, 213  
 Gryphius, Andreas: 222  
 Guevara, Diego de -: 110  
 Guicciardini, Ludovicus: 168-169  
 Guildenstern, Nils (Gyllenstierna): 91, 95-98  
 Günter of Schwarzburg, comes: 84  
 Gustav Vasa, rex Sueciae: 81, 83, 92, 94  
 Guyotius, Christophorus: 195, 205  
 Guzmán, Jeremías de -: 142  
 Gyllenstierna, Nils (Guildenstern): 91, 95-98  
  
 Harlemius, Iohannes: 131  
 Hartman, Iacobus Iohannes: 375, 377, 399-400  
 Hasse, Johann Adolf: 225  
 Hauchin, Ioannes: 182-183  
 Havlichia, Dorothea: 17  
 Havlichius, Bartholomaeus: 17  
 Haydn, Michael: 218, 220, 230  
 Haym, Nicola: 222  
 Hederich, Benjamin: 233  
 Heinsius, Daniel: 195, 197, 200-201, 204, 208, 213  
 Hellerus, Iohannes: 20  
 Helsing, Mártin: 95-96  
 Henri II, rex Galliae: 53, 58, 60-61, 72  
 Henry VII, rex Britanniae: 106  
 Henry VIII, rex Britanniae: 30, 34, 58, 67  
 Herodotus: 233  
 Herrera Temiño, Juan Antonio: 103  
 Herrgot(t), Iohannes: 402-403

- Hesiodus: 201, 401  
 Hieronymus, Eusebius Sophronius, s.: 27,  
     125, 128-129, 134, 148-149, 157, 184-  
     186  
 Hirtius, Aulus: 70, 228  
 Hoby (later Russell), Elizabeth Cooke: 6,  
     8, 10, 15-17, 25, 28-29, 36-37, 41-42  
 Hoby, Philip: 16  
 Hoby, Sir Thomas: 15-16  
 Hodgets, John: 14  
 Holbein, Hans: 25  
 Homerus: 30  
 Honorius, Flavius, imp.: 105, 108, 110  
 Hooper, Anna de Tserclaes: 28-29  
 Hooper, John: 27-28  
 Horatius Flaccus, Quintus: 39, 49, 61, 68-69,  
     71, 199, 229  
 Hyrde: 4, 34  
  
 Irenaeus, s.: 180-181  
 Isabella Clara Eugenia of Spain: 411  
 Isocrates: 38  
  
 James I, rex Britanniae: 5, 14, 19, 21, 31  
 Iansenius, Cornelius: 141  
 Iansonius, Iacobus: 127, 139-141, 153,  
     174-184  
 Jevon, Rachel: 19, 41-42  
 Jewel, John: 36  
 Joan of Spain (Juana de Austria): 109  
 João Manuel, Prince of Portugal: 109  
 Johan III, rex Sueciae: 82, 85, 92-94  
 Jomelli, Niccolò: 225  
 Juana de Austria (Joan of Spain): 109  
 Julian of Eclanum: 179  
 Iunius, Franciscus: 197  
 Iustinus Martyr, s.: 128-132, 138, 141, 149,  
     164-165  
 Iuvenalis, Decimus Iunius: 71, 121  
  
 Kant, Immanuel: 226  
 Kechel, Joannes: 194  
 Kelley, Edward: 11  
 Kelley, Joan: 17  
 Kendler, Iohannes Baptista: 219  
 Killigrew, Katherine Cooke: 6, 8-11, 15, 17,  
     29, 41  
 Killigrew, Sir Henry: 10-11  
  
 Kluyver, Albert: 375, 377  
  
 Lambinus, Dionysius: 62  
 Laso de la Vega, Gabriel Lobo: 103-104  
 Latomus, Bartholomaeus: 61  
 Leanus, Matthias: 192  
 Leeuwen, Johannes van -: 416  
 Lenoncourt, Robert de -: 64  
 Leo, Joannes: 12  
 León, Luis de -: 155  
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim: 222, 230  
 Lindanus, Guilielmus Damasus: 125-189  
 Lipsius, Iustus: 31-32, 187, 197, 205, 208,  
     409-414  
 Liranus, Nicolaus (De Lira / De Lyre): 152,  
     155  
 Livius, Titus: 75, 227  
 Lohenstein, Daniel Casper von -: 222  
 López de Hoyos, Juan: 104, 109-111  
 Lorraine, Jean de -, card.: 60-62, 64-67,  
     71  
 Louis XII, rex Galliae: 106  
 Loynes, Antoinette de -: 6  
 Loyola, Ignatius a -, s.: 232  
 Lubinus, Eilhardus: 206  
 Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus: 119, 121-122  
 Lucianus: 233, 407  
 Lucilius, Gaius: 203  
 Lucretius Carus, Titus: 46-49, 51-52, 75,  
     119-120, 122-123  
 Lumley, Joanna (Jane Fitzalan): 38-39, 41  
 Lumley, John: 39  
 Luther, Martinus: 56, 67  
 Luxorius: 104  
  
 Macock, John: 19  
 Macrinus, Iohannes Salmonius: 53  
 Magnus Vasa, duke: 87  
 Mailly, Africain de -: 53  
 Makin, Bathsua Rainolds: 5, 7, 14, 18-19,  
     21, 41  
 Mallet, Francis: 34  
 Manilius, Marcus: 122  
 Månsdotter, Karin: 82  
 Manzl, Laurentius: 219  
 Marguerite de Navarre: 12-13, 15, 35  
 Maria of Spain: 121, 163  
 Maria Theresa of Austria, imp.: 229

- Maria, imp.: 105, 108, 110  
 Mariana, Juan de -: 151  
 Marliani, Bartolomeo: 58  
 Marnius, Claudius: 206  
 Martialis, Marcus Valerius: 69, 122-123, 199  
 Martyr Anglerius, Petrus: 28-29  
 Mary I, regina Britanniae: 34-36, 81  
 Mary Queen of Scots: 11, 82  
 Matthew II, imp.: 19  
 Maximilian I, imp.: 111  
 Maximilian II, imp.: 104, 113, 121, 163  
 Mazzolà, Caterino: 225  
 Meißner, Joseph: 219  
 Melanchthon, Philippus: 85  
 Melissus (Schedius), Paulus: 12, 20, 26, 32  
 Menander Rhetor: 105-111, 120  
 Merula, Paulus: 197  
 Metastasio, Pietro: 222, 224-225  
 Metzger, Ignatius: 219  
 Meursius, Iohannes: 197, 204, 214  
 Molanus, Iohannes (Jean van der Moelen / Vermeulen): 127, 139, 153, 168, 174  
 Moltedo, Francesco T.: 419  
 Mondello, Luigi: 401  
 Monluc, Jean de -: 60, 64, 76  
 Monstiers, Jean des -: 60, 76  
 Montaigne, Michel de -: 31, 58  
 Montanus, Benedictus Arias: 125-189  
 Montefeltro, Battista da -: 22  
 Monteiro, Manuel: 108  
 Montmorency, Anne de -: 67  
 Montoya, Alfonso de -: 142  
 Morabito, Giuseppe: 375, 377-378, 397  
 Morata, Olympia: 29  
 Morel, Camille: 6  
 Moretus, Iohannes: 32  
 Morus, Thomas: 4, 25, 34-36, 41-42, 129  
 Morvillier(s), Jean de -: 60, 78  
 Moulsworth, Martha: 42  
 Mozart, Leopold: 218  
 Mozart, Maria Anna: 218  
 Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: 217-373  
 Muffat, Georg: 218  
 Mulcaster, Richard: 5  
 Musaeus Grammaticus: 105  
 Mussolini, Benito: 395, 399  
 Niccoli, Niccolò: 404  
 Nicolaus V, papa: 403  
 Nicolini, Giuseppe: 225  
 Nogarola, Isotta: 22  
 Ochino, Bernardino: 35  
 Olivier, François: 53, 59-60, 62, 69, 74, 78  
 Olof von Dalin: 91  
 Opsimates, Iohannes: 194  
 Oregón, Diego de -: 111  
 Origenes: 27, 129  
 Ortembergius, Hermannus, archiepisc.: 411, 414  
 Otho, Johanna: 6  
 Ottersdorf, Jan Sixt von -: 204  
 Oudaert, Nicolaus: 412  
 Ovidius Naso, Publius: 11-12, 86, 105, 119-124, 233, 377, 416  
 Owen, Jane (Anglicana): 13, 37, 42  
 Owen, Jane (Catholica): 37, 41  
 Owen, John: 13, 37, 42  
 Pagninus, Xanthus: 126, 131-132, 135  
 Palaephatus: 233  
 Paone, Raffaele: 420  
 Parker, Matthew, archiepisc.: 36  
 Parma, Basinio da -: 45  
 Parr, Katherine: 31, 34  
 Pascoli, Giovanni: 376-377, 379, 381, 398, 415-421  
 Pascoli, Maria (Mariù): 415-416, 421  
 Pasqualetti, Olindo: 420  
 Paula, s.: 27  
 Paulus III (Alexander Farnesius), papa: 58, 73  
 Paulus IV (Giovanni Pietro Carafa), papa: 66-67, 77  
 Peck, Peter: 412  
 Pelagius: 132, 170-172, 186-187  
 Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista: 222  
 Peroto, Alejandro: 139  
 Petrarca, Franciscus: 401  
 Philelphus, Franciscus: 401-404  
 Philelphus, Iohannes Marius: 401-405  
 Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse: 84  
 Philip II, rex Hispaniarum: 103-124, 126, 133-135, 137-138, 144-149, 154-155, 163

- Piccartus, Michael: 192  
 Pigato, Giambattista: 420  
 Pindarus: 30  
 Pius V, papa: 182-183  
 Plantinus, Christophorus: 126, 140, 169-172, 187, 199  
 Plato: 13, 50, 401  
 Plinius Caecilius Secundus, C. (Plinius Minor): 65  
 Plinius Secundus, Gaius (Plinius Maior): 12, 70  
 Plutarchus: 39-40, 228, 403  
 Poggius Bracciolinus: 401-405  
 Politianus, Angelus (Angelo Ambrogini): 3, 5  
 Polydori, Vincenzo: 399, 420  
 Ponet, John: 27, 28, 36-37  
 Ponet, Mary Hayman: 27-28  
 Pontanus, Iohannes Iovianus: 120, 122-123  
 Pot, Jean: 59  
 Praedinius, Renier: 168-169  
 Priscianus Caesariensis: 48-50  
 Propertius, Sextus Aurelius: 123  
 Prudentius Clemens, Aurelius: 25  
  
 Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius: 48-50  
 Quintus Smyrnaeus (alias Calaber): 206  
 Quirini, Lauro: 3  
 Quiroga y Vela, Gaspar de -: 135, 150-151  
  
 Rabelais, François: 53, 58  
 Radcliffe, John: 39  
 Ramirez, Hieronymus: 103-124  
 Ramorino, Felice: 419  
 Raphelengius, Franciscus: 131, 191, 206  
 Reginaldus, Henricus: 14  
 Reichssiegel, Florian: 217, 220, 230-231  
 Renata of Lorraine: 82  
 Requesens, Luis de -: 145  
 Rettenpacher, Simon: 232  
 Reuss, Franciscus Xaverius: 417-418  
 Reys, Antonio dos -: 108  
 Rhodomanus, Laurentius: 195, 198, 207, 210  
 Rittershusius, Conradus: 191-192, 209  
 Rivius, Gerardus: 411, 414  
 Rivius, Mechtild: 411  
  
 Rocamora y Torrano, Ginés: 103-104  
 Rocco, Gennaro Aspreno: 380-382  
 Rohan, François de -: 58  
 Rolli, Paolo: 222  
 Rollin, Charles: 42  
 Ronsard, Pierre de -: 15  
 Roose, Peter: 412  
 Roper (later Basset), Mary Clarke: 35  
 Roper, Margaret: 4, 25-26, 33-35, 41-42  
 Rossi, Giacomo: 421  
 Rovere, Girolamo della -: 60  
 Rudolf II, imp.: 12, 18-19, 204, 411  
 Rufinus: 35  
 Russell, Francis: 16  
  
 Saavedra Guzmán, Antonio de -: 104  
 Sadelius, Antonius: 175  
 Sadoletus, Iacobus: 62  
 Saint-Marcel d'Avançon, Jean de -: 60  
 Salazar, Esteban de -: 138, 163  
 Sales, Francis de -, s.: 383  
 Sambucus, Iohannes: 409  
 Sandoval y Rojas, Bernardo de -: 142  
 Sandys, Elizabeth: 29  
 Sappho: 6, 31  
 Sassone, Adriana: 123  
 Scaliger, Iosephus Iustus: 31, 193, 195-197, 204, 206, 208  
 Scaliger, Iulius Caesar: 105  
 Scharl, Placidus: 229-231  
 Schosser, Christian-Theodor: 32  
 Schottelius, Justus-Georg: 57  
 Schrattenbach, Siegmund, archiepisc.: 230, 232  
 Schurman, (Anna) Maria van -: 6  
 Schwarz (Nigri), Pedro: 155  
 Schwarzhuber, Simpertus: 229, 231  
 Scriverius, Petrus: 195, 202, 204, 208, 210-212, 214  
 Scudéry, Madeleine de -: 6, 43  
 Secundus, Ianus: 205, 211  
 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus: 39, 119, 121-122, 204, 226-229, 231-232  
 Serra, Giovanni: 48  
 Sessius, Paulus: 12  
 Severus Alexander, Marcus Aurelius, imp.: 27, 38

- Seymour, Anne: 15, 41-42  
 Seymour, Edward, duke: 12, 15, 42  
 Seymour, Jane: 15, 26, 41-42  
 Seymour, Margaret: 12-13, 15, 26, 41  
 Sforza, Bianca Maria: 111  
 Sforza, Ippolita: 22  
 Siberus: 210  
 Sidonius Apollinaris, Gaius Sollius Modestus: 104, 107-109  
 Sigea, Luisa: 6  
 Silius Italicus, Tiberius Catius: 117, 121-122  
 Sirletus, Guilielmus, card.: 154-155  
 Sixtus V, papa: 139  
 Sonnius, Franciscus: 131  
 Stafford, Dorothy: 29  
 Statius, Publius Papinius: 104-109, 117, 119, 121-124  
 Staverton, Frances: 4  
 Steinwender, Josef: 231-232  
 Stella, Lucius Arruntius: 105, 107  
 Stephanie, Gottlieb: 225  
 Stephanus, Robertus: 53  
 Stobaeus: 38  
 Strabo: 401  
 Straten, Dirik van der -: 35  
 Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius: 228  
 Sylva, Barholo: 8-10, 29  
 Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius: 184-185  
  
 Tagliacarno, Benedetto: 58  
 Taubmannus, Fridericus: 195, 197, 209  
 Terentius Afer, Publius: 13, 69, 71  
 Theano: 31  
 Theatinus: *vide* Carafa, Giovanni Pietro  
 Theocritus: 201  
 Tibullus: 120, 376  
 Tournon, François de -, card.: 60-62, 64-67  
 Trautson: 204  
 Triumviri, Carmelo: 396  
 Tudor, Edward: 31  
 Tudor, Mary: 31, 35, 36, 41  
  
 Ubelleus, Hieronymus: 172-173  
 Udall, Nicholas: 4-5, 34  
  
 Valencia, Pedro de -: 142  
 Valerius Maximus: 123, 227  
 Valla, Laurentius: 45-52  
 Varano, Costanza: 22  
 Vautrollier, Thomas: 5  
 Velleius Paterculus, Marcus: 228  
 Velser, Marcus: 204  
 Venantius Fortunatus, s.: 104-106  
 Vergilius Maro, Publius: 5, 21, 40, 45-47, 52, 70-71, 110, 119-124, 211, 227, 376, 381, 398  
 Vermeulen (van der Moelen), Jean (Iohannes Molanus): 127, 139, 153, 168, 174  
 Vico, Giovanni Battista: 386  
 Villa Dei, Alexander de -: 46, 48-51  
 Violentilla: 107, 109  
 Vitrioli, Diego: 376-377, 379  
 Vives, Iohannes Ludovicus: 4, 34  
 Voitus Borussus, Albertus: 207  
 Voitus, Albertus: 195  
 Vollgraff, Carl Wilhelm: 377  
 Vulcanius, Bonaventura: 195, 197-199, 204  
  
 Wageningen, Jacob van -: 375  
 Wamesius, Iohannes (Wamèse): 410-412, 414  
 Waterson, Simon: 13  
 Weller, Hermann: 377  
 Werner, Peter: 31  
 Weston, Elizabeth Jane: 6-7, 11-12, 14, 17-22, 31-33, 41, 201-202  
 Weymsius, Stephanus (Weyms): 411-414  
 Whitchurche, Edward: 5  
 Widl, Rufinus: 217-373  
 William I, Prince of Orange: 133, 144-145  
 Wimmer, Marianus: 218  
 Windet, John: 13  
 Wolfe, Reginalde: 36  
  
 Ximenius, Petrus: 148, 155, 186-187  
  
 Ybara, Joaquín de -: 103  
  
 Zayas, Gabriel de -: 135, 151



## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

*Humanistica Lovaniensia* follows the *MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, ed. by A. S. Maney - R. L. Smallwood, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), with a few exceptions as noted below. Accepted manuscripts that do not follow these rules can be delayed in publication.

## 1. bibliographical references

### 1.1. first reference

#### 1.1.1. references to books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author: forename in full, if not possible his initial(s); family name as it appears on the title page

\* Sometimes it might be better to include the author's name within the title (e.g. texteditions).

\* The names up to three authors should be given in full; for works by more than three authors the name of only the first should be given, followed by 'et al.' (= et alii) (see example 4).

- comma

- title: title of the work (including the subtitle) as it appears on the title page, in italics

\* Title and subtitle should always be separated by a colon. For books in English, capitalize the first word after the colon and of all principal words throughout the title. For titles in other languages, follow the capitalization rules for the language in question.

\* Titles of other works occurring within the title should be enclosed in single quotation marks.

- comma

- editor, translator etc.: the names of editors etc. should be treated in the same way as those of authors (as to forename, number); they should be preceded by the accepted abbreviations 'ed. (by)', 'trans. (by)', 'rev. (by)', ...

- comma

- series, edition, number of volumes:

\* If a book is part of a numbered series, the series title and the number (in Arabic numerals) should be given. Series titles should not be italicized (see example 2).

\* If the edition used is other than the first, this should be stated by '2nd edn', '3rd rev. edn' (see example 5).

\* If the work is in more than one volume, the number of volumes should be given in the form '2 vols', a comma separating title and number of volumes (see example 3).

- details of publication: place of publication, publisher's name and date of publication are enclosed in parentheses; a colon separates the place from the publisher's name; a comma separates the latter from the date

\* If place or date are not given but can be ascertained, they should be enclosed in brackets. If one of them remains uncertain, one should use '[s.l.]' (= no place), '[s.a.]' (= no date) or '[s.l.a.]' when both are lacking.

\* In giving the place of publication, either the current form of place names in the language the article is written in, or its official form in its own country should be used.

\* The name of the publisher should be given without secondary matter such as '& Co.', 'Ltd', 'S.A.', etc. Forenames or initials should be omitted. Where a publisher's name includes 'and' or '&', the conjunction should be given in the form which appears on the title page.

\* A reference to a work in several volumes published over a period of years should state the number of volumes and give inclusive dates of publication, with the date of the volume specifically referred to in parentheses after the volume number, when it is not the first or last in the series. If a work in several volumes is still in the process of publication, the date of the first volume should be stated, followed by a dash; the date of the individual number being cited should be added in parentheses after the volume number (see example 5).

- If the reference is to a book as a whole, a point will conclude it. If further information about volume and/or pages is requested, a comma is added, followed by the number of the volume (in small capital roman numerals and where necessary the year of publication in parentheses), a new comma, concluded by the exact page or pages.

\* When the volume number is given, 'p./pp.' should be omitted, unless the page number(s) is (are) also in roman numerals (see example 5). If there is no volume number, the numerals are preceded by 'p./pp.', 'col./cols', 'fol./fols'.

\* The first and the last number of the span should always be stated (instead of 'sq.' or 'ff.')!

#### Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, eds. G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960- ).

(5) *Indice Biografico Italiano, 3a edizione corretta ed ampliata*, ed. T. Nappo, 10 vols (München: Saur, 1999-2002), III (2000), 944.



## 1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon
  - \* The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics
  - \* Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
  - \* In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

## Examples:

- Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Bérauld (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

## 1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' (without colon) followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book, as in 1.1.1.
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller...*, eds. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

Example:

First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ... Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed, but with the (abbreviation of the) author's name in normal print, the (abbreviation of the) title in italics and comma's between all parts of the reference.

Example:

Stat., *Silv.*, 3, 1, 182.

1.2. *later references*

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

Examples:

- IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.

- Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

## 2. lay-out

### 2.1. quotations

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

\* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke l.

\* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

\* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

\* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

\* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

#### Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a 'thesaurum hortensem' ('garden treasure'), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith 'the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous'.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us 'that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into "Nicolaus" '.

- Soames added: 'Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.'

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

\* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

\* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

#### Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:

If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients tio follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

## 2.2. footnotes

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.

## 2.3. general requirements

- The author's name should appear at the head of the article (first name in full, surname in small capitals), followed by the title in capitals. His or her affiliation should appear at the end of the body of the text, followed by his or her address and e-mail.
- Titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.
- Manuscripts should be double-spaced, except footnotes and long quotations. Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (in 2 copies) to a member of the editorial board. After the final acceptance of the contribution a PC/Macintosh compatible high-density 1.44mb disk will be most welcome.
- The authors are asked to provide an abstract of not more than ten lines which will appear on the website of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA  
(JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES)

Ed. Prof. Dr. D. SACRÉ

Volume XVII,	1968, 162 p. – 80 €
Volume XVIII,	1969, 164 p. – 80 €
Volume XIX,	1970, 514 p. – 80 €
Volume XX,	1971, 297 p. – 80 €
Volume XXI,	1972, 412 p. – 80 €
Volume XXII,	1973, 341 p. – 80 €
Volume XXIII,	1974, 441 p. – 80 €
Volume XXIV,	1975, 376 p. – 80 €
Volume XXV,	1976, 306 p. – 80 €
Volume XXVI,	1977, 280 p. – 80 €
Volume XXVII,	1978, 366 p. – 80 €
Volume XXVIII,	1979, 386 p. – 80 €
Volume XXIX,	1980, 353 p. – 80 €
Volume XXX,	1981, 278 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXI,	1982, 256 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXII,	1983, 471 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXIII,	1984, 366 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXIV,	1985, 513 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXV,	1986, 336 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXVI,	1987, 358 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXVII,	1988, 334 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXVIII,	1989, 378 p. – 80 €
Volume XXXIX,	1990, 427 p. – 80 €
Volume XL,	1991, 508 p. – 80 €
Volume XLI,	1992, 450 p. – 80 €
Volume XLII,	1993, 526 p. – 80 €
Volume XLIII,	1994, 506 p. – 80 €
Volume XLIV,	1995, 463 p. – 80 €
Volume XLV,	1996, 608 p. – 80 €
Volume XLVI,	1997, 450 p. – 80 €
Volume XLVII,	1998, 466 p. – 80 €
Volume XLVIII,	1999, 457 p. – 80 €
Volume XLIX,	2000, 526 p. – 80 €
Volume L,	2001, 557 p. – 80 €
Volume LI,	2002, 412 p. – 80 €
Volume LII,	2003, 510 p. – 80 €
Volume LIII,	2004, 492 p. – 80 €
Volume LIV,	2005, 480 p. – 80 €
Volume LV,	2006, 306 p. – 80 €
Volume LVI,	2007, 450 p. – 80 €
Volume LVII,	2008, 412 p. – 80 €

ISBN 978-90-5867-766-2



9 789058 677662